Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection

VOLUME 3 ◆ PART 1

Leo III to Michael III
717–867

Philip Grierson

DUMBARTON OAKS
RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION
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DUMBARTON OAKS CATALOGUES

BYZANTINE COINS

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Edited by

ALFRED R. BELLINGER and PHILIP GRIERSON

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Washington, D.C.

VOLUME THREE

LEO III TO NICEPHORUS III

717—1081

BY

PHILIP GRIERSON

Part 1

LEO III TO MICHAEL III

(717—867)

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

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PREFACE

VOLUME Three of this Catalogue includes the Byzantine coins of the period 717–1081 in the Harvard University collections, together with the Anonymous Folles struck in the early years of the reign of Alexius I (to 1092). This slight departure from the strict chronological framework is due to the desirability of treating all coins of the Anonymous series together.

As was the case with its predecessor, the initial draft of the catalogue was Mr. Bellinger's work; the revision, the introductions, and the final preparation of the text for press have fallen to me. These involved more labor than I had anticipated, so that different sections have been written at widely separated intervals over several years. Although in the final revision I have tried to eliminate inconsistencies and bring the whole of it equally up to date, so much is now published in the field of Byzantine numismatics that I have not always been able to take account of material which has appeared after the dates at which particular sections were completed. This accounts for occasional inconsistencies in coin descriptions and citations of secondary works.

This volume, like its predecessors, owes much to those who worked on the collections in earlier phases of their history. Such contributions, and the assistance of those who were responsible for typing particular sections, have been referred to in the introductions to Volumes One and Two. Here I should like to acknowledge my particular indebtedness to Ellen Ash, who was responsible for preparing the volume for the press, as well as to Cornelia Ferber, Neil Levine, and Dale Cooney, who over several years have helped in the typing of the text and introduction. The drawings of the representations of Christ on the coins, and of the imperial costumes, crowns, and scepters, are the work of Marlia Mundell.

A number of fellow scholars have been generous in providing information about coins in their own collections or those to which they have access. These include P. D. Whitting, whose great collection is now in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in the University of Birmingham, George C. Bates, R. A. G. Carson (for material in the British Museum), Rodolfo Spahr (for coins in his own collection and in the Medagliere of the Museum at Syracuse), Joan Fagerlie (for material in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society), and P. Protonatarios and P. Melon (for material in private collections in Greece).

Cécile Morrisson's admirable *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, which was published while this volume was in preparation, has been of great assistance to me at every point. Michael Hendy has given me the benefit of his advice on many aspects of eleventh-century coinage.

The plan of the volume follows in its main lines that of Volume Two, with separate sections on the issues of each reign and a general introduction covering the coinage as a whole. One innovation has been made, that of attempting to illustrate every significant coin type even when it is not represented at Dumbarton Oaks. This should meet the views of critics of earlier volumes, who pointed out that since such coins were described in the text and included in the numbering, it was illogical and inconvenient not to reproduce them in the plates when casts or photographs of them could be obtained.

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INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND TO THE COINAGE

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE two preceding volumes of this Catalogue each covered little more than a hundred years, and for such short periods it was possible to pick out certain salient features as characteristic of Byzantine government and society. This is not possible for the present volume, which covers three and a half centuries. In 717 the Empire was in desperate straits, with its capital threatened by the Arabs, most of its Balkan territories overrun by Slavs, and its western outposts either already lost to the Arabs (North Africa) or hard pressed by the Lombards. Exactly three hundred years later it had reached the peak of its external greatness, with the Balkans and Syria reconquered and its most dangerous enemy, the Bulgarian Empire, utterly destroyed. Half a century later still, it had undergone a complete reversal of fortune, and seemed itself on the point of collapse. The shattering defeat of Romanus IV at Manzikert (1071) was followed by the Turkish occupation of Syria and most of Asia Minor, while in the West the Italian possessions of the Empire had been lost to the Normans and Robert Guiscard was threatening an invasion of Greece. The succession of short reigns between 1025 and 1081, with the throne disputed between representatives of the landed aristocracy and the higher ranks of the central bureaucracy, seemed a bad omen for the future.

In one respect the Empire between the eighth and the eleventh centuries had been unusually fortunate. The Heraclian dynasty was succeeded in turn by those of the Isaurians (Syrians), the Amorians, and the Macedonians. Although the transitions between them were usually violent, and were sometimes delayed by a succession of short reigns as upstart emperors tried and failed to secure the throne for themselves and their heirs, the dynastic or semi-dynastic succession within each family, assured by the regular practice of each ruler associating his son with him on the throne during his lifetime, secured over long periods the peaceful transfer of power. This regularity of succession is reflected in the coinage, though the absence of portraiture means that individual emperors do not "grow up" on the coins as they had done in Heraclian times.

The religious history of the eighth and ninth centuries is dominated by the issue of Iconoclasm. For two long periods, from 726 to 787 and again from 815 to 843, the government waged war on images, a war which involved strong overtones of anti-monasticism and a resolute attempt to reduce the political power of the Church. The coinage of the Isaurians made markedly less use of religious symbols than had that of the seventh century, the reverse type of the most important denomination being an imperial bust or busts instead of a cross. How far this resulted from conscious policy is not clear, since the coinage of Irene, who effected the first restoration of images in 787,

does not differ in this respect from that of the Iconoclastic emperors. The second restoration, however, was followed by the reintroduction on the coins of a bust of Christ, copied from that of the first reign of Justinian II, and from Michael III onward to the end of the Macedonian dynasty, and indeed throughout the remainder of Byzantine history, religious types play a major role on the coinage. It is surprising, in view of the place of religion in the life of the Empire, that the emergence of its full influence on the coinage had been so long delayed, but once it had been achieved the victory was to be a permanent one.

The creation of the Western Empire by Charlemagne, and its revival on a more modest basis under Otto the Great a century and a half later, offended the pride of Byzantium but did not seriously affect its political position. It had minor repercussions on the coinage, since it seems to have suggested to Michael I, who had been compelled to recognize Charles' status as *basileus*, the adoption on his silver coins of the specific title of *basileus Romaion*. The papacy and the Normans were more redoutable enemies. The popes had with Frankish support secured their political independence in the eighth century, detaching Rome from the Empire and transforming it into the capital of a papal state, while their claim to ecclesiastical supremacy, in a world in which Latin Christendom was steadily increasing in importance, was destined to do untold injury to the Empire in the future. The Normans for their part conquered Byzantine Italy, and their rulers were slow to abandon the hope of acquiring the Byzantine throne for themselves.

The role of coined money in the Byzantine economy, at this period in its history, is extremely uncertain, since our sources of information are inadequate. The gold and silver were primarily geared to the needs of the state, whether for taxing subjects or paying mercenaries. We know nothing about the purchasing power of the copper, or how the high weight of the follis in the Macedonian period should be interpreted. Did the absence of fractional copper mean that its purchasing power was low, or that subsidiary coinage was so little needed that the absence of lighter coins was no inconvenience? Nor are we well informed on the distribution of copper. It has been argued that its use was largely confined to the towns, and more particularly to Constantinople and Thessalonica, in which commercial activity is presumed to have been concentrated; the great estates of the countryside, like those of the feudal West, would have evaluated many of their internal obligations in money but settled few of them in actual coin. Even where the West is concerned this picture is something of an exaggeration, but without more information on coin hoards and find distribution in the Empire we cannot say what the position was in the East.

B. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

By the beginning of the eighth century the links of Byzantine coinage with that of Rome had become very tenuous indeed. The weight of the solidus was still that established by Constantine the Great, inscriptions continued to be largely, although decreasingly, in Latin, the traditional three monetary metals of antiquity were still employed, and the module of the coins remained approximately the same, but that was about all. The changes of the next three and a half centuries, between the establishment of the Isaurian dynasty

and that of the Comnenids, were to be considerable. Particular aspects of them will be dealt with in subsequent sections, but the external features of the coinage which were independent of its design, and of the authority behind the coinage and how it was exercised, are best discussed separately.

The main changes in material aspect resulted from the reduction in the number of denominations, the introduction of much thinner coins than had been customary in antiquity and of concave ones in the eleventh century, and the debasement of the nomisma during the same century.

The reduction in the number of denominations will be examined in Section II. Here it suffices to say that sixth-century coinage had had three denominations of gold, none effectively of silver, and four—or five if one includes the nummus—of copper. By the end of the ninth century the pattern of denominations had been reduced to one in each metal. Fractions of the gold and copper were occasionally struck for ceremonial purposes but played no role in ordinary circulation, and a hundred years later even these had disappeared. Only in the late tenth and eleventh centuries did a more complex pattern begin to reemerge, with the creation of two denominations of gold, histamenon and tetarteron, and subsequently of fractional denominations in silver. The copper coinage remained undivided, and was remarkable in the fact that the coins (folles) were unusually large. Byzantine coinage over the whole period contrasts sharply with that of western Europe, which from the eighth century onward was almost without gold or copper—entirely so outside of Italy—so that its economy, insofar as it made use of coin at all, rested on silver pennies, very light in weight and in many countries much debased. The connections with Muslim coinage were closer, but even here the pattern differed greatly from country to country and none corresponded exactly to that of Byzantium.

It was Muslim influence that was responsible for the second change in the aspect of Byzantine coinage. The Sassanian silver dirhem had been a coin much thinner and broader than had been usual in antiquity, and its fabric was taken over for the epigraphic Muslim dirhem when the minting of this began in the 690's. Three decades later the same fabric was adopted by Leo III for his miliaresion, and it remained characteristic of Byzantine silver down to the eleventh century. For nearly three hundred years the thin fabric was limited to this metal, but early in the eleventh century, when it was thought desirable to distinguish between the two types of nomisma, the fabric was adopted for the histamenon as well, and, in contrast to it, the tetarteron was allowed to become smaller and thicker. In this adoption of a thin fabric for its silver and eventually for its gold, Byzantium was, probably unknowingly, falling into line with the general pattern of medieval coinage in the West.

A more obvious change in the external aspect of the coinage in the eleventh century was the appearance of concave coins.[1] The fabric first clearly appears *c.*1045, on Class II of the histamena of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.2).[2] It was dropped between 1055 and 1057,

[1] For what follows see my article, "*Nummi scyphati*. The Story of a Misunderstanding," *NC*[7], 11 (1971), 253–60.

[2] I leave out of account the curious concave copper "coins" of Justinian II and Tiberius (*DOC*, II. 646), which are probably not contemporary and whose date and purpose remain a mystery. The fabric has occasionally occurred elsewhere, as in the Kushan gold coinage of India in the first centuries of our era. Here it was probably intended to strengthen their fabric.

by Theodora and Michael VI, but revived again by Isaac I, and thereafter was used for all histamena and for the hyperpyra which succeeded these in 1092. It was also adopted for the highest denomination of silver coins, by then somewhat debased, under Constantine IX (Pl. LIX.7), but it was never used for tetartera, for the lower denominations of base silver, or for the copper. Its object has long taxed the ingenuity of scholars.[3] It has sometimes been supposed that concave coins can be more easily piled, but this is not the case. More probably it was initially intended to strengthen the fabric of coins appreciably larger in flan than their predecessors, and consequently rather easily bent, but was continued as a way of distinguishing coins of standard denomination but base metal from those of good metal, gold or silver as the case might be.[4] Certainly this was the function it came to fulfill in the future, when concavity is a regular mark of debasement and the revived use of pure metal, as with the silver coins of the Palaeologids, was always accompanied by a reversion to the flat fabric. Tetartera and fractional silver were not made concave because they were not major denominations, and copper because it was not debased. But the fact that in the beginning the two categories of debasement and concavity do not quite coincide, the histamena of Michael IV, of Class I of Constantine IX, and of Theodora and Michael VI being debased but flat, suggests that the initial function of the fabric was of a different character.

Concave coins have for over a century been commonly described as "scyphate," but in error. Byzantine coins called *scyphati*, or νομίσματα σκυφάτα in Greek, figure in South Italian records from 1024 onward, and on the assumption that the word was derived from σκύφος, a cup, it was supposed that concave coins were intended by such references. To this identification there are a number of objections. The word appears in documents, of which originals have survived, for at least two decades before concave coins are known, since while coins of the years 1020–1040, being of broad, thin fabric, are sometimes incompletely flat, they cannot by any stretch of the imagination be described as concave. *Scyphatus*, further, is a term confined to South Italy and never found in Greece, Turkey, or the Aegean area, as one would expect it to be if it were of Greek derivation. The explanation is that the word apparently derives from Arabic *shafah* (شفة) meaning edge or rim, with adjectival forms *shuffī* or *shiffī* (شفي), and referred initially to the broad, thin histamena of the last issue of Basil II's reign, which are distinguished from contemporary tetartera by having conspicuous triple borders of dots. Since this feature was continued on the histamena of Basil's successors, it was naturally applied to the denomination as a whole, whether the coins were concave or not.

The word used for concave coins in Byzantine records of non-Italian origin is in fact *trachy* (νόμισμα τραχύ, pl. τραχέα). It first occurs in documents of 1077 and 1085,[5] much

[3] It has also sometimes overstrained their common sense. A French numismatist once noted in all seriousness that the form might have been intended to facilitate the playing of some Byzantine progenitor of the modern Greek τσικάκι, a kind of tiddlywinks (P. Bordeaux in *RN*[4], 1 [1897], P.V. xiii–xiv), since modern five and ten lepta pieces were often hammered into this form by users in the hope of improving their chances of winning.

[4] Cf. the way in which nickel coins have in some countries been distinguished from silver coins by having a hole in their centers.

[5] Below, p. 53: 1077 Rodosto, 1085 Petritzos.

later than *scyphatus*, a reflection partly of the greater rarity of non-Italian documents at this period, partly of the fact that the word ἱστάμενον plays in Greek sources much the same role as *scyphatus* in Italian ones. The exact manner in which it came to be used in the sense of "concave" is not very easy to understand, for its primary meaning is "rough." It is with this meaning that it forms an element in the eleventh-century monetary term "all rough,"[6] in the sense of a coin which is unworn, fresh or "rough" from the dies, and it is essentially with the same meaning, that of roughening the surface of the coins, that perfumers and others are forbidden in the *Book of the Prefect* to "scratch coins in process of being hoarded, instead of sending them to the bankers," whose duties they would otherwise be usurping.[7] It seems likely that the concave coins were thought of as being "rough" in the sense of their being uneven, not flat. In the documents of 1077 and 1085 the term is applied only to gold coins, but in the twelfth century, when other coins became concave also, *trachy* came to be applied mainly to fractional coins of this fabric, while the word hyperpyron took care of the gold.[8] This ambiguity of meaning makes it preferable to use the term "concave" rather than "trachy"—and certainly not the traditional "scyphate"—when referring to the actual fabric of the coins.

Concavity, as an external mark of debasement, underlines what was certainly the most important change in the coinage of the Empire. From the creation of the solidus by Constantine, for a period of seven centuries the weight and fineness of the gold coins issued by the mint of the capital had undergone virtually no change. There had, it is true, been light-weight issues in the sixth and seventh centuries, but these had been marked as such, and actual metallic debasement had affected only provincial mints at periods when Byzantine authority was wearing thin. But in the late tenth century light-weight tetartera were introduced, and although the new coins were eventually differentiated in module and type from the histamena which continued the weight pattern of the old solidi, this was not done for the earliest issues, so that the creation of the tetarteron was widely and perhaps rightly regarded as an attempt by the government to defraud. More serious still, debasement of the gold began in the 1030's and by degrees became worse, affecting tetartera as well as histamena, till in the decade after Manzikert the fineness of the nomisma fell to eight carats or less. Alexius I, however, eventually managed to create a new nomisma (hyperpyron) of reasonably fine though not pure gold, and the international reputation of the bezant remained unaffected until a renewed phase of debasement set in during the thirteenth century.

[6] Below, p. 55.

[7] *Le Livre du Préfet*, x. 4 (ed. J. Nicole [Geneva, 1893], 43): τραχύνων τὰ ἐπισυναγόμενα νουμία καὶ μὴ ἐπιδιδοῦς ταῦτα τοῖς τραπεζίταις, τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήμην ὡσανεὶ ἰδιοποκύμενος. Freshfield, in his translation of the *Book of the Prefect*, suggested that the meaning might be "sweating," but filing and clipping coins are mentioned elsewhere in the passage. What is prohibited is rather the scratching of identificatory letters, analogous to Chinese chop-marks, on the coins. Despite the prohibition, such marks do sometimes occur on Byzantine solidi.

[8] M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XII (Washington, D.C., 1969), 29–31. Such transfers of meaning from a coin of one metal to a coin of another are disconcerting to scholars, but are by no means uncommon in the monetary history of the Middle Ages. Cf. the Venetian *ducatus*, which first meant the silver grosso and subsequently the gold ducat.

As in earlier periods there existed some local issues of coin which did not conform to those of the capital, and so are not covered by any generalizations that may be made about these. The most obviously anomalous series are the debased "gold" coinage of Rome in the eighth century, where the coins are often of poor-quality electrum or even of copper; the Sicilian coins of the period of Theophilus, which are often thick and globular in fabric, like those of seventh-century Carthage, though having rough, irregular edges; and the cast copper coins of Cherson of the late ninth and tenth centuries. The first of these aberrations must have had an economic explanation, but why Sicilian coins became globular, and why Cherson coins were cast instead of being struck, is harder to imagine. The globular fabric may have had some connection with the Arab invasion of the island, for seventh-century coins of Carthage would probably still be known to newcomers from North Africa. The making of coins by casting might perhaps not be regarded as infringing the imperial monopoly of minting, besides rendering their export less likely since they would not have been acceptable in Constantinople, but whether the Cherson coins were authorized or simply tolerated is a question we cannot answer.

Byzantine coinage as a whole was essentially imperial, as that of the later Roman Empire had been. The right of minting was vested in the senior emperor, and he associated on the coins, according to his wishes and judgment, those members of his family whom he had created co-emperors. Virtually no usurper ventured to mint unless he had been crowned by the patriarch and was in effective possession of the capital. The only exceptions to this rule, so far as is known, are two of the rivals of Nicephorus III (1078–81)—Nicephorus Melissenus and either Nicephorus Bryennius or Nicephorus Basilacius. Of the first we have a silver coin bearing his name and presumably minted at Nicaea, his center of power, while of one or other of the latter there are folles with the initials NB which are certainly not of Nicephorus III. Otherwise none of the many would-be usurpers, however successful they were for a period—Thomas the Slavonian in the reign of Michael II, Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas in that of Basil II, Leo Tornikes in that of Constantine IX—ever ventured to mint. This is true even of those who had assumed the imperial title and been formally lifted on the shield and crowned. Whether a legitimate emperor expelled from the capital, like Constantine V during the usurpation of Artavasdus or Romanus IV between the battle of Manzikert and his own death, continued to mint in the provinces in his own name, as a gesture of sovereignty if of nothing else, we do not know.

There are a few gaps in the succession of emperors. There are no coins of the two months' sole reign of Stauracius (811) between the death of Nicephorus I and his own deposition. Since he returned mortally wounded from the campaign on which his father was killed, it was perhaps not thought worth preparing new dies in his name. No coins are known of the five months in 963 between the death of Romanus II and the accession of Nicephorus II, during which sovereignty was nominally vested in the former's infant sons, Basil II and Constantine VIII, under the regency of their mother Theophano. They may yet come to light, however, as have coins of the seven weeks' joint reign of Zoe and Theodora (1042), which till recently formed a gap in the series.There seem to be no coins of the four months' reign of Michael V (1041/2), for the coins till recently ascribed to him probably belong to Michael IV, and of Zoe's reign for the same period only three

patterns have survived. In the main, however, minting was a display of sovereignty in which all duly crowned rulers wished to participate.

The association of co-emperors on the coinage was a matter entirely at the senior emperor's discretion, for there were no rules at all. The normal practice was for him to associate his son with him on the throne, and on the coins, as early as possible during his reign, so that his subjects would become aware of his intentions regarding the succession. But the practice, so far as the coins were concerned, was very fluid, association rarely being treated in the same fashion on all three metals and being more usual for the gold and silver than for the copper. The Isaurians associated their ancestors with themselves and their heirs; junior colleagues might be excluded despite their having the full imperial title; empresses were occasionally admitted to the coinage, although this was unusual. The method adopted was always that of the sixth and seventh centuries, colleagues being shown in an inferior position on the coins of the senior emperor instead of having separate coinages of their own, as had been customary in earlier times. The various categories of persons involved require discussion.

Deceased Emperors. This practice was practically limited to the Isaurian dynasty and the reign of Theophilus, though some of Basil I's coins almost certainly retained the name of his son Constantine after the latter's death[9] and Zoe's pattern tetarteron has on it a portrait of her father Constantine VIII. It seems likely that the Isaurian practice was due to Arabic influence, being a visual representation of the way in which Muslim names were commonly expressed (e.g., Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān ibn Al-Ḥakam; cf. the inscription on the solidi of Leo IV as explained on p. 326). Theophilus' association of Michael II and of his son Constantine must have been differently motivated, since it is apparently a commemoration of all deceased imperial members of his family. It was suggested by the premature death of his son Constantine, since his earliest coinage had been without the bust of his father Michael II.

Denial of Association. This occurred on a number of occasions. Leo VI denied his brother Alexander any place on his solidus and miliaresion and on two of his three classes of folles; Romanus I's coins frequently omit Constantine VII; Nicephorus II omitted Basil II and Constantine VIII on one of his two classes of solidi and all his silver and copper; John Zimisces equally omitted Basil and Constantine, this time from the entire coinage. In each case the motive was political: the reigning sovereign felt that his colleague, whose right to the throne was as good as or better than his own, was an encumbrance, and he usually had children—or hoped to have children—who would inherit the throne to the other's detriment.

It should be noted that in all these cases the rejected ruler had the full rank of *basileus*; it was not a case of ignoring a caesar. This title was now either purely honorary or was bestowed on persons who, in the event of the sovereign having no direct heir, might be regarded as suitable successors.[10] In the first case it would be unnecessary to admit them to the coinage; in the second it might be dangerous. It was done by Heraclius for his son

[9] Below, p. 481.

[10] Cf. R. Guilland, "Le Céserat," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 13 (1947), 168–94, reprinted in his *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967), II. 25–43.

Heraclonas (Caesar 632–8), but the experiment was never repeated. Constantine V gave the title of Caesar to his younger sons Christopher and Nicephorus, Theophilus to his son-in-law Alexius Musele, Michael III to his uncles Bardas and Petronas, Nicephorus II to his father Bardas Phocas, and Constantine X to his brother John Ducas, but in no case was the coinage in any way affected. Several caesars subsequently attained the rank of Augustus—Basil I, Romanus I, Romanus III—but their coins belong to the subsequent period when they were *basileis*.

Empresses. The wife of an emperor did not automatically attain the rank of empress (*Augusta*, Αὔγουστη).[11] This was formally conferred on her by the emperor, who crowned her in the Augusteum,[12] and it was at his discretion to give or withhold the title. Generally it was conferred at the emperor's accession or a few days afterward, or on the occasion of the emperor's marriage if this took place when he was already on the throne, but sometimes it was withheld till the empress had given birth to her first child. The emperor could also if he wished confer the rank on other female members of his household, and might well do so if he had no male heir. Theophilus, after the death of his son Constantine, did this for his daughter Thecla and apparently for her sisters Anna and Anastasia, and Leo VI did the same for his daughter Anna, during the interval between his second and third marriages, since he felt the need of having someone to assist him in presiding over imperial banquets.

The rank of empress in itself carried with it no right of coinage. Only if its holder were ruling without a colleague would it be normal for coins to be struck in her name, and in the event of her marriage the right at once lapsed. The coinage of Zoe and Theodora came to an end as soon as Zoe married Constantine IX. The empress-consort was thus in the same position as a junior co-emperor, whose association on the coins depended on the senior emperor's pleasure, and since she was not the heir to the throne there were no strong reasons for bringing her name and effigy before people's attention. In many respects, indeed, empresses were inferior to junior co-emperors. Their names did not appear in the superscriptions to laws or the date formulae of charters, and they were not permitted to watch the spectacles in the Hippodrome from the imperial box, having instead to be content with the upper gallery in the church of St. Stephen of Daphne which overlooked the Circus.

With few exceptions, therefore, the coins of empresses fall into two classes, being either those of empresses ruling in their own right (Irene, Zoe and Theodora, Theodora alone) or those of empresses acting as regents for their sons (Irene and Constantine VI, Theodora and Michael III, Zoe Carbonopsina and Constantine VII, Eudocia Macrembolitissa and Michael VII). The exceptions are strong-minded empresses who exercised

[11] Cf. L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, II (Paris, 1949), 27–32, on the status of the empress, and Vogt's *Commentaire* (see note 12), pp. 23–4, on the arbitrary character of coronations. Diehl's *Figures byzantines* (both series) throw much light on the empress' position.

[12] *De ceremoniis*, i. 49, 50 (ed. A. Vogt [Paris, 1938], II. 11 ff.) The second of these chapters gives the ceremonial when a crowning and marriage took place together, as in the case of a junior emperor or an emperor attaining the throne in virtue of his marriage to the widow of his predecessor. Some of the differences between the ceremonies may be only apparent, since that of the crowning and marriage is given at greater length. Vogt's *Commentaire*, II. 21 ff., is essential.

great influence over their husbands (Eudocia Macrembolitissa over Constantine X and Romanus IV, Maria over Michael VII and Nicephorus III), as Martina had done over Heraclius, and the one case of a "family" coinage struck by a ruler who had at the time no male heir (Theophilus).[13] Between the fifth century and the eleventh there were no issues of coins depicting the marriage of an imperial couple until Eudocia Macrembolitissa used this device, on the histamena struck under Romanus IV, to make it clear that the senior Augustus was not her husband but her son.[14]

The coinages of empresses who ruled in their own right, even if in one case that right was acquired by an atrocious crime, raise no particular problems. Irene, who became sole empress through the blinding of her son Constantine VI, struck coins throughout her short reign (797–802) on which she is given the title of βασίλισσα.[15] This contrasts with that of βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ which she bears in the headings to her two surviving novels; perhaps the fact that on the coins her effigy accompanied the title would have made the contradiction of sex too obvious to be easily acceptable. Zoe and Theodora reached the throne in a slower and more roundabout way.[16] Zoe never appeared on the coins of Romanus III or Michael IV, though each in turn had owed his position to her, and although her rights were carefully preserved during Michael V's reign—her name took precedence over his in proclamations—the mint seems never to have got beyond the preparation of pattern coins on her behalf. The brief joint reign of Zoe and Theodora (21 April–12 June 1042) saw the issue of rare histamena on which they have the title of βασιλίσσαι. This coinage ceased with the coronation of Constantine IX (12 June 1042), the day after his marriage to Zoe, when both sisters again took second place in the government of the state. Zoe died in 1050, so that when Constantine IX followed her to the grave in 1055 Theodora was left as the sole person bearing the imperial title. It was generally expected that she would at once associate some suitable person with her as Augustus,[17] but this she declined to do, and she did not crown Michael VI to ensure the succession till she was at the point of death. In the meantime, during her reign of nineteen months, she struck money freely in her own name with the title of Αὐγοῦστα on the gold and δέσποινα on the silver.

The regency coinages are discussed in detail in the introductions to the appropriate reigns. That of Irene under Constantine VI is chiefly remarkable for her success in retaining her position on it throughout her son's reign, even during her period of semi-disgrace in 790–2, and this despite the fact that the regency should have ended in the mid-780's, when Constantine came of age, and she had thereafter no right to appear on

[13] Bréhier, *op. cit.*, 27, notes 6, 7, on the authority of Sabatier, adds two more names to the list of empresses appearing on the coins, those of Euphemia, wife of Justin I, and Theophano, mother of Basil II and Constantine VIII. The supposed coin of Euphemia is probably a misread coin of Leo I—certainly it is not one of Euphemia—and that of Theophano is apparently a misinterpreted follis of the eleventh century (below, p. 579).

[14] Below, p. 786.

[15] Below, p. 347.

[16] Below, pp. 727, 731.

[17] Psellus, *Chronographie*, "Theodora," c. 4 (ed. E. Renauld, I [Paris, 1926], 73), refers to the constitutional impropriety of the "Roman" government being carried on directly—even if successfully—by a woman.

the coins at all, still less to be given precedence on them over her son.[18] Theodora's coinage during the minority of Michael III was in some ways as flamboyant as Irene's, since her first issue of solidi shows her occupying, with the title of δέσποινα, what contemporaries would naturally regard as the more important side of the coin, while Michael and Thecla are relegated together to the other side, with no titles at all. But if Theodora possessed something of Irene's vanity and ambition she had none of her ruthlessness, and although she retained power longer than she had any right to do, she could justly claim to have governed admirably on her son's behalf.[19] Zoe Carbonopsina's constitutional position was complicated by the fact that while she was indubitably an Augusta, duly crowned as such, she had been excluded by Alexander from the Council of Regency and only attained power by a coup d'état. Solidi and folles were issued during her four years of power (914–19), but although both Constantine and herself have the joint title of βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαιῶν, her son's name comes before hers and he is given the place of honor throughout.[20] Theophano's failure to mint as regent is hard to explain, particularly since she had much in common with Irene, but if the proclamation of Nicephorus Phocas and his marriage to Theophano had been planned almost from the date of Romanus II's death, it might not have been thought worthwhile preparing dies for a coinage that events would quickly make obsolete.[21] Finally, Eudocia Macrembolitissa's regency was complicated by her second marriage to Romanus IV, in breach of her promises to Constantine X, but although she managed to enjoy a somewhat exaggerated role on the coinage of the years 1067–71, she could at least claim that in doing so she was to some degree looking after the interests of her son and acting on his behalf. From the constitutional point of view, as showing how coinage could be used to reflect political relationships of some complexity, the issues for which she must have been largely responsible are of exceptional interest and importance.[22]

Coinages bearing the names of Augustae who were neither regents nor empresses regnant are unusual phenomena, and where they occur some explanation is required. Family affection, as with Martina's presence on coins of Heraclius, was in some cases the main reason. This is most obviously the case for the exceptional solidus of Theophilus (Pl. XXII.4) on which Thecla, Anna, and Anastasia are associated with himself and his wife. Thecla's presence on early solidi and miliaresia of Michael III's reign was due to the fact that Theodora relied on her greatly for advice; the dating of documents shows her to have been in fact formally associated with Theodora and Michael in the government of the Empire. As for Eudocia Macrembolitissa, who appears on coins of Constantine X, and Maria of Alania, who does the same on coins of Michael VII and Nicephorus III, the explanation in the first case would seem to be the empress's own enterprise and ambition, in the second her illustrious birth. Psellus describes Eudocia as a woman of great beauty

[18] Below, pp. 336–7.

[19] Below, pp. 452–4. Theodora's use of the title *despoina* invalidates the assertion of Bréhier (*op. cit.*, II. 27, note 3) that while this was regularly employed in ordinary speech, it had no official status.

[20] Below, pp. 527, 533, 537.

[21] Below, pp. 578–9.

[22] Below, pp. 779 ff.

and strength of character—she had some of the qualities of her uncle, the Patriarch Michael Cerularius—and one must assume that having discovered that some previous empresses, admittedly in the remote past, had been associated with their husbands on the copper coinage she saw no reason why she should be denied the same privilege. Maria was the daughter of Bagrat IV (1027–72), the powerful and long-lived king of Georgia,[23] and after so many women had figured on Byzantine coins in the mid-eleventh century she would probably not have been content to be denied the same honor. Even so, she does not appear on the principal coins, the histamena, but only on the secondary tetartera and on one of the issues of silver, and when she subsequently married Nicephorus Botaniates no place was found for her on the gold coinage at all.

[23] Psellus, *Chron.*, "Michael VII," c. 9 (ed. Renauld, II. 177), speaks merely of her illustrious ancestry and shy disposition, without giving her name or country of origin; Scylitzes (Bonn ed., p. 738) calls her an Alan and Nicephorus Bryennius an Iberian (*Comment.*, ii. 1; Bonn ed., p. 56), both emphasizing her distinguished birth. The Georgian annals are more precise (M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, i (St. Petersburg, 1849), 329–31).

II. THE MONETARY SYSTEM[24]

A. VALUES AND DENOMINATIONS

In the sixth century the Byzantine monetary system had as its twin pivots the gold solidus or nomisma (νόμισμα), struck seventy-two to the Roman pound, and the copper nummus or νούμμιον, sometimes also called the denarius, a tiny copper coin weighing 1 g. or less, which in the mid-fifth century had been reckoned at 1/7200th of the solidus. The gap between them was bridged in part by real coins—the gold semissis and tremissis, fractions of the solidus, and the copper pentanummium, decanummium, half follis, and follis, multiples of the nummus—in part by a money of account, the keration, and in part by the miliaresion, which was sometimes one and sometimes the other.

Treating them in descending order of value, the semissis and tremissis require no discussion. They were actual coins, worth one-half and one-third of a solidus respectively. Miliaresion was a Greek loan word from the Latin *miliarense*, a term applied to a silver coin current in the fourth century from the period of the Tetrarchy onward.[25] In the sixth century, when no silver coinage was being struck for regular circulation in the East, it had become the generic name for any silver coin at all, being applied indifferently by John Lydus to the Roman denarius and by Cosmas Indicopleustes to the Persian dirhem.[26] When the hexagram was created by Heraclius this was known as the νόμισμα ἑξάγραμμον ἀργυροῦν, i.e., the silver coin of six *grammata*, and when the hexagram ceased to be struck the term remained available for application to whatever silver coin would take its place.

The κεράτιον was primarily a unit of weight, 1/1728th of the Roman pound, 1/144th of the Roman ounce, or 0.189 g. in modern terms. Since the solidus was one-sixth of a Roman ounce, the solidus weighed 24 keratia.[27] Consequently, as a money of account,

[24] Cf. Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498–c. 1090," *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1961), 411–53. Monetary terms and coin names will be used in this volume in their Greek or Latin forms as convenience dictates. They were completely interchangeable, though in the eastern part of the Empire Greek terms would have been used almost exclusively. In Byzantine Italy Greek terms, often spelled in Latin characters, were also very generally employed. See the discussion of coin names on pp. 45 ff.

[25] *Miliarense* is in turn a neuter substantive from the adjective *miliarensis* or *milliarensis*. The Greek form is μιλιαρήσιον or μιλιαρίσιον, spelled indifferently with an *eta* or an *iota*.

[26] Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 29 (Bonn ed., pp. 56–7); Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography*, xi (ed. E. O. Winstedt [Cambridge, 1909], 323: τὴν δραχμήν, τουτέστιν τὸ μιλιάρισιν).

[27] Hence the medieval and modern use of the word *carat* for expressing the fineness of gold in terms of twenty-fourths. Although the carat is still used as a unit of weight for precious stones, it will be less confusing if I use keration for the Byzantine unit of weight and value, and carat only when discussing questions of fineness.

the keration was 1/24th of the Roman solidus, a relationship that lasted throughout the whole of Byzantine history. The keration was not a coin. In contrast to the solidus and the miliaresion, we never hear of it being counterfeited or clipped; it was not scattered as largess in consular processions; there was no legislation enforcing the acceptance of keratia of good weight, bearing the stamp of the emperor; there were no regulations for bankers regarding the terms on which it was to be exchanged for gold. One could not dream of finding two keratia, or even a potful of them, as one could dream of finding miliaresia.[28] Keratia are omnipresent in Byzantine monetary reckonings, but they are always notional. A debt expressed in solidi, keratia, and fractions of keratia would be paid in solidi, miliaresia, folles, and such fractions of these as were in circulation at the time.

The follis (φόλλις), sometimes called the obol,[29] as recreated by Anastasius I, was a copper coin worth forty nummi. Various fractions were struck during the sixth and seventh centuries, the half follis, decanummium, and pentanummium being the most important. In the mid-sixth century the follis was reckoned 180 to the solidus—it was reduced from 210 to this figure by Justinian—so that the relationship between solidus, keration, follis, and nummus was expressed as follows, the keration being not a coin but a money of account:

1 solidus =	24 keratia	= 180 folles	= 7200 nummi
	1 keration =	7½ folles =	300 nummi
		1 follis =	40 nummi

How these relationships were affected by the "debasement" of the follis in the later sixth and seventh centuries—the gradual reduction of its weight to less than one-sixth of what it had been in the peak years of Justinian I's reign—is a question to which we have as yet no answer. The nummus disappeared completely as a coin, but since the follis and its fractions still bore marks of value expressed as multiples of nummi, these were presumably still thought of as the lowest units in the monetary system.

The three and a half centuries between 717 and 1081 do not form a single monetary period, though the silver miliaresion created by Leo III and continued by his successors does impose on them a certain element of unity. The essential features of their history may be summarized as follows:

Gold Coinage. In the East, the semissis and tremissis ceased to be struck, save as ceremonial coins, toward the middle of the eighth century. Henceforward the only gold coin was the solidus. Its fineness remained virtually unchanged down to the 1030's, when debasement set in, and while its weight seems to have declined very slightly the coin remained one theoretically struck seventy-two to the Roman pound. In the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, however, there began a series of experiments in light-weight nomismata

[28] Achmet, *Oneirocriticon*, c. 255 (ed. F. Drexl [Leipzig, 1925], 208–9).

[29] The identification with the classical ὀβολός was probably based on a phonetic confusion, the *beta* having acquired a *v* sound not far removed from the *phi* of φόλλις, but the use of obol for follis is not confined to the literary authors. The words are employed interchangeably in the *Book of the Prefect*.

comparable to the light-weight solidi of the sixth and seventh centuries. Of these the light-weight nomisma of twenty-two keratia, known as a tetarteron, finally gained the day, so that from the late tenth century down to Alexius I's coinage reform of 1092 one has to distinguish between the full-weight nomisma histamenon and the light-weight nomisma tetarteron.

Things went differently in the West. The solidus and tremissis continued to be struck in mainland Italy as long as the mints of Ravenna and Rome remained in Byzantine hands, i.e., to the middle and late eighth century respectively. In Sicily they continued down to the reign of Basil I, and there was even a revival of the use of the semissis in the early ninth century. The weight standard of the western gold coins, however, was substantially less than that of their eastern counterparts, and both on the mainland and in Sicily there was a serious reduction in fineness during the last decades of Byzantine rule. The fate of the fractional gold was related inversely to the presence or absence of a silver coinage, since the miliaresion flourished in the East but was not adopted in the West.

Silver Coinage. The history of the silver coinage is that of a new miliaresion, a coin much lighter than the hexagram of the seventh century, which was introduced by Leo III in 720. It lasted, with remarkably few changes in external appearance, down to 1092. The weight, however, was several times altered, and in its final phase it was badly debased in both weight and fineness. Fractions were struck only under Leo III, of whose half miliaresion specimens are known, and in the mid-eleventh century. Over much of the period the miliaresion was valued as a double keration, i.e., as a coin worth one-twelfth of a solidus, so that sums of money are as commonly expressed in terms of nomismata and miliaresia as of nomismata and keratia. But we do not know exactly when this ratio became fixed, or how the value of the actual coins changed, in relation to the debased nomisma, during the last decades of their existence.

Copper Coinage. The evolution of the copper resembled that of the gold in that both underwent a process of drastic simplification and differed from it in that the weight of the follis altered greatly over the centuries.

Just as the gold coinage was simplified by dropping the semissis and tremissis, so the copper was simplified by the discontinuance of all fractions of the follis, from the half follis downward. Pentanummia and decanummia, and half folles with the traditional mark of value (K), were no longer struck after the reign of Constantine V, and the notion of the follis being worth forty nummi had by then become so meaningless that Leo IV's half folles had as reverse type an M, like the follis, and showed their denomination simply by being made half the size of the latter. It was left to Theophilus to abolish the M altogether and provide the follis with a new reverse type. Henceforward copper values were expressed in terms of folles, halves of which were only rarely struck, and no longer in terms of nummi. The fact that in the case of both the gold and the copper the simplification of the coinage took place upward and not downward, i.e., through the survival of the highest and not the lowest denomination struck in each metal, implies a substantially higher price level in the Byzantine Empire, during the middle period, than those which had obtained in late Roman times or were to be found in the contemporary states of western Europe.

The situation is complicated, however, by the changes in weight which the follis underwent during this period. These will be discussed later. Here it is sufficient to say that the coin was stable for fairly long periods at weights varying from *c*.5 g. to *c*.14 g., and that at one moment, in the reign of Basil II, it rose as high as *c*.20 g., a figure which it had reached only once before, under Justinian II in the sixth century. Although the follis was only a token coin, fluctuations in weight of such dimensions must surely have affected its value relationship with the solidus.

It is only at the end of the period with which we are concerned, however, that we know these value relationships for certain. A treatise of the early twelfth century, which is usually called for convenience the Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα Λογαρική, deals with the taxation problems created by Alexius I's coinage reform of 1092.[30] It starts by giving a summary of the "old" system, which it attributes to Augustus and which was that of the Empire before the new coinage was introduced. The pattern of values which it describes is as follows:

1 nomisma =	12 miliaresia	= 24 keratia	= 288 folles
	1 miliaresion =	2 keratia	= 24 folles
		1 keration =	12 folles

A supplementary equation, 1 nomisma = 6000 *noummia*, has recently been added to the picture,[31] but in error; the concept of a unit (nomisma) divided into 6000 *lepta* (not *noummia*) was an arithmetical device used in calculations, and did not express any monetary relationship at that period in Byzantine history.[32] The proportion 288 folles = 1 nomisma[33] is of the same order of magnitude as the 180 folles = 1 solidus of Justinian's

[30] C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus Graecoromanum*, II (Leipzig, 1857), 385–400. On the problems of interpretation see N. G. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 83 (1959), 77ff., and Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 50–64.

[31] Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 79–80, followed by Hendy, *op. cit.*, 50, note 6. The term νουμμία is not used in the text he gives.

[32] See P. Tannery, "Le calcul des parties proportionelles chez les Byzantins," in his *Mémoires scientifiques*, IV (Toulouse-Paris, 1920), 282–7. A scholion in MS B.N. Suppl. grec 384 of the Palatine Anthology illustrates such calculations "by the unity of 6000 lepta" ⟨διὰ τῆς μονάδος τῶν ,ς λεπτῶν⟩, using both *miliaresia* (twelfths) and *lepta* (six-thousandths), the notional unity being the nomisma. The method went back to late Roman times—it is that employed in the Akhmim mathematical papyrus of the late sixth or early seventh century—and was based on the equation 1 solidus = 6000 denarii which one finds in, e.g., Cassiodorus, *Variae*, i. 10 (*MGH*, *Auct. Antiq.*, XII. 19: *sex milia denariorum solidum esse voluerunt* [*veteres*]). The "unity" is sometimes called talent instead of nomisma and the six-thousandth part *assarion* instead of lepton or denarius (F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, II [Leipzig, 1866], 219, No. 21).

[33] Another relationship doubling the value of the follis (1 nomisma = 24 keratia = 144 folles), although found in many standard works, is incorrect. The error has a complicated history, going back from Runciman (in the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, II [Cambridge, 1952], 115) via Andréadès, Bury, and Sabatier to George Finlay's *History of Greece* (ed. T. F. Tozer [Oxford, 1877]), I. 455. It was based on the assumption that an ὀβολός was a half follis, and that since there were 288 ὀβολοί to the solidus, there must have been 144 folles. The correct figure was first given, so far as I am aware, by G. Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 20 (1927), 409–10.

day, the difference being to some extent explicable by the lower weight of the eleventh-century follis. Our problem is that of knowing when it came into existence.

With respect to the eighth and ninth centuries, our ignorance is complete. So far as I am aware, there is not a single text that throws any light on the subject, and the statement sometimes found, that the ratio of 1 nomisma = 144 folles goes back to Basil I, is due to the combining of Finlay's misdating of the Anonymous Folles with his mistake over the values involved.[34] For the tenth century, the ratio of 24 folles = 1 miliaresion seems certain for the period prior to the introduction of the Anonymous Folles. Although the formal attestation of it, in a gloss on the Basilics,[35] cannot be precisely dated, accounts in the Book of Ceremonies frequently involve sums of 12 or 6 folles, convenient fractions of 24, while a total expressed as 3 miliaresia 20 folles[36] proves that the figure was above twenty. The equation of 1 nomisma = 12 miliaresia given in the same gloss can likewise be deduced from lists of fees, wherever they can be checked internally, in the Book of Ceremonies. A section dealing with the fees due from patricians on their appointment, for example, gives payments to circus officials amounting to 9 nomismata and 43 miliaresia, which are said to total 12 nomismata 7 miliaresia.[37]

Divergent figures, however, also occur, and though some of these can be explained away there remain a residue which are difficult to account for. The Book of the Prefect in one passage authorizes bakers to charge one keration and two miliaresia per nomisma, which would seem to imply that these were different amounts;[38] they come, in fact, to the same figure, but are described differently because the first is a standard rate of profit and the second involves the actual coins used in buying materials and paying workmen. A Bari charter of 959 prescribes an annual payment of "fourteen miliaresia or a solidus of good gold,"[39] perhaps because, since miliaresia scarcely circulated in Italy and sums expressed in them were normally settled in folles,[40] a lower sum would suffice if gold were actually paid. Another nomic gloss, however, gives the figure of fourteen miliaresia to the nomisma as an explanation of the meaning of the word,[41] and even if it be incorrect it could scarcely have been advanced if the exchange ratio had not at some time stood at this figure. There is yet another gloss which gives to the miliaresion a former value of $1\frac{3}{4}$ keratia—this would be very close to 1/14th of a nomisma—and goes on to state

[34] Finlay, *op. cit.*, I. 451, 455.

[35] "One should know that 1 keration equals 12 folles, i.e. half a miliaresion; the 12 keratia are thus half a nomisma, and the whole nomisma has thus 12 miliaresia and 24 keratia" (Ducange, *Glossarium*, *s.v.* μιλιαρίσιον). The passage is not given in Hultsch, and I do not understand Ducange's reference, but I have no doubt as to its reliability.

[36] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 53 (Bonn ed., I. 786).

[37] *Ibid.*, ii. 55 (pp. 799–800).

[38] *Le Livre du Préfet*, c. 18. 1 (ed. Nicole, pp. 53–4).

[39] *Codice diplomatico barese*, I (Bari, 1897), p. 6, No. 3: "annualiter darent ... quattuordecim mili' (i.e., miliarenses) aut solido de auro bono (*sic*)." Since the text is taken from the original, and the word *quattuordecim* is written out in full, the figure cannot be a copyist's error.

[40] This is true, at least, in the eleventh century; see the texts of 1001, 1036, and 1044 cited below, pp. 50, 51, 52. I know of no record of miliaresia having been found in southern Italy.

[41] "The miliaresion is one-thousandth of a gold pound, because the Romans called 1000 *mille* ... and in consequence the nomisma is equal to fourteen miliaresia" (Hultsch, *op. cit.*, I. 307). The exact figure would be 1008 (14 times 72), near enough to 1000.

that a sum of 109 miliaresia 9 nummi are "according to present reckoning" (πρὸς τὸ νῦν κρατοῦν) 9 nomismata 1 miliaresion 9 nummi, which implies a recognized change of rate from about 14 to 12.[42] Suidas, however, which is generally attributed to the tenth century, makes the miliaresion one-tenth of the nomisma, a move in the other direction.[43] A systematic working over of the material incorporated in the Book of Ceremonies would clarify the whole question, but could not be usefully undertaken without a systematic attempt to date those sections which, unlike the expenses of the Cretan expedition and the visit of Olga to Constantinople, do not date themselves.

B. THE GOLD COINAGE OF THE EAST (8TH TO 10TH CENTURIES)

Gold coinage was struck in great abundance throughout the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and it is clear that the government had, in general, no shortage of precious metal. It is true that Michael III melted down the golden ornaments with which Theophilus had embellished the throne room in the Great Palace in order to turn them into coin,[44] and that Basil I is said to have found on his accession no more than three hundred pounds of gold and seven sacks of miliaresia in the treasury.[45] Such circumstances, however, seem to have been exceptional. On the other hand, since the solidi are undated we do not know how regularly they were being minted, and there was at least one virtual gap of over twenty years in their production. The solidi of Leo VI's sole reign (886–908)—technically, his reign in association with his brother Alexander, but the latter was not recognized on the gold—are of extreme rarity and of an unusual and probably ceremonial type, which implies a virtual cessation of the minting of gold for commercial use during two decades. Solidi of Romanus II's four year reign (959–63), of which only three specimens are known to exist, are also much rarer than one would expect. In each of these cases the issues immediately preceding, of Basil I and Constantine VII respectively, are abnormally common, but mint activity is not entirely governed by the needs of the market, and one would expect Leo VI and Romanus II to have struck solidi, the prestige coin par excellence, to advertize their own occupancy of the throne. We know so little about the conditions governing mint output, however, that speculation on the subject would be unprofitable. In general, we may say that the solidi of emperors who ruled for any length of time are today common, and that rarities are confined to special issues and to the coins of such short reigns as those of Artavasdus (742–3), Alexander (912–13), and Zoe and Theodora (1042).[46]

[42] Hultsch, *op. cit.*, I. 308–9. The passage is embedded in one derived from Epiphanius, which does not enhance its reliability, but the positive statement regarding the change in valuation is impressive.

[43] *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, III (Leipzig, 1933), 395, No. 1062: Μιλιαρίσιον, τὸ τοῦ νομίσματος δέκατον. Since this figure is unsupported elsewhere, Ducange boldly proposed to read δωδέκατον. Such an emendation has no MS support, but several manuscripts, perhaps taken aback by such an unusual ratio, omit the whole phrase.

[44] *Vita Michaelis*, c. 21 and *Vita Basilii*, c. 29 (in Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., pp. 173, 257).

[45] *Vita Michaelis, loc. cit.*

[46] Since the valuations in Goodacre's *Handbook* are sometimes treated by scholars as evidence for relative rarity, it should be noted that prices are affected by the whims of collectors, and are not always a reliable guide. Solidi of Irene are much commoner than the prices paid for them would suggest.

No multiples of the solidus are known to have been struck. A four-solidus piece of Basil I in the British Museum, which was published by Wroth as a coin, is a gold bulla.[47] The dies for such bullae could well have been used for making large ceremonial coins, like the medallions of Roman times, but it is not known that this was actually done.[48] Special types of ceremonial solidi, on the other hand, were issued from time to time. None are known for the Isaurian period or the early eighth century, but they were revived by Theophilus and frequently struck under the Macedonians, more especially during the long reign of Constantine VII. Such coins can be identified only by their rarity and unusual designs; we do not usually know the precise occasions of their issue. They must be distinguished from the solidus variants which sometimes appeared in small numbers when a new type was introduced. The explanation of these was that it might take a little time before a design achieved stability. Some die-sinkers might not understand their instructions or be undecided over the representation of certain details, and in consequence several varieties, often differing significantly from the main type, might go into circulation. Side by side with such coins, which sometimes almost qualify as trial issues, there were pattern coins, struck in another metal, which are fairly common in the Macedonian period.[49] Most of these, to judge by their types, were intended for ceremonial rather than for regular issues.

Sums involving large numbers of solidi were currently expressed in pounds (λίτραι) and hundredweights (κεντηνάρια) of gold. Michael III's jockeys were presented with sums ranging from thirty to one hundred litrai of gold when he stood godfather to their children,[50] and the expenses of the Cretan expedition of 959 are given in centenaria, litrai, nomismata, and miliaresia.[51]

Large payments would normally be made in sealed purses containing fixed weights or numbers of coins, the sealing possibly being done by the mint but more probably by private merchants or bankers. Such purses are most familiar to the ordinary reader in another context, from their frequent mention in the *Arabian Nights*, but the Genizah papyri provide abundant evidence of the role they played in Near Eastern trade during the later part of the period covered by this volume.[52] Sometimes the records refer simply to the number of coins involved—"A purse of 50 dinars with the seal of the well-known banker in the Street of the Alchemists"—but often they give both numbers and weight, so showing how wear was taken into account: e.g., a purse of 300 dinars but containing

[47] Wroth, II. 435, No. 1 (Pl. L.10). He supposed it to be a ceremonial piece of some sort. Cf. Grierson, "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 239, 248.

[48] Nicephorus I bought peace from the caliph in 806 at the price of an annual tribute of 30,000 (Theophanes) or 50,000 (al Tabari) nomismata, plus six more on behalf of himself and his son (Theophanes, A.M. 6298 [ed. de Boor, I. 482]; al Tabari in E. W. Brooks, "Byzantium and the Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids," *English Historical Review*, 15 [1900], 746, where the six are said to be included in the total). Would such a payment be made in specially minted pieces, or would it be more insulting to require it in ordinary nomismata? The stipulation evidently caught the attention of contemporaries.

[49] Below, p. 98.

[50] *Vita Michaelis*, c. 21 (in Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., p. 172).

[51] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 44, 45 (Bonn ed., I. 651ff., 664ff.).

[52] See the remarkable account in S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), 231–4.

308 coins and a quarter, or one weighing 150 dinars 2 carats but containing 154¼ coins (no doubt intended to be 150 but found slightly overweight when put on the scales).

For the Byzantine world, where we have no documents comparable to those from Cairo, the scanty evidence has to be pieced together from the literary, monumental, and numismatic material. The written and pictorial references have been collected by Hendy.[53] They are mainly from documents of the later Roman Empire, but some are from the period covered by this volume: the *apokombion* (ἀποκόμβιον, from κόμβιον, originally the buckle of a belt, whence a bag or purse) of ten pounds of gold offered by the emperor at Easter to the patriarch,[54] the *apodesmos* (ἀπόδεσμος, from ἀποδεσμεύω, to bind fast) used by St. Nicholas of Lyra as a dowry for destitute virgins in the *Vita* ascribed to Symeon the Logothete (fl. *c.* 960).[55] Monumental evidence ranges from the miniature of Constantius Gallus in the manuscript of the so-called *Chronographer of 354*, with a purse marked 1000 solidi at his feet,[56] to the mosaic in Saint Sophia of Constantine IX—the figure was originally that of Romanus III—holding a sealed purse.[57] The numismatic evidence is a matter of inference from the occasional occurrence in hoards of round sums of money, or something close to them: e.g., 215 solidi and one tremissis or nearly three pounds of gold in the second Aydin Hoard,[58] two groups of solidi of different periods, each weighing roughly half a pound, in the Lagbe Hoard,[59] a half pound of gold in the Ordona Hoard,[60] a hundred miliaresia of Constantine IX in the Oxarve Hoard.[61] It is

[53] *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 303–10.

[54] *De ceremoniis*, i. 1, with scholion (Bonn ed., I. 19; ed. Vogt, *Texte*, I. 14, and *Commentaire*, I. 64–6). Other clergy got smaller purses of gold (χρυσᾶ βαλάντια). Cf. Liutprand's well-known account of how in 950 he witnessed Constantine VII distributing in person, to officials of the court, their customary uniforms and fees, the latter made up in marked purses weighing from 24 pounds down to 1 pound (*Antapodosis*, vi. 10, in J. Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona* [Hanover-Leipzig, 1915], 157–8).

[55] G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, I. *Die Texte* (Berlin, 1913), 240–1: τὸν ἀπόδεσμον τοῦ χρυσίου.

[56] H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354* (Paris, 1953), Pl. 15.3.

[57] J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (New York, 1961), fig. 130. Whittemore, in his publication of the mosaic, pointed out that the emperor's name and face had been altered from that of one of Zoe's previous husbands, and concluded that the name of Romanus III would fit the space better than that of Michael IV (T. Whittemore, *The Imperial Portraits of the South Gallery* [Oxford, 1942], 18). Hendy adds the very relevant point that Romanus III is known to have doubled the annual imperial grant of forty pounds of gold to the church, an act commemorated by the mosaic.

[58] Grierson, "Two Byzantine Coin Hoards of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 209.

[59] The 102 solidi of the hoard included 34 of the eighth century and 36 of the early years of the reign of Theophilus (829–42). See E. T. Newell, *The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe*, NNM, No. 105 (New York, 1945).

[60] R. Gurnet, "Le trésor d'Ordona," in J. Mertens, *Ordona II* (Brussels-Rome, 1967), 155–78. The hoard consisted of 147 taris (Muslim quarter dinars) and one histamenon of Basil II. The total weight (149.53 g.) is well short of half a Roman pound, but in Italy four taris were taken as the equivalent of a *solidus mancusus*, which at 72 to the pound would imply a half pound of about 150 g. The hoard gives the impression of a payment, made in taris, of a half pound in gold. The taris in the hoard, despite their being 147 of them instead of 144, weigh only 144.15 g., so a solidus (4.38 g.) was added to make a more satisfactory total.

[61] See below, pp. 736–7.

true that in such cases sealed purses were not necessarily involved—round sums might be received as payments or obtained from a money-changer, just as we ourselves tend to draw sums in round figures from a bank—but in some cases it is probable that they were. It was the existence of such sealed purses that made it possible for payments to be made in *romanati*, *michelati*, and other specified types of coin long after the rulers from whom they acquired their names were in their graves.[62]

The most striking change in the gold coinage of the period was the disappearance of the semissis and tremissis. Since the late fourth century these denominations had played a monetary role second only to that of the solidus, and in the seventh century they had successfully survived Heraclius' introduction of the heavy silver miliaresion. One may conjecture that it was Leo III's light miliaresion, which unlike the hexagram was a token coin greatly overvalued in relation to its bullion content, that spelled their downfall. Late in Leo's reign the decision was apparently made to discontinue their issue save for ceremonial purposes, and specimens struck later than 741 are of extreme rarity. We have occasional references to their use. On 2 April 769, when Constantine V promoted his younger sons Nicephorus and Christopher to the rank of Caesar and Nicetas and Anthimius to that of *nobilissimus*, we are told that as the imperial procession made its way to the Great Church the sovereigns Constantine V and Leo IV threw "tremisses and semisses and newly struck nomismata" (τριμίσια καὶ σημίσια καὶ νομίσματα καινούργια) to the people lining the way.[63] Such a text implies that other specimens than those now known must once have existed, and, since Byzantine chroniclers as a class regarded coinage as something unworthy of their attention, their mention by Theophanes is a proof of how unusual they had become. The following list includes all specimens known to me:

Artavasdus, alone. Semissis. Whittemore (p. 287, No. 4)
Artavasdus, with Nicephorus. Semissis. Turin (p. 287, No. 5)
Constantine V, alone. Semissis. Goodacre coll. (p. 302, No. 3)
Constantine V, with Leo IV. Semissis. Vienna (p. 302, No. 4)
Nicephorus I. Tremissis. Hermitage (p. 357, No. 3)
Michael I. Tremissis. Goodacre coll. (p. 366, No. 2)
Theophilus, alone. Semissis. DO, BN (p. 429, No. 6)
Theophilus, with Michael III. Semissis. Turin (p. 430, No. 7)
Michael III, alone. Semissis. BM (p. 464, No. 4)
Basil I, with Constantine and Eudocia. Tremissis. Private coll. (p. 490, No. 4)
Basil I, with Leo VI and Alexander. Semissis. BN (p. 490, No. 5)
Basil I. Tremissis. DO, BM (p. 491, No. 6)

Little is known of the fineness of the solidus during this period. The dropping in the eighth century of the traditional mint-mark CONOB automatically involved the disappearance of OB (i.e., *obryzum*, refined gold) as a guarantee of fineness, but the

[62] Below, pp. 58–9, 60–1.

[63] Theophanes, A.M. 6260 (ed. de Boor, I. 444). The year is customarily given as 768, but was in fact 769; see G. Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 7 (1928/9), 20.

omission was certainly not intended to imply a deterioration in quality, and there was no change in the external appearance of the coins. Some figures published by Brunetti suggest that the alloys used in the tenth century tended to be less fine than those of the sixth and seventh, but this may be the consequence of mint carelessness or poor technique.[64] I doubt if there was any intentional debasement, but the subject is one that requires further investigation.

As for the weight of the solidus, it is generally assumed that no change took place at all. Eleventh-century records make it clear that the solidus was still thought to represent exactly 1/72nd of the Roman pound, for 72 nomismata or multiples of this figure are often used as an alternative to pounds of gold. One may instance a diploma of 1048 stipulating a payment of 72 nomismata to a monastery on Mt. Athos,[65] and Sclerena's gift of 720 nomismata to St. Lazarus.[66] But some years ago, in discussing the Lagbe Hoard of the 830's, Bellinger noted that all the coins of Michael II and Theophilus were described by Newell as "uncirculated" but averaged only 4.43 g. in weight, while older ones, from a smaller hoard included in the main hoard, also suggested a standard of 4.42 g. to 4.43 g. consistently adhered to from 717 to 832.[67] Such a figure is substantially lower than the 4.55 g. commonly regarded as the theoretical weight of the solidus. Bellinger pointed out the need for further study of the matter, and Schilbach has tabulated the weights of solidi from various periods of Byzantine history in such a way as to suggest a decline in the weight of the Byzantine pound from *c.* 323 g. to *c.* 318 g. in the period that concerns us.[68]

A study of the kind proposed by Bellinger would indeed be useful, but two reservations on the implications of the Lagbe Hoard must be made. One is that Newell's description of the coins as "uncirculated" seems to me an overestimate of their condition. After examining them in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, I would not myself go beyond the grade of "extremely fine," which implies that some allowance, however small, is required for loss of weight through wear. The other is that Bellinger's contrast between 4.55 g. and 4.43 g. is an unreal one. The figure traditionally given for the weight of the Roman pound is 327.45 g., which at 72 coins to the pound implies a theoretical weight for the solidus of 4.55 g. Very extensive weighings of late Roman and Byzantine solidi by Lucien Naville, however, showed that even 4.50 g. is only rarely reached in practice, and a frequency table gives a "theoretical" weight very close to 4.48 g.[69] How this should be interpreted is a matter on which scholars disagree. Naville proposed to multiply 4.48 g. by 72 and amend the weight of the Roman pound to 322.56 g. Others hold that some slight degree of wear must always be allowed for, so that the theoretical

[64] Below, p. 39.

[65] *Akti russkago na svyatom Athone monastirya sv. velikomychenika i tselitelya Pantaleimon* (Kiev, 1873), No. 3, p. 22, and note 5 on pp. 28–9.

[66] *Vita S. Lazari*, c. 245, in *Acta Sanctorum*, 7 Nov. III, 584.

[67] A. R. Bellinger, "The Emperor Theophilus and the Lagbe Hoard," *Berytus*, 8 (1944), 106.

[68] E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), 166–8.

[69] L. Naville, "Fragments de metrologie antique," *Revue suisse de numismatique*, 22 (1920–22), 42–60, 257–63, and "Annexe I: Le poids de la livre romaine," in his *Les monnaies d'or de la Cyrenaïque de 450 à 250 avant J.-C.* (Geneva, 1951), 108–9.

weight of the solidus would be 4.50 g. or a little more, but since wear cannot be estimated precisely it is simplest to accept the traditional figures of 4.55 g. and 327.45 g., in terms of which calculations have normally been made, while recognizing their slightly misleading character.[70] In any case, the 4.43 g. of Bellinger's calculations has to be compared with 4.48 g., not 4.55 g., so that it represents a decline of 1.5 percent instead of 2.6 percent. Neither figure is large, especially when account is taken of the length of time involved, and where single solidi were involved the difference would scarcely be noticed. But in a pound of gold they would mean a loss of two or four solidi, quite sufficient to matter where large sums were being received or paid.

C. THE GOLD COINAGE OF THE WEST (8TH to 9TH CENTURIES)

Gold coinage continued to be struck in the West for as long as the traditional mints remained in Byzantine hands, but after Syracuse fell to the Arabs in 878 no attempt was made to replace it. The government apparently felt that the needs of its remaining possessions in south Italy could be adequately supplied from Constantinople, and in the course of time much use came to be made of Arab coins from Sicily and of their mainland imitations.

The western coinage of the eighth and ninth centuries differs in three respects from that of the capital. One is the retention throughout of fractional gold, partly to match the tremisses of the Lombard kingdom and the duchy of Benevento, partly because Italy and Sicily never fell into line with the East and introduced the miliaresion. The second is the reduction in the weight of the solidus, and on occasion its debasement. The third is the difference in external aspect between Sicilian gold of the early ninth century, when it was still of good quality, and that of Constantinople. This may have been partly due to a lack of qualified moneyers, but there may have also been a wish to make the coinage look different in order to discourage its casual export. The globular fabric of the Theophilan issues may be due in part to African influence.

Since the coinage of mainland Italy ended well before that of Sicily it can be best dealt with first. The whole of the coinage is underweight, as it had already become in the late seventh century, and it is for the most part badly debased. The solidi generally weigh *c.* 4 g. and the tremisses—no semisses were struck—*c.* 1.3 g., which may possibly indicate the adoption of a Germanic standard based on the barleycorn of 0.065 g.[71] Documents suggest a continued reckoning by solidi, tremisses, and keratia, but the appearance in late eighth-century Italy of references to *solidi mancusi* seems to imply an open recognition of a different standard, *mancus* being understood in the sense of "defective."[72] The word never occurs in Greek texts, but from the ninth to the twelfth

[70] This point is discussed at some length in my paper on "Weight and Coinage," *NC*[7], 4 (1964), xi–xiv.

[71] See *DOC*, I. 15, note 15. The gold shilling of the Germanic peoples weighed 20 grains (i.e., barleycorns) or 1.30 g., so a multiple comparable in size to the Byzantine solidus would weigh 3.90 g.

[72] The fullest study, which needs correction on some points, is my article, "Carolingian Europe and the Arabs: The Myth of the Mancus," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 32 (1954), 1059–74. A number of valuable points were made by C. Cahen in a paper read in 1964 and in the discussion

century it was very widespread in western Europe. Its history is one of great complexity, since in its later stages it undoubtedly referred to Arab dinars, which would normally weigh 4.25 g., i.e., just less than the Byzantine solidus, and there is an Arabic word *manqūsh* (منقوش), meaning "engraved," which is applied to coined money in the texts and could have been borrowed by European users of such coins.[73] The earliest occurrence of *mancus*, however, is in a document of 778 from Sesto in Friuli, not a part of Italy where Arab coinage is likely to have been in normal circulation, and most early references come from former Byzantine areas and in one striking case give the figures for the taxes paid under Byzantine rule in terms of mancuses.[74] The problem is complicated by the fact that neither *mancus* nor *manqūsh* is satisfactory to philologists as an explanation of the form *mangon* which is found in the chansons de geste and other vernacular French sources.[75] It seems likely that two usages have come together, and that while it is certain that *mancus*, in sources of the tenth to twelfth centuries, always means a Muslim coin, it was originally used in Byzantine Italy for the light-weight solidus put out by its mints.

The debasement of the Italian solidus and tremissis in the eighth century—and of the solidi of the early ninth century attributed doubtfully to Naples—is of so extreme a character that nothing useful can be said about it. The fineness of the coins has not yet been scientifically studied, since they are so poor in quality and their alloys are so uncertain that gravimetric analysis would be useless. It is clear from their color and texture that many which have still some pretensions to including precious metal in their composition are less than eight carats fine, while others are of base silver, copper, or potin, an alloy of variable composition consisting largely of tin, zinc, or lead. Wroth believed that they must once have been gilded, and one must suppose that this was indeed the case, but it is hard to see how they can ever have performed a useful economic function.

For Sicily our material is more abundant and in general more reliable. There was a reduction in weight of the solidus, as on the mainland, which seems to have begun during the first reign of Justinian II (685–95),[76] though its extent is not very clear. A frequency table for Tiberius III (698–705) suggests a standard of between 4.10 g. and 4.15 g., which may represent the equivalent of 22 carats (= 4.16 g.). The rare solidi of Philippicus and Theodosius III weigh a trifle less than this (D.O. specimens: 3.95 g., 3.95 g., 4.02 g.), but one cannot assume a further reduction on the basis of so little evidence.

afterwards ("Quelques problèmes concernant l'expansion économique musulmane au haut moyen âge," *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studi del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XII (Spoleto, 1965), i. 417–19, 495–500.

[73] U. S. Linder Welin, "Some Rare Samanid Dirhams and the Origin of the Word Mancusus," *Congresso internazionale di numismatica, Roma, 1961*, II. *Atti* (Rome, 1965), 499–508. She is able to cite examples of the use of the word *manqūsh* in coin inscriptions, the existence of which had been doubted by Walker and other scholars whom I had consulted.

[74] For early references, in addition to my article, see U. Monneret de Villard, "La monetazione nell'Italia barbarica," *RIN*, 32 (1919), 80ff., but it must be used with caution, as not all the documents referred to are authentic.

[75] Cf. J. Duplessy, "La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle," *RN*[5], 18 (1956), 108–12.

[76] *DOC*, I. 15–17.

Under the Isaurians and Amorians the weight of the Sicilian solidus was eventually stabilized at about 3.90 g. The emergence of this standard is illustrated by the weights of the coins recorded in the present Catalogue, although they are too few for statistical analysis. A full study of the coins of Theophilus, which are common and usually available in virtually uncirculated condition, would be very desirable. The weights can be tabulated as follows, the figures being in grams and the number of specimens of each weight, where there are more than one, being given in parentheses:

Leo III	4.05, 3.97, 3.96, 3.93 (2)
Constantine V	3.96, 3.91, 3.89, 3.85, 3.82, 3.75, 3.68, 3.48
Leo IV	No solidi known
Constantine VI	No solidi known
Irene	3.89
Nicephorus I	3.80
Michael I	3.85, 3.82
Leo V	3.89 (2), 3.88 (2), 3.75
Michael II	3.89, 3.85, 3.84, 3.82 (2), 3.80, 3.79
Theophilus	3.89, 3.88 (2), 3.85

Whether the low weights of 3.68 g. and 3.48 g. occurring under Constantine V are a matter of chance, or whether they are a reflection of the catastrophe that overtook the mainland solidus in the middle years of the century, is hard to say, but the apparent cessation of the minting of gold in the island during the last quarter of the century suggests the latter. The standard of the early ninth century was clearly in the neighborhood of 3.9 g., either intended as 21 carats (3.97 g.) or possibly geared to the barleycorn standard of western Europe. It would be convenient to assume a theoretical weight of 20 carats (3.78 g.), in conformity with the mainland glosses on c. 346 of the *Edictum Rothari*,[77] but the actual weights of the coins are too high for this. After Theophilus the coinage underwent a complete collapse, explicable by the Arab occupation of most of the island and the constant enemy pressure on those Byzantine posts that still held out. Under Michael III and Basil I no solidi were struck at all, and the rather rare fractional gold is badly debased, the color of the coins suggesting a fineness of perhaps 8 to 12 carats. The coinage ended with Basil I.

In the early tenth century a new standard appeared in the island, that of the Muslim quarter dinar (*rubāʿi*), known in Italy as the *tari* (in Greek, ταρίον). This comes from an Arabic word meaning "fresh" (ṭarī), i.e., newly struck and consequently of full weight as applied to coin, and was taken by the population as the name of the denomination (رباعي طري, rubāʿi ṭarī) and not as a description of its quality in commercial contracts.[78] Whether the Aghlabids, who conquered most of Sicily in the ninth century, minted any

[77] *Gloss. Matritense* 63, *Gloss. Cavense* 104, 163 (*MGH, Leges*, IV. 652, 655, 657). Both manuscripts are from the region of Salerno.

[78] This explanation, proposed by S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), 237, is completely convincing. Earlier speculations on the etymology of the word, like Amari's argument that it might come from *dirhem*, were all wide of the mark, as Amari's editor indeed admits (M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. by C. A. Nallino, II [Catania, 1935], 524–5).

gold there is uncertain, but their African issues, which no doubt circulated in the island, show them conforming to the traditional dinar standard of 4.25 g. with a quarter dinar of 1.06 g.[79] The earliest Muslim gold coins to be struck in Sicily were those of the rebel Emir Ahmed ibn-Khuʿrab (913–16), of whom we have quarter dinars struck at Palermo dated A.H. 302 and 303 (= 914/15, 915/16).[80] The earliest Fatimid quarters of al-Mahdī (909–34) and al-Qāim (934–46) are mintless, and no doubt struck in North Africa, but in the mid-century regular Sicilian issues begin with coins in the name of al-Manṣūr (946–53) dated A.H. 337 and 341 (948/9, 952/3).[81] These coins weigh in general 1.02 g. or 1.03 g., very close to the theoretical figure, and were not slow in reaching the Italian mainland. Already in 922 we find them in use at Amalfi, equated with a quarter of a mancus,[82] and thenceforward the formula *x mancosi* (or *solidi*) *ana tari quatuor per mancosum* becomes a common feature of documents from those parts of southern Italy facing Sicily and the Tyrrhenian Sea. This is particularly true of Amalfi and Salerno, which traded extensively with the Muslim world and in due course struck imitative taris on their own.

The official gold coinage of Byzantine Italy was thus, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, subject to strong external competition, and two standards came eventually into use. One was that of the traditional solidus of 4.55 g.—in practice, about 4.40 g.—which because of its Eastern origin was commonly known as a *constantinus*,[83] and the other that of the *solidus mancusus*, now a money of account equated with four taris and consequently equal to about 4.10 g. of gold. The stages and extent of the penetration of the tari into Calabria, Apulia, and Lucania have still to be studied, both on the basis of charters and legal records[84] and on that of coin finds. A hoard of 147 taris found at Ordona in 1965, in company with a single histamenon of Basil II, is evidence of their presence in the early eleventh century in an area which was well within Byzantine confines.[85] The situation must have become more complicated in the late tenth century, with the issue of the tetarteron, and have deteriorated sharply in the eleventh century with the

[79] H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque nationale: Espagne et Afrique* (Paris, 1891), 345ff.

[80] G. Sambon, *Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia* (Paris, 1912), Nos. 778–9. The chief collection of Sicilian issues is that of Palermo, catalogued by B. Lagumina (1892).

[81] Sambon, No. 781; G. C. Miles, *Fatimid Coins in the Collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1951), No. 12.

[82] *Codice diplomatico amalfitano*, ed. R. Filangieri di Candida, I (Naples, 1917), No. 2: sale for *solidi mancosi quatuor ana tari quatuor per mancosum*. The earliest reference to the tari is usually said to occur in a Gaeta charter of 909, but the wording—*auri tari et livra una*—is nonsense as it stands and perhaps represents a subsequent gloss (*Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta*, I [Naples, 1845], 11). Since the document was one of those destroyed in 1943, the reading cannot now be checked. In 931 we find a sale at Amalfi for fourteen *auri solidi tari* (*Cod. dipl. Amalf.*, I, No. 3), and in 936 one at Naples for *auri solidos quatuor bytianteos et tare unum* (*Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.*, I. 87).

[83] Below, p. 47.

[84] M. A. Guillou, who has in preparation a work on the civilization of the Byzantine lands in south Italy, informs me that a Lucanian contract of 1005 contains the earliest reference he has found to taris in that region, while there is a Calabrian revenue list of 1035–42 which refers not only to ταρία but to ῥοῦβα.

[85] Above, p. 21.

debasement of the nomisma. South Italian records are in fact our main source for coin names invented at this period.[86]

A matter on which more information is desirable is that of the role, if any, which the tetarteron played in Italy. Since in its eleventh-century form this coin weighed *c.* 4.10 g., thus corresponding exactly to the "solidus of four taris," one would expect it to have been welcome, at least before it became seriously debased. But hoard evidence is lacking, and our only fragment of literary testimony is ambiguous. The quite substantial legacy of thirty-five solidi left by a citizen of Gaeta in 1064 to various religious foundations in his city is known to have been paid in tetartera, but since he died in Constantinople the terms of the bequest may have been formulated in the East.[87] Gaeta, in any case, was not at that time a Byzantine possession. But the payment was presumably made in tetartera because these were exact multiples of the tari, which would not have been the case for histamena of full weight, and the same situation would have obtained in the Byzantine territories of mainland Italy where the tari was in use.[88]

D. THE HISTAMENON, THE TETARTERON, AND THE *DUO TETARTON*

The reign of Nicephorus II Phocas (963–9) marked a turning point in Byzantine monetary history. He introduced a new gold coin, or, rather, to be more exact, he issued nomismata which resembled normal gold coins in all respects save that they were somewhat light in weight. They were intended, however, to circulate on a par with full-weight coins. The new coins were known as (*nomismata*) *tetartera* (τεταρτηρά), while the regular nomismata came to be called (*nomismata*) *histamena* or *stamena* (ἱστάμενα or στάμενα). The issue of tetartera was continued by John Zimisces, Basil II, and most of their successors through the eleventh century, with a brief gap between *c.*1030 and *c.*1045. The tetartera issued before and after these dates differ between themselves in one important respect. The earlier coins are, as a whole, very rare, and can have formed only a small proportion of the circulating medium. The later coins, with the single exception of those of Nicephorus III, are very common. My own casual accumulation of photographic material often shows a third or a half of the gold of individual emperors as tetartera (e.g., Constantine IX, 64 tetartera as against 88 histamena; Theodora, 45 as against 48), while in one case, that of Michael VI, the tetartera are much commoner than the histamena. When one takes into account the fact that tetartera, being of lower bullion content than histamena, were less liable to be hoarded, such figures suggest that in the mid eleventh century tetartera may well have formed up to half the gold coinage in circulation.

The earlier and later tetartera differ in another respect as well, although the break between the two groups comes in the reign of Basil II rather than before and after the

[86] Below, p. 45ff.

[87] Below, p. 39.

[88] One is tempted to suppose that the various solidi described as *pesanti ad ipsa decahennea* (below, pp. 51, 52, entries under 1033, 1053, and 1059 of Trani) were tetartera, for if the "nineteen" referred to Arabian carats of 0.212 g. this would imply coins of 4.03 g. Since some are referred to as *scifati* and *stellati*, however, this cannot be the case, and the meaning of *decahennea* remains a mystery.

1030's. Sometime in the later years of Basil II the designs of the two types of nomismata were differentiated from each other, and in order to lessen the danger of confusion between them the module of the histamenon was gradually increased, so that by 1025 it was a coin of 25/27 mm. diameter instead of the 19/20 mm. which the nomisma had been in the tenth century. In the middle of the eleventh century it became concave as well, thus further accentuating the difference between the two denominations. The eleventh-century gold coins which Wroth described as nomismata of "thin, spread fabric" were histamena, while his coins of "thick fabric"—they were often no more than 17/18 mm. in diameter, and thus slightly smaller and thicker than the old nomismata—were tetartera.

This differentiation is one whose details have become clear only in recent years. A better acquaintance with the documents has made it plain that the tetarteron was not a temporary phenomenon of the reign of Nicephorus II, as had been wrongly inferred from the chroniclers' accounts, but a regular feature of Byzantine currency during most of the eleventh century. The histamenon—the name is first attested, in the form stamenon, in 1030[89]—needs no particular discussion. The name seems to be analogous to the English word *sterling*, meaning something that is set up, established, "standard" (from ἵστημι, to stand up, set up), i.e., a coin of the traditional weight, though "equal in weight" to the official standard coin weights used for testing nomismata is another possibility.[90] The coin was simply a continuation of the old nomisma, and the transfer of the term *stamenon* from a gold or electrum coin of high value in the eleventh century to a billon coin of low value in the twelfth is a phenomenon that falls outside the limits of this volume.[91] But the history, nature, and purpose of the tetarteron must be examined here. The problems are complicated by the fact that, as with the histamenon, the name of the tetarteron (in the form *tarteron*) was subsequently transferred from a gold coin to one of a base metal—in this case, to a small copper piece[92]—and texts which refer to the latter have been mistakenly applied to the former. Twelfth-century sources cannot, therefore, be introduced into the discussion, apart from a casual observation of Tzetzes which throws some light on the original weight of the coin.

There are basically three problems: the identification of the coins, the circumstances and purpose of their introduction, and the way in which they were used.

The first problem was solved by the researches of Dworschak and Lopez.[93] Our knowledge, before Dworschak wrote, was based on little more than two things, the statement of Byzantine chroniclers that Nicephorus II introduced light-weight nomismata

[89] Below, p. 51. While from 1030 onward the references to histamena in the texts become fairly frequent, those to tetartera, which were in general not wanted by the public, are rare.

[90] Cf. Grierson, "From Solidus to Hyperperon: The Names of Byzantine Gold Coins," *N.Circ.*, 74 (1966), 123–4.

[91] See Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 28.

[92] *Ibid.*, 28–9.

[93] F. Dworschak, "Studien zum byzantinischen Münzwesen, I. 2: Das Tetarteron," *NZ*, 69 (1936), 77–81; R. S. Lopez, "La crise du besant au dixième siècle et la date du Livre du Préfet," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, II (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 10) (Brussels, 1950), 403–18. A coin published in 1962 by Mr. Uzman as being a tetarteron was in fact a crude counterfeit; see L. L. Uzman, "The Tetarteron of Nicephorus II Phocas—Fact or Fiction?" *N.Circ.*, 70 (1962), 4–5, and my "Tetarteron or Counterfeit? A Note on Mr. Uzman's Coin," *ibid.*, 53.

known as tetartera and the clauses in the *Book of the Prefect* enforcing the circulation of coins known as tetartera and *duo tetarton*. These passages will be discussed below. Dworschak published two bronze coin weights, one with inscriptions +TЄ | TAP and TЄ | PON (3.85 g.) and the other with + | ΔV | O and TЄ | TAP | TΩN (3.95 g.). The precise weights of such objects are not in themselves reliable, since they have usually suffered from corrosion and wear and, in the case of Byzantine weights, from the loss of silver or niello inlays in the letters. But their existence at least proved that the tetarteron and *duo tetarton* were coins which differed from ordinary nomismata in weight, and that Nicephorus had not simply tampered with the fineness of the standard coin. Dworschak called attention, further, to the existence of a nomisma of Nicephorus at Vienna which weighed only 4.08 g., and suggested that this was a tetarteron. Lopez followed this up by noting the existence of another light-weight coin of Nicephorus, then in Professor Bellinger's collection and now in Yale University Museum, of 4.07 g., and pointing out that the British Museum catalogue listed a long series of light-weight nomismata down to the reign of Michael VII. Those of Nicephorus II and John Zimisces, and most of those of Basil II, were of the same type and general appearance as the full-weight nomismata; only under Constantine VIII were the two varieties of nomisma always differentiated from each other. It followed that Wroth's coins "of thick fabric" were the long-lost tetartera.[94] As for the *duo tetarton*, Lopez believed that he had found a specimen in another coin of John Zimisces, weighing 3.79 g., also in Professor Bellinger's collection.

The identity of at least the tetarteron may be considered certain. That of the *duo tetarton* is much less so, for isolated light-weight coins can occur, as a result of carelessness on the part of mint authorities, in all periods of history. What were the precise weights of the two denominations?

Here we are on less certain ground. The word tetarteron is obviously connected with the Greek for a quarter (τέρταρτον μέρος, "a fourth part"). One would expect it to be a quarter nomisma, but Dworschak's coin weight, quite apart from other evidence, proves that this cannot be the case. An alternative would be to regard it as a quartered nomisma, in the sense of a coin diminished in weight by a quarter, but still the coin weight would be too heavy. Evidently one must regard the "quartering" as being progressive, as with quartering in heraldry, where we can speak of the sixteen or even the thirty-two "quarters" of a shield, despite there being more than four of them. In the case of the "quartered" nomisma what must be meant is a nomisma diminished by a quarter of some fraction. The most likely fraction would be itself a quarter, and Dworschak suggested that the "quarter" taken off the nomisma was a quarter of a *scripulum*, i.e., a sixteenth, since the solidus weighed four *scripula*. Assuming that 4.55 g. was the full theoretical weight of a solidus, the tetarteron would thus weigh 4.27 g. (22½ carats) and the *duo tetarton*, assuming that this was a solidus diminished by two quarter quarters, 3.98 g. (21 carats).

These figures were accepted by Lopez and most subsequent scholars, but have recently been queried by Mme Ahrweiler, who would make the diminution in weight a quarter

[94] This identification was already glimpsed by R. T. Blake, "Some Georgian Accounting Practices Illustrated from Georgian Sources," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 51 (1940), 13, note 2.

of a third, i.e., a twelfth, giving a theoretical weight for the tetarteron of 4.17 g.[95] Her reasoning is based on a passage in a letter of John Tzetzes, of the mid twelfth century, and an accompanying scholion,[96] which had already been discussed by Christophilopoulos and Dölger.[97] Tzetzes knew the traditional origin of the coin, which he attributes to a certain rough fellow—he might almost have read Liutprand of Cremona's uncomplimentary description of Nicephorus Phocas—*Siligoudes*.[98] Accepting the obvious derivation of the word, he assumes that Siligoudes was trying to do something contrary to nature—other examples he cites are the activities of the Amazons and of Semiramis—in maintaining the legal value of a coin while reducing its metallic content by a twelfth.[99] The scholion explains the word tetarteron by saying, in a highly complicated fashion, that it was less than a histamenon by a third of a quarter, i.e., by a twelfth.[100]

The fact that this seems to be the meaning of the scholion is no proof that its author, who may have been Tzetzes himself, is correct. He may have been as ill-informed as we are, for his way of expressing himself is evidence less of his knowledge than of the limitations of Byzantine arithmetic. The term tetarteron, as a diminutive, also seems more likely to represent a quarter of a quarter than a quarter of a third. What light do the actual weights of the coins throw on the question?

Part of the evidence is set out in Table 1, which groups together the weights of over one hundred and seventy light-weight solidi of the tenth and eleventh centuries at Dumbarton Oaks, in the British Museum, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The weights fall into two distinct groups, those of the reigns of Nicephorus II, John I, and Basil II on the one hand, those of Constantine VIII and his successors on the other. Since the latter involve no problems, they can be dealt with first. The coins bunch closely in the weight bracket 4.01 g./4.10 g., with a small number just below it (usually 3.97 g. to 4.00 g.) and only a few isolated coins, probably damaged ones or ones which had left the mint accidentally, weighing less than 3.91 g. Weights above 4.08 g. or 4.09 g. occur only amongst the very base coins of Nicephorus III, reflecting the well-known fact that coins of poor metal are frequently allowed to exceed the legal limit of tolerance, since they are not worth the trouble of melting for the gold they contain. The peak of a frequency

[95] H. Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, "Nouvelle hypothèse sur le tétartèron d'or et la politique monétaire de Nicéphore Phocas," *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, I (= *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines*, 8) (Belgrade, 1963), 1–9, esp. 6–7.

[96] *Joannis Tzetzae Epistolae*, ed. T. Pressel (Tübingen, 1851), No. 94, pp. 83–4.

[97] A. P. Christophilopoulos, "Περὶ τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον. I. Τεταρτηρόν," Ἐπετερὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 23 (1953), 152–6; F. Dölger, *Finanzgeschichtliches aus der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei des 11. Jahrhunderts. Zum Tetarteron*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1 (Munich, 1956) (reprinted in his *Paraspora* [Ettal, 1961], 326–49), esp. 23–35.

[98] The meaning of this name, presumably an otherwise unrecorded nickname of Nicephorus Phocas, is a still unsolved puzzle. Christophilopoulos' suggestion that it comes from *siliqua* is unconvincing.

[99] Σιλιγούδης ... τὸ τεταρτηρὸν ἐξειργάσατο τριτηρὸν δωδεκατημορίῳ λειπόμενον, "he made the tetarteron a triteron deficient by a twelfth."

[100] The scholion, which has been very variously understood, reads as follows: Τεταρτηρόν: Τέσσαρα γὰρ ὄντα τοῦ ἱσταμένου τὰ τεταρτηρὰ οὐ σῶα τρία ἐποίησε καὶ τριτηρά, ἀλλὰ δωδεκατημορίῳ ἱστάμενον λειπόμενον εἰς τὸ τοῦ τριτηροῦ ποσόν. It is translated by Mme Ahrweiler as follows: "Tetarteron: The histamenon having four parts, he did not make three entire thirds (*tritera*) since, by relation to the third, the new nomisma was inferior to the histamenon by a twelfth."

TABLE 1

TETARTERA AND OTHER LIGHT-WEIGHT NOMISMATA, 963–1081

Emperor	Below 3.91 g.	3.91 g.–4.00 g.	4.01 g.–4.10 g.	Above 4.10 g.
Nicephorus II (963–9)			4.05, 4.09	4.13, 4.16 (2)
John I (969–76)	3.50, 3.89 (2)		4.02, 4.04 (4), 4.06, 4.08 (2), 4.10	4.12, 4.14, 4.16
Basil II (976–1025)		3.91, 3.97	4.03, 4.06 (3), 4.08	4.13, 4.18, 4.20, 4.21 (2), 4.22 (2), 4.24
Constantine VIII (1025–8)			4.07 (2), 4.08 (3), 4.09	
Romanus III (1028–34)			4.07, 4.09 (2)	
Michael IV (1034–41)				
Michael V (1041–2)				
Zoe and Theodora (1042)				
Constantine IX (1042–55)	3.70	3.96, 3.97, 3.99 (4), 4.00 (2)	4.01 (2), 4.02 (6), 4.03 (8), 4.04 (2), 4.05, 4.06 (2), 4.07 (2), 4.08, 4.09	
Theodora (1055–6)	3.87	3.95, 3.97 (2), 3.98 (2), 4.00 (3)	4.01 (2), 4.02 (4), 4.03 (4), 4.04 (2), 4.05, 4.07	
Michael VI (1056–7)	3.28, 3.89	3.95 (2), 4.00	4.01, 4.03, 4.04	
Isaac I (1057–9)		3.94, 3.97	4.01 (3), 4.04	
Constantine X (1059–67)	3.24	3.92, 3.98, 3.99 (2)	4.03, 4.04, 4.07	
Eudocia (1067)				
Romanus IV (1068–71)		3.97, 3.99	4.01 (5), 4.03, 4.04, 4.05 (2), 4.06 (3), 4.08 (2)	
Michael VII (1071–8)	3.82, 3.84	3.96, 3.97, 3.98 (2), 3.99 (3), 4.00 (2)	4.01 (3), 4.03 (2), 4.04 (3), 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08 (2)	
Nicephorus III (1078–81)	3.66, 3.78	3.93, 3.94, 3.96	4.02, 4.03 (2)	4.13, 4.19 (2)

curve for the light coins of 1025–81 is in the region of 4.05 g. Making an allowance of about 0.10 g. for wear this would give a theoretical weight of *c.* 4.15 g. for the coins, corresponding closely to Mme Ahrweiler's figure of 4.17 g. (22 carats) but falling well short of Dworschak's 4.27 g. (22½ carats). Since these coins of *c.* 4.15 g. were those which circulated during the eleventh century, as we know from the documents that tetartera did, it is reasonable to identify them with tetartera and attribute to them a theoretical weight of 22 carats.[101] With an intrinsic value of a histamenon less a miliaresion, such a coin would have fitted conveniently into the Byzantine system of account.

The pattern of the earlier coins is more complex, since it is clear that at least two groups of light-weight coins were being struck, some having types different from those of the ordinary nomismata and some not. The details are summarized in Table 2, the numbering of the classes being that used in the catalogue.

Despite the small numbers of coins involved, a few conclusions can be drawn with some confidence. The first is that a coin of tetarteron standard (22 carats) did indeed go back to Nicephorus II, and was continued by his two successors. In each case it was primarily a coin of the same type as the same emperor's full-weight nomismata, though specimens of Basil are rare and are known for only very few of the many varieties of nomisma which he struck. Under both Nicephorus and John there occur unusually heavy coins, going up to 4.16 g., which is well above what we find in the series after 1025 and well above what one would expect for coins having a theoretical weight of 4.17 g. The explanation is perhaps that these "heavy" tetartera were not initially tetartera at all; they were really full-weight nomismata which were pared down in circulation in order to provide dishonest users with a profit. Another notable feature is the existence of very light coins—two of John weighing 3.50 g. and 3.89 g., to which can be added the one at Yale, noted by Lopez, of 3.79 g. Lopez identified the Yale coin with the *duo tetarton* of the *Book of the Prefect*, but the evidence of isolated light coins occurring in series whose normal weight pattern is different has to be treated with caution. Table 1 shows the existence of isolated, unusually light coins at a later date, and others might be cited of earlier emperors.

Two other points must be noted. One is that both John II and Basil II made tentative efforts toward striking tetartera which would differ, if only slightly, from ordinary nomismata in their designs. The other is that Basil also struck a substantially heavier "light-weight" coin, of about 4.22 g. There were two types, one (Type E) very rare and the other (Type F) fairly common, both of them differing from Basil's histamena. The weights of the coins, as shown in the table, are borne out by further evidence from Rumania. Two eleventh-century hoards discovered in 1939 and 1954 during excavations at Dinogetia (Garvăn) in the Dobrudja, 7 km. southeast of Galaţi, consisted very largely of Basil's light-weight coins.[102] The first hoard (106 nomismata) included 103 of Basil II.

[101] The same result is given by subtracting the weight of the light coins in circulation (*c.* 4.05 g.) from that of the normal nomismata in circulation, which was normally about 4.42 g. (above, p. 23). The difference is 0.35 g., i.e., 2 carats.

[102] G. Stefan, "Dinogetia I. Risultati della prima campagna di scavi (1939)," *Dacia*, 7–8 (1937–40), 422–4; E. Comşa and Gh. Bichir, "O nouă descoperire de monede şi obiecte de podoabă din secolele X–XI în aşezarea de la Garvăn (Dobrogea)," *SCN*, 3 (1960), 224–7.

TABLE 2

LIGHT-WEIGHT NOMISMATA (BY TYPES), 963–1025

Weights are in grams

Emperor	Class	Normal Nomisma Types	Class	Special Nomisma Types
Nicephorus II (963–9)	Ib	4.16		
	II	4.16, 4.13, 4.09, 4.05		
John I (969–76)	Ia	4.04	IIc	4.08
	Ib	4.16	IId	4.14
	IIa	4.08, 4.06, 4.04, 3.99		
	IIb	4.12, 4.10 (2), 4.04 (2), 4.02, 3.89, 3.50		
Basil II (976–1025)	I	4.06	A	4.06
	IIb	3.97	B	4.13
			C	3.91
			E	4.24
	IIj	4.06	F (i)	4.08
	IVe	4.03	F (ii)	4.22 (2), 4.21 (2), 4.20, 4.18

Of 82 which entered the Museum at Bucarest and were available for study, all weighed between 4.18 g. and 4.24 g. The second hoard was smaller, consisting of four mid-eleventh-century miliaresia and seven light nomismata of Basil, and once again the latter weighed between 4.18 g. and 4.22 g.[103] It is consequently clear that, in addition to the normal tetarteron, Basil struck a light coin which in a worn condition weighs *c.* 4.22 g. This seems to me too heavy for a theoretical weight of 4.27 g. (22½ carats), as was assumed by Dworschak, and I would prefer, with Hendy, to regard them as 23-carat coins.

[103] The exact weights were 4.18 g. (2), 4.19 g. (2), 4.20 g., 4.21 g., and 4.22 g.

That Basil II's coins of 23 carats should be further identified with the *duo tetarton* is possible, but not susceptible of proof. It is true that if the word tetarteron is to be understood literally as implying a "little quarter," a nomisma minus one-sixteenth, logic would require the *duo tetarton* to be a still lighter coin, a nomisma minus one-eighth instead of one-sixteenth. This was Lopez's assumption when he identified Bellinger's coin of 3.79 g. with the *duo tetarton*. But of the two coin weights published by Dworschak it is that for the *duo tetarton* which is the heavier, and once the tetarteron had become a recognized unit of currency, people would forget its origin and might well label a slightly heavier coin of the same nature, perhaps with some slight element of mockery, a double tetarteron. This would have parallels in western usage, e.g., in the term *double mouton* given in the fourteenth century in the Low Countries to coins larger, though only slightly larger, than the normal mouton d'or. In any event, it is clear that the main group of tetartera weighed a theoretical 4.17 g. or 22 carats, and that Basil II struck a slightly heavier coin of 4.35 g. or 23 carats.

The purposes for which the tetarteron was introduced can only be discussed in the light of the written sources. The fundamental account is given by John Scylitzes, writing in the second half of the eleventh century, and runs as follows:[104]

ἠλάττωσε δὲ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ λεγόμενον τετάρτερον ἐπινοήσας. διπλοῦ δὲ τοῦ νομίσματος ἔκτοτε γεγονότος ἡ μὲν εἴσπραξις τῶν δημοσίων φόρων τὸ βαρύτερον ἀπῄτει, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐξόδοις τὸ μικρὸν ἐσκορπίζετο. νόμου δὲ καὶ ἔθους[1] ὄντων πάντα χαρακτῆρα βασιλέως εἰ μὴ τῷ σταθμῷ ἐλαττοῖτο δύναμιν ἔχειν ἰσότιμον, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προκεκρίσθαι ἐνομοθέτησεν ὑποβιβάσας τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων. ἐξ ἧς αἰτίας οὐ μικρῶς ἔθλιψε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀλλαγίοις. καὶ τὸ δὴ χείριστον, ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας τοῦ πολεύματος πιεζομένου οὐδεμίαν εὐθηνίαν ἐδέξαντο τὰ ὠνούμενα.

1 ἔθος: MS.

"He also reduced the nomisma by devising the so-called tetarteron. Nomismata being henceforth of two kinds, he demanded the heavier in the collection of taxes, while expenses were disbursed in the latter. Though it was the law and custom that every stamped coin of an emperor, unless reduced in weight, should have the same value, he made a law that his own should be preferred and slighted those of other emperors. This occasioned great hardship among his subjects in the so-called exchanges. And, worst of all, because of this burdening of the commonwealth there developed a dearth of goods for sale."

This account is reproduced by George Cedrenus,[105] writing in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and since he follows Scylitzes in almost every detail his text need

[104] The Bonn edition of Cedrenus, whose text runs only to 1057, includes the Greek text of Scylitzes Continuatus to 1079, but since Scylitzes' own text is so nearly identical with Cedrenus the earlier part has remained unpublished apart from the miniatures, of which a sumptuous edition appeared in 1965. I am indebted to George Kustas for the transcript (from Cod. Matritensis Graecus Vitr. 26.2, fol. 154 v) and the translation given above.

[105] Bonn ed., II. 369. Cedrenus acknowledges (I. 5) his dependence on the history of the Protovestiarius John "the Thracesian," i.e., Scylitzes.

not be separately discussed. The only noteworthy divergence between the two is that where Scylitzes says that by law and custom "every stamped coin of an emperor" (πάντα χαρακτῆρα βασιλέως) should have the same value, Cedrenus modifies this into "the stamped coin of every emperor" (παντὸς χαρακτῆρα βασιλέως). It is hard to decide whether this change in wording was intentional or not. "Coins of every emperor" is clearly the correct meaning in both cases, but as Scylitzes was writing soon after 1057[106] his wording may have been influenced by his recollection of the sequence of different coin types, an unusual phenomenon at that time, struck under Constantine IX.

The other account of the origins of the tetarteron is that given by John Zonaras, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, who used Scylitzes but put what he said into his own words. They run as follows:[107]

> ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων, ὡς ἔοικε· μέχρι γὰρ ἐκείνου παντὸς νομίσματος ἐξαγίου σταθμὸν ἕλκοντος ἐκεῖνος τὸ τεταρτερὸν ἐπενόησε, κολοβώσας αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν σταθμόν, καὶ τὰς μὲν εἰσπράξεις διὰ τοῦ βαρυτέρου, τὰς δὲ δόσεις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀναλώματα διὰ τοῦ κεκολοβωμένου πεποίητο. ἔθους δ' ἐπικρατήσαντος παλαιοῦ στατῆρα πάντα βασιλικὸν ἐκτύπωμα φέροντα ἰσότιμον εἶναι τῷ ἄρτι κοπτομένῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ προτιμᾶσθαι κεκέλευκε νόμισμα. ἵνα τί γένηται; ἵν' ἐκεῖνο μόνον τοῖς ἐμπόροις ζητούμενον κέρδος αὐτῷ πορίζῃ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου νομίσματος ἁδρὰ πραττομένῳ ἀλλάγια. οὕτω δὲ τούτοις κακουμένων τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδέ τις παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὠνίοις προμήθεια, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος τῶν ἐμπόρων νόμον εἶχε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θέλημα· οἱ δὲ ὠνούμενοι τὰ χρειώδη ἐγίνοντο καθ' ἑκάστην πενέστεροι.

"Up until his [i.e., Nicephorus'] time every nomisma balanced a weight equal to an exagium.[108] He devised the tetarteron by reducing its weight, and effected the collection of taxes in heavy nomismata, and payments and all expenses in defective nomismata. Moreover, although according to an old custom every nomisma bearing the imperial stamp had the same value as that which was now being struck by the reigning emperor, he ordered that his own nomisma should be given a preference. With what object? In order that it might provide him, since he demanded full exchanges [i.e., exchanges at the full rate] for each nomisma, with the profit expected by the merchants. While the citizens were being oppressed by these things, there was no redress from the clerks of the market in respect of the goods being sold, but each merchant did as he pleased, so that those who had to buy necessities became every day poorer."

These texts agree in asserting that Nicephorus created the tetarteron for financial reasons, in order to make a profit for the treasury. The operation of paying out tetartera

[106] Most MSS of "Scylitzes" end in 1057, and the section running from 1057 to 1079 which occurs in some MSS was formerly regarded as a "second edition" by the author. Since it is largely a paraphrase of Attaleiates, who is not included in Scylitzes' list of the authorities on whom he relied, it is now believed to be the work of another hand and is commonly cited as "Ioannes Scylitzes Continuatus." See G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), 335–6, 340–1.

[107] Bonn ed., III. 506–7.

[108] Ἐξάγιον, the technical term for a bronze or glass weight used in verifying the weights of coins.

for certain purposes[109] would have presented no difficulty, since the coins would have been prepared, ready for use, by the mint. The limitation of tax payments to full-weight nomismata, on the other hand, could not have been carried out literally, since the two varieties of coin could have been distinguished from each other only by careful examination, but the same object would be attained through the normal Byzantine practice of receiving taxes by weight. If standard exagia were used in checking them, it would be a matter of indifference to the imperial officials whether histamena or tetartera were used in the payments, since the treasury would get the same weight of gold in both cases. If in addition Nicephorus ordered his own coins to be tariffed at a higher value than those of other emperors, this is something intrinsically independent of his creation of the tetarteron, though only where tetartera were involved could it be regarded as a serious grievance. We know from Leo VI's legislation forbidding the practice that it was customary to differentiate slightly between the coins of emperors in this way, since it was a convenient method of making allowance for wear.[110]

Lopez, in discussing the question of Nicephorus' motives, took the chroniclers' accounts at their face value, though he exaggerated in dramatizing Nicephorus' financial expedients into a "crisis of the bezant." Scylitzes represents the emperor as requiring more money for his military ventures, and beyond a reference to exchange difficulties and shortages consequent on the introduction of the tetarteron does not suggest the existence of economic difficulties of a general character. Nicephorus' reputation has in any case suffered so much at the hands of ecclesiastically minded chroniclers that one needs to look rather closely at any reproaches they may bring against him. This consideration, coupled with the fact that the tetarteron is very close in weight to what I assumed to be the light weight of the Fatimid dinars of that period, led me some years ago to suggest that the tetarteron was created for the benefit of the inhabitants of newly conquered Syria.[111] Such a proceeding would in itself have been sensible, since the Syrians were accustomed to reckon in dinars, but it would obviously have created complications when the light coins got into circulation elsewhere, as they inevitably would do and certainly did. Ehrenkreutz has objected to the argument on the ground that Syria was not yet using Fatimid dinars, and by a detailed study of the weights of the latter he has shown that they were not normally light at all, although this was suggested by the weights of those in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[112] This disposes of two details of my reasoning, but since the exact weight of Nicephorus' tetarteron remains uncertain it still leaves open the possibility of their having been intended to conform to the weight of those dinars which did circulate in Syria.[113]

[109] It is not necessary to take the chroniclers literally, and suppose that the government made *all* payments in tetartera. Many salaries were defined in terms of gold by weight, not in specified numbers of solidi. So long as a large range of payments were made in light-weight coins, the profits would be adequate.

[110] Below, pp. 509–10.

[111] "Nomisma, tétartèron et dinar: un plaidoyer pour Nicéphore Phocas," *RBN*, 100 (1954), 75–84.

[112] A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "Byzantine Tetartera and Islamic Dinars," *JESHO*, 7 (1964), 183–90.

[113] To this may be added their possible role in Italy, where they would have conformed exactly to the "solidus of four taris" widely used as a money of account (above, pp. 26–7).

Two further scholars have since given us their views, Mme H. Ahrweiler[114] and M. F. Hendy.[115] Mme Ahrweiler has argued that the reduction was intended as a first step toward abandoning the old Constantinian standard for the gold coinage. Nicephorus wished, for financial reasons, to introduce a new and lighter nomisma, and but for his untimely death would have carried the change through and withdrawn the heavy nomisma from circulation completely. This is a view that cannot be either proved or disproved, but the weight of the nomisma was so closely tied in with the Byzantine weight system as a whole and with the money of account that any general modification of it seems to me unlikely. Hendy, for his part, has gone back to the explanation given by the chroniclers. He argues that Nicephorus Phocas and his successors were simply engaged in a financial expedient, levying taxes in one type of coin and making official payments in another, and he suggests that in so doing the government had in mind the light-weight solidi of the sixth and seventh centuries, which he believes to have served a similar purpose and which conformed very closely to the same weight pattern. Such a conscious dependence on past precedents seems to me unlikely, and there are two respects in which the parallel breaks down. One is that the light-weight solidi of the sixth and seventh centuries were clearly differentiated from ordinary solidi, which is not the case for the early tetartera. The other is that the later tetartera differ both from the early ones and from the light-weight solidi in being very common, forming a substantial and not a marginal element in the circulating medium. If in both cases their use was the same, only a few payments can have been made in light-weight solidi and early tetartera as against a large number in the later tetartera. Nonetheless, I am now disposed to accept the view that the coin was intended to provide the state with a source of additional profits in the levying of taxes, while still believing that the weight of the dinar, at least under Basil II, may have suggested to the Byzantine treasury a suitable weight for its light-weight coin.

We have a certain amount of evidence as to how the tetarteron was used. Scylitzes' statement that it "complicated the exchanges," i.e., led to endless arguments as to the rate at which it should be exchanged against folles, we may well believe. The *Book of the Prefect*, in the sections dealing with the linen merchants (ch. 9, § 5), the perfume sellers (ch. 10, § 4), the wax-chandlers (ch. 11, § 9), and the grocers (ch. 13, § 2), includes among the offences of which these traders were sometimes guilty that of "refusing" the tetarteron and the *duo tetarton* bearing "the authentic imperial stamp."[116] Mme Ahrweiler has cited an episode from the *Life* of St. Lazarus the Galesiot[117] of a monk trying to buy a psalter with a tetarteron which he had found, while the seller held out for a histamenon. Despite the legal equality of the two coins, the heavier was naturally preferred to the lighter in the transactions of daily life. It is histamena that are normally referred to in the written documents, references to tetartera being extremely rare. There is indeed some

[114] *Art. cit.* (above, p. 3, note 95), 1–9.

[115] "Light Weight Solidi, Tetartera, and the *Book of the Prefect*," *BZ*, 64 (1972), 647–80.

[116] *Le Livre du Préfet*, ed. J. Nicole, pp. 40, 42, 45, 48. A typical phrase is ἀποστρέφων νόμισμα τεταρτηρὸν ἢ δύο τετάρτων ἀκίβδηλον ἔχον τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτῆρα. The word ἀποστρέφω, which has been very variously translated, can in this context, as Lopez points out, only mean "refuse."

[117] *Vita S. Lazari*, c. 88 (*Acta Sanctorum*, 7 Nov. III. 536). The monastery where the episode occurred is close to Ephesus.

evidence of attempts to dump them, where possible, on the provinces. In 1064 a certain Hilarius, monk and cubicularius at Constantinople, wrote to Bishop Leo of Gaeta a letter listing sums of money left by his fellow townsman John, who had just died in the capital, to various Gaetan churches, and the total of thirty-five solidi is to be paid in tetartera.[118] The two Dobrudja hoards of tetartera, both of the mid-eleventh century, are also evidence of the local circulation of a consignment of coins which had probably arrived some decades earlier.

In some cases, however, where payments were specified in nomismata, the fairest way, once the tetarteron was in common use, would be to make them half and half in the two types of coin. This was the arrangement approved by Michael Attaleiates in the *Typicon* of the monastery he founded at Rodosto in 1077, by which the monks were to receive their yearly pension of six nomismata "half in trachea [i.e., histamena], half in tetart[er]a."[119] Even in payments due to the public authorities the same might be allowed as a matter of privilege, as we know from a chrysobull of 1065 to the Athonite monastery of Iviron which specified that a sum of sixty nomismata due annually to the treasury should take the form of thirty histamena and thirty tetartera.[120] Such complicated arrangements, which seem to have been extended at certain periods also to silver,[121] cannot have made life easy for the Byzantine man of affairs in the mid eleventh century. But the difficulties created by the tetarteron must have been negligible when compared with those created by the debasement of the nomisma.

E. THE DEBASEMENT OF THE NOMISMA[122]

Tenth-century nomismata, although not of such pure gold as their sixth- and seventh-century predecessors, were probably as fine as the technique of the time allowed.[123] Gravimetric analyses show them fluctuating between 920/1000 and 975/1000 fine, or 22 and 23½ carats.[124] This shows a measurable decline in purity, as there had been a

[118] *Codex diplomaticus Cajetanus*, Tabularium Casinense, II (Monte Cassino, 1891), No. 219, p. 51; see extract below, p. 52. This document, abridged carelessly by Ducange from Ughelli, was long cited as evidence for the tetarteron being a quarter of a nomisma. Ducange's mistake was pointed out by W. Kubitschek, "Zum Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον," *NZ*, 44 (1911), 198–9.

[119] Below, p. 53: (1077 Rodosto).

[120] Below, p. 53: (1065 Iviron).

[121] Below, p. 737.

[122] Most of this section is based on my two articles, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 379–94 (summarized in the *Actes du Congrès international de numismatique, Paris, 1953* [Paris, 1957], 297–8), and "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," *BZ*, 54 (1961), 91–7. In the first article, on quite inadequate grounds, I absolved Michael IV from any share in the debasement and laid the blame on Constantine IX.

[123] For figures, see "Debasement of the Bezant," 392. Comparative figures for the late Roman and earlier Byzantine periods are given by L. Brunetti, "Nuovi orientamenti statistici nella monetazione antica," *RIN*, 52–53 (1950–1), 6–8.

[124] Millièmes and carats, here and elsewhere, are given as rough equivalents. We have no information as to how closely the Byzantines could measure fineness. Mint authorities in the Muslim world distinguished between gold coins differing in fineness only 25/1000 (A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "The Standard of Fineness of Gold Coins Circulating in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades," *Journal of the American*

TABLE 3

THE DEBASEMENT OF THE NOMISMA, 1025–1081

Ruler and Class	Finenesses (% Gold)	Carats
Constantine VIII (1025–28)		
Histamenon	97.5, 95.5, 94.5, 94, 93.5, 93	22½ / 23½
Tetarteron, Class II	94.5, 93, 92 (2)	22½ / 23
Romanus III (1028–34)		
Histamenon	95.5, 95, 94 (2), 93, 92 (2), 91.5, 90.5	22 / 23
Tetarteron	92, 91.5	22
Michael IV (1034–41)		
Histamenon	97, 95, 91.5, 90, 86, 81.5	19½ / 23½
Histamenon (Thessalonica)	98	22
Constantine IX (1042–55)		
Histamenon, Class I	94.5, 90.5, 90	20 / 23
Histamenon, Class II	90, 83	20 / 22
Histamenon, Class III	86.5, 86, 85.5	20½
Histamenon, Class IV	82, 81.5	19½
Tetarteron, Class I	86.5	20½
Tetarteron, Class II	72.5, 72	17½
Theodora (1055–6)		
Histamenon	76, 73 (2), 72	17½ / 18½
Tetarteron	72.5	17½
Michael VI (1056–7)		
Tetarteron	72 (2), 66	16 / 17½
Isaac I (1057–9)		
Histamenon, Class II	76	18½
Constantine X (1059–67)		
Histamenon, Class I	78, 76, 75.5, 74.5, 74 (2), 72.5	17½ / 19
Histamenon, Class II	74	18
Romanus IV (1068–71)		
Histamenon	74 (2), 73.5, 72.5, 71, 70.5, 69, 67.5, 67	16 / 18
Tetarteron	67.5	16
Michael VII (1071–8)		
Histamenon, Class I	65.5	16
Histamenon, Class II	59, 56, 53.5, 51.5	12½ / 14½
Tetarteron, Class I	61, 57	14 / 15
Tetarteron, Class II	60, 58	14 / 15
Tetarteron, Class III	45, 40, 38, 26	7½ / 11½
Nicephorus III (1078–81)		
Histamenon, Class I	33, 31.5	8½ / 9
Histamenon, Class II	34	9
Histamenon, Class III	36.5, 34.5, 33, 32, 31	8½ / 9½

measurable decline in weight, from the high standards of late Roman times, but we need not suspect any intention of fraud.

It was in the eleventh century, between the 1030's and the coinage reform of Alexius I in 1092, that debasement took place. Such information regarding its stages as is available is set out in Table 3, which is condensed from those in my two articles on the subject.[125] The coins were analysed by the specific gravity method, which is reasonably accurate where gold of good quality is involved but much less reliable at lower levels.[126] The estimates of fineness are calculated on the assumption that there were only two metals present, gold and silver. The color of the debased coins, which lacks the reddish tinge of the base hyperpyra of Michael VIII and Andronicus II, suggests that debasement in the eleventh century was normally effected with only very slight admixture of copper,[127] and this conclusion is borne out by the precise chemical analysis of a histamenon of Nicephorus III published by Bertelè, which gave 365/1000 parts of gold, 540/1000 of silver, and only 95/1000 of other metals, which were probably impurities rather than intentional elements.[128] Table 3 ends with Nicephorus III. The final collapse of the old nomisma came in the early years of Alexius I's reign, when its gold content virtually disappeared, but at such levels gravimetric analysis is useless and no information about fineness is available.[129]

The debasement of the nomisma effectively began under Michael IV (1034–41), and took place in several stages. Michael IV's own coins are irregular, varying from 23½ carats down to 19½, with no external mark to show which coins are of good quality and which are somewhat base. For the next fifteen years or so fineness seems to have remained at about 20/21 carats, but in the 1050's it dropped to about 18 carats. Under Romanus IV (1067–71) it began to fall below 18 carats, and in the disastrous decade after Manzikert the reduction went much further; the histamena of Michael VII (1071–8) vary between about 16 and 10 carats, and those of Nicephorus III are down to only 8 carats. The

Oriental Society, 74 [1954], 163), and Western mint records in the later Middle Ages often specified the fineness of gold as closely as one-quarter carat, roughly 10/1000. It is doubtful if such precision could be realized in practice. Measurement of fineness by the touchstone was normally done to the nearest carat.

[125] "Debasement," 392–3; "Notes," 93–5. The actual weights and specific gravities of the individual coins are omitted.

[126] Cf. E. R. Caley, "Validity of the Specific Gravity Method for the Determination of the Fineness of Gold Objects," *Ohio Journal of Science*, 49 (1949), 73–82, and his "Estimation of Composition of Ancient Metal Objects: Utility of Specific Gravity Measurements," *Analytical Chemistry*, 24 (1952), 676–81.

[127] The presence of copper in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hyperpyra, which is evident from their color and attested by Pegolotti, has been verified by modern analyses; see T. Gerasimov in *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1 (1962), 217–18. The effect of copper admixture on specific gravity determinations is very noticeable where the proportion of gold in the alloy is low. In an alloy with specific gravity 18, the finenesses would be 910/1000 if the mixture were gold-silver, 935/1000 if it were gold-copper, a difference of half a carat. If the specific gravity were 12.5, as it sometimes is with coins of Nicephorus III, the figures would be 350/1000 and 535/1000 respectively, a difference of nearly 4 carats.

[128] T. Bertelè, "Lineamenti principali della numismatica byzantina," *RIN*, 66 (1964), 57, note 31.

[129] For finenesses from 1092 onward see Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 10–12.

tetarteron declined in the same fashion as the histamenon, being consistently of slightly poorer metal. A tetarteron of Michael VII which was acquired in the last century by the Bibliothèque Nationale looked so like silver that it was published as a new denomination in this metal.[130]

How far the various stages in the debasement were due to temporary financial difficulties, to the policies of individual rulers, and to wider economic considerations is hard to determine. Monetary difficulties seem to have plagued many parts of both the Muslim and Christian worlds in the late tenth and throughout the eleventh century. The Muslim world was in the throes of what has been not unfairly termed a silver famine, resulting in an almost complete cessation of the striking of silver.[131] This marks a total change from conditions in the preceding century, when Abbasid and Samanid dirhems had been issued in enormous quantities. The period also saw extensive debasement of the gold, notably under the Buwayhids in Baghdad (A.D. 946–1055), where in the early decades of the eleventh century fineness sometimes fell to 12 carats or even less. The same was true at some of the mints of the Ghaznavids (A.D. 962–1186); dinars of Maḥmūd (999–1030) struck at Herat in A.H. 396 (= A.D. 1005/6) and 399 (= A.D. 1008/9) are only 18 carats fine, one of A.H. 419 (= A.D. 1028/9) is 17½ carats, and ones of the second half of the eleventh century are below 12 carats.[132] Similarly, in western Christendom, the century saw widespread depreciation of the silver coinage, especially in Italy and France. Although some countries or regions, in both East and West, escaped—the Fatimids were able to maintain the high quality of their gold dinars, just as the Anglo-Saxon kings did that of their silver pennies—there would be nothing surprising in the discovery that Byzantium shared the economic difficulties of some of its more important neighbors.

A decision to debase the coinage, however, is necessarily taken by the government, and the early stages of the Byzantine debasement are difficult to account for on any pretext of financial difficulties. Most of our information comes from Psellus, who writes for the most part in very general terms. His one descent into precise figures is the statement that Basil II, despite the immense cost of his wars, left behind what was perhaps the second largest single treasure in Byzantine history, 200,000 pounds of gold, besides great quantities of precious stones and other valuable objects.[133] Its size, and the way in which

[130] A. Dieudonné, "Monnaies romaines et byzantines récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles," *RN*[4], 3 (1899), 198.

[131] The standard work, to be used nevertheless with some caution, is R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 291–328. The disappearance of silver was not so complete as he supposed.

[132] For information on these points we are indebted to several articles by A. S. Ehrenkreutz: "Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages. I. The Standard of Fineness of Some Types of Dinars," *JESHO*, 2 (1959), 144–6, and "II. The Standard of Fineness of Western and Eastern Dinars before the Crusades," *JESHO*, 6 (1963), 252–7; "Arabic Dinars Struck by the Crusaders: A Case of Ignorance or of Economic Subversion?" *JESHO*, 7 (1964), 170–3. In the last of these, the author calls attention to the parallel debasement at Byzantium.

[133] Psellus, *Chron.*, i. 31 (ed. Renauld, I. 19–20). Psellus' close connections with the government justify us in accepting his figure as correct. The only larger treasure that is recorded was the 320,000 pounds of gold left by Anastasius I, who was a professional financier and whose reign was almost free from wars.

the extravagance of his successors affected it, are themes to which Psellus repeatedly returns.[134] Constantine VIII (1025–8) balanced his extravagance by his harshness as a tax-gatherer. Romanus III (1028–34) started his career as a spendthrift, but was shocked into parsimony, becoming "tax-gatherer rather than emperor," as a result of his defeat and the loss of the imperial tent and its treasures during the Syrian campaign of 1030. The sums which Michael IV (1034–41) lavished on the church were provided by the fiscal ruthlessness of his brother John the Orphanotrophos. Michael V's reign (1041–2) was too short to do any harm. If Psellus is to be believed, it was during the reign of Zoe and Theodora (1042) and Zoe's husband Constantine IX (1042–55) that the great treasure was dissipated. Theodora was miserly, but Zoe was "capable of draining a sea of gold dust in a single day," and Constantine's mistress Sclerena was no better. "Thus what the Emperor Basil had stored away in the imperial treasury, with so much sweat and labor, now lay open to these women, to be expended on their amusements." Psellus, after reviewing the inroads which Constantine IX's predecessors had made on the wealth left behind by Basil, compares the Byzantine state to an overloaded merchantman which, as a result of the extravagances of that emperor's reign, went finally to the bottom.

If Psellus is correct, and there seems no good reason to doubt his testimony, the early stages of debasement occurred in a period when the state was far from bankrupt, and we have to look to the actions of individuals. Michael IV, and his all-powerful minister John the Orphanotrophos, were those primarily at fault. Before he became emperor, Michael had been in business as a money-changer with his brother Nicetas and was reputed to have dabbled in false coining.[135] John the Orphanotrophos is particularly praised by Psellus for his abilities in the field of public finance,[136] and the other brothers were notorious for their greed. One of them, the Nobilissimus Constantine, who replaced John as chief minister during the reign of Michael V, was found on his downfall to have concealed the sum of 5,300 pounds of gold, which he had managed to abstract from the treasury, in a cistern beside his house.[137] Michael was addicted to extraordinary outbursts of extravagance; during an illness he is said to have presented two nomismata to every priest and one nomisma to every monk in the empire in return for their prayers, and one nomisma four miliaresia to every newly baptized child of whom he became godparent.[138] The government, during the years 1034–42, was largely at the mercy of unscrupulous adventurers, and one way in which they exploited their position was in tampering with the coinage. It is possible, however, that John and Michael IV were trying in an underhanded manner to recoup the profits lost by the suspension of the issue of tetartera during the reign of Romanus III.

That debasement continued under Constantine IX seems to be equally without justification, for Basil's treasure was still largely intact. From 1056 onward a different situation obtained. There was no longer a great reserve on which, in an emergency, to

[134] What follows is summarized from my article on "Debasement," where detailed references will be found.

[135] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 504.

[136] *Chron.*, iv. 12 (ed. Renauld, I. 59).

[137] Cedrenus, II. 541.

[138] Cedrenus, II. 521.

fall back. Isaac Comnenus (1057–9) was anxious to reverse the policy of his predecessors, whom Psellus describes as having "exhausted the imperial treasures on their personal extravagance,"[139] and Constantine X (1059–67) was a frugal ruler who managed to leave the coffers of the state "if not overflowing, at least half-full."[140] It is true that his parsimony was too often exercised at the expense of the army, and that he was in large measure responsible for Byzantine military weakness in the next decades. But neither ruler made any attempt to reestablish the traditional fineness of the nomisma, which was stabilized for a decade at about 18 carats.

Under Romanus IV (1067–71) debasement recommenced, and though on a very modest scale in a more serious manner than under Constantine IX, for all Romanus IV's histamena are of a single type and coins of varying fineness are not differentiated from each other. Then, in the seventies, after the battle of Manzikert, came disaster. Michael VII (1071–8), according to Psellus, his friend and former tutor, had made a hobby of finance, down to a knowledge of the very details of minting operations. "He had an understanding of the whole system of government expenses and revenue, both of payments from the public funds to individuals and of contributions by the public to the treasury. He knew all about the making of the coins, the equilibrium of the balance and how much they should weigh, what was their permissible remedy, how the alloy was manufactured and what proportion of gold the coins should contain."[141] The emperor inherited a nomisma of about 16 carats, and his histamena of Class I are of this fineness. Those of Class II fluctuate between 14 and 12 carats, and his tetarteron fell to 9 or 10, or perhaps even less. Loss of imperial revenues as a result of Seljuq devastation in Asia Minor and Norman conquests in the west no doubt provided him with some justification for his monetary activities. His successor, Nicephorus III (1078–81), reduced the fineness of the nomisma to a fairly consistent 8 carats, a third of what it had been half a century earlier. A historian in the twentieth century has perhaps seen too many inflations, on an incomparably greater scale, to be much impressed, but in the eyes of contemporaries it must have seemed little short of a catastrophe. The Constantinian nomisma, after a record of unparalleled stability extending over seven hundred years, had in the course of one generation virtually ceased to exist.

F. MONETARY TERMS AND COIN NAMES[142]

A consequence first of the creation of the tetarteron, and subsequently of debasement and the introduction of the concave fabric, was a proliferation of coin names and monetary

[139] Psellus, vi. 59 (ed. Renauld, II. 119).

[140] *Ibid.*, vii (Constantine X). 3 (ed. Renauld, II. 139–40).

[141] *Ibid.*, vii (Michael VII). 2 (ed. Renauld, II. 173). Psellus' admission that the gold in the coins was no longer pure is in itself significant.

[142] The most useful general studies are three chapters of J. N. Svoronos' article, Βυζαντιακὰ νομισματικὰ ζητήματα, *JIAN*, 2 (1899), 348–63, and a section on coin names in V. Laurent, "Bulletin de numismatique byzantine (1940–1949)," *REB*, 9 (1951), 199–206. On twelfth-century monetary terminology, which often throws light on what had gone before, one can consult A. Frolow, "Les noms de monnaies dans le Typicon du Pantocrator," *Byzantinoslavica*, 10 (1949), 241–53, and the relevant chapter in M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 26–38. Despite its

terms hitherto unknown to Byzantine numismatics. Although not strictly relevant to the purpose of this Catalogue, a discussion of them is desirable, since scholars can reasonably hope to find here some guide to the material on the subject.

The traditional terms for the Byzantine gold coin were *solidus aureus* and νόμισμα χρυσοῦν, normally shortened to *solidus* and νόμισμα respectively. Another word which was sometimes used was *holokottinos* (ὁλοκόττινος), an odd hybrid formed in the late Roman period by combining the Greek ὅλος with the Latin *cottum* (i.e., *coctum*, for *aurum coctum*) and meaning a coin of fully refined gold. Although usually avoided by the better writers[143] it never disappeared from use in ordinary speech.[144] Authors with pretentions to style often preferred such classical terms as stater (στατήρ) or even daric (δαρεικός) to nomisma; Psellus' description of the miserly Theodora gloating over her chestfuls of shining darics led one credulous nineteenth-century scholar into crediting her with a precocious interest in numismatics.[145] In legal documents solidi or nomismata might sometimes be qualified by such terms as "struck" (χαράγματα), "well struck" (διαχαράγματα), "newly struck" (καινούργια), "current" (εὐρείτης),[146] and so on, but

age, Ducange's *De imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum ... numismatibus dissertatio* (Rome, 1755) [but best cited from the reprint in Vol. 10 of G. A. L. Henschel and L. Favre's edition (Niort, 1887) of his *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*] is still useful. South Italian coin names are listed by A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie* (Paris, 1882), 72–8, and are discussed by R. Filangieri di Candida, "Notizie sulle monete in use nella Puglia del secolo X al XII" (in the *Supplemento* to M. Cagiati's *Le monete del reame delle Due Sicilie*, Anno III, Nos. 5–7 [May–July 1913], 25–32; Nos. 8–10 [August–October 1913], 23–35). Georgian names from Mt. Athos are surveyed by R. P. Blake, "Some Byzantine Accounting Practices Illustrated from Georgian Sources," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 51 (1940), 11–33.

[143] Save for purposes of emphasis. Theophanes uses it once only (A.M. 6232; ed. de Boor, I. 412), in his reference to a special tax, that of a (silver) miliaresion per (gold) holokottinon, levied by Leo III in order to pay for the reconstruction of the walls and monuments of Constantinople after the earthquake of 740 (ἡμεῖς προσετάξαμεν τοῖς διοικηταῖς, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦσιν εἰς τὸν κανόνα κατὰ ὁλοκοτίνιν μιλιαρίσιν, καὶ λαμβάνει αὐτὸ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ κτίζει τὰ τείχη).

[144] Svoronos, *art. cit.*, 358–63, and N. A. Weis (Beés), "A propos de la monnaie dite ΟΛΟΚΟΤΙΝΟΝ," *RN*[4], 16 (1912), 84–90. These survey the literary evidence very fully but neglect the papyri, where the word occurs quite frequently. Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Supplement* (1968), and F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, III (Berlin, 1931), 353, *s.v.* ὁλοκόττινος, and, as a loan word in Coptic, W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 140, *s.v.* **ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲟⲭⲓ**. Cf. also the reckonings in J. Drescher, "A Coptic Calculation Manual," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 13 (1948/49), 137–60, which dates from the early tenth century, though it there appears in an abbreviated form. An early use is in the Edict of Diocletian (30.1.1), which gives a price for "refined gold in bars and in coin" (T. Mommsen and H. Blümner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletians* [Berlin, 1893], 48: χρυσοῦ βρύξης ἐν ῥηγλίοις [i.e., *regulae*] ἢ ἐν ὁλοκοττίνοις).

[145] Psellus, *Chron.*, vi. 62 (ed. Renauld, I. 147); G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, III (Paris, 1905), 423. This notion is dealt with faithfully by V. Laurent ("Une prétendue numismate sur le trône de Byzance, ou les dariques de l'impératrice Théodora," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, 27 [1946], 85–91), who notes that the word is also used by John Tzetzes in the twelfth century.

[146] This sometimes appears as *euritius* or *ebritius* in Italian charters. The will of Duke Docibilis II of Gaeta (954) stipulates a penalty of *auri euritii libras decem*, and a Veroli document of 990 one of *auri uncias tres ebritias* (G. Caetani, *Regesta Chartarum. Regesto delle pergamene dell'Archivio Caetani*, I [Perugia, 1922], 6, 7).

these represented little more than legal or literary verbiage.[147] When Theophanes describes Constantine V and Leo IV throwing newly struck tremisses, semisses, and nomismata to the people he wished to imply no more than that these coins were fresh from the mint.[148] Indeed, so far as the tremisses and semisses were concerned, they must have been specially struck for the occasion.

To this general rule of terminological uniformity there are occasional exceptions. Coins sometimes received individual names from their appearance. The best known case in these centuries was the term *senzaton* applied in the early tenth century to the solidi of Basil I and his successors.[149] The word derives from σένζος, a loan word from the Latin *sessus* which is frequently used in the Book of Ceremonies for the imperial throne, and refers to the seated Christ which from 867 to 945 formed the normal obverse type of the nomisma.[150] According to the late and not very reliable chronicle of Theodore Skutariotes, Romanus I issued gold coins known as πενταλαίμια (lit. "five throats"), from their representation of five members of the imperial family,[151] and though no such coins are known there would be nothing surprising in the use of such a term. A systematic search through records of a more or less popular character, such as the lives of saints, would probably bring to light a further number of coin names of the same kind, for silver and copper as well as for gold.

Besides names for individual coins, there were some provincial terms of a general character which had very wide currency. The most important of these were Italian, first the *mancus* for the debased western solidus of the eighth century and subsequently the *solidus constantinus* or *constantiniatus* for the Constantinopolitan solidus of the tenth. The first has been discussed already. The second is used regularly in the Latin ecclesiastical records of the tenth and eleventh centuries from imperial territories in South Italy. In tenth-century documents of the monastery of S. Benedetto di Conversano, with the single exception of a gift of *bisanteos tres* by the abbot of Monte Cassino when on his

[147] Blake (above, p. 44, note 142), 28, notes some Georgian terms which must have had unrecorded Greek prototypes: e.g., *protokharati* and *protokharagi*, from πρωτοχάραττος and πρωτοχάραγος, both in the sense of "newly struck." I would attach the same meaning to his *k'inati*, from καινός, "new." His suggested derivation of it from χωνευτός, "cast," is impossible, for coins are struck, not cast.

[148] Theophanes, A.M. 6260 (ed. de Boor, I. 444): τριμίσια καὶ σημίσια καὶ νομίσματα καινούργια.

[149] *Vita Michaelis* in Theoph. Cont., iv. 21 (Bonn ed., p. 173), whence Pseudo-Symeon, iv. 16 (Bonn ed., p. 660). The second text implies that the word remained in use for some time.

[150] V. Laurent, "Τὸ σενζάτον. Nom de monnaie au Xe siècle," *REB*, 12 (1954), 193–7, and "L'argument iconographique et les noms de monnaies. À propos du *senzaton*," *REB*, 14 (1956), 205–7. It was earlier suggested by Bury (*History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 164, note 2) that the description was based on the fact that the gold ornaments of Theophilus' throne-room were melted down to supply the precious metal for Basil's coinage (below, p. 480), but Laurent's explanation is convincing and Frolow's objections (in *Byzantinoslavica*, 17 [1956], 176) without foundation. An obvious parallel is the name of *cathedra* or *chaise* (*d'or*) applied to fourteenth-century coins of Philip VI of France and other rulers with representations of the king enthroned.

[151] Ἀνωνύμου Σύνοψις χρονική, in K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, VII (Athens, 1894), 149.

way to Constantinople in 915,[152] no other term is used for the solidus, from 901 onwards,[153] until the word *sotericus* appears in 994. The same is true at Bari, where *solidus sotericus* appears in the Duomo records in 981, in those of S. Nicolà in 997; previously, though the documents here are fewer in number, there are only *solidi constantini*.[154] The word does not mean solidi of Constantine VII, as has sometimes been supposed on the analogy of the later *romanati* and *michelati*, since it already occurs before this emperor's accession. It means, rather, solidi of Constantinople, the intention being that of distinguishing the coins of Constantinopolitan standard (4.55 g.) from the lighter *solidi mancosi* of *c.* 4.10 g., which in the tenth century received widespread currency as multiples of four taris.[155] Its use belongs to the period of Byzantine revival and reconquest, from 880 onward. The form of the word need occasion no difficulty, for ἡ Κωνσταντίνου (without πόλις) was a quite acceptable alternative—it is used even by Psellus—for a place-name that was otherwise inconveniently long for everyday speech.[156] The *constantini* of the tenth and eleventh centuries have of course to be distinguished from the *constantinata* of the late medieval and modern periods, which were coins or amulets that bore, or were supposed to bear, the effigies of Constantine the Great and the Empress Helena.[157]

Up to the last quarter of the tenth century, then, Byzantine numismatic terminology was simple and fairly consistent. The standard gold coin was termed a *nomisma* in Asia Minor and the Balkans, a *solidus constantinus* in Byzantine Italy. With the coming of the tetarteron, and still more with the beginning of debasement, this old simplicity vanished. Coins and sums of money had now to be more precisely characterized. Though the coin references in the penal clauses of legal documents, which were largely of a token character, often remained traditional in their formulation, actual payments tended to become more specific, with sellers stating exactly what coins they have received or the nature and quality of those in which they expected at some future time to be paid. The list of passages in Table 4, drawn mainly from Athonite and South Italian sources, gives

[152] *Il chartularium del monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano*, ed. D. Morea, I (Monte Cassino, 1892), No. 6. The document presumably repeated the abbot's own name for the coins, the word bezant (*bizantius*) being widely used in non-imperial Italy.

[153] *Ibid.*, Nos. 3 (of 901), 4 (of 904), 7 (of 907), etc. The earliest occurrence of the term *solidus constantinus* is usually given as an episcopal charter of Salerno of *c.* 882 (F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, VII [Venice, 1721], 501), but its authenticity is doubtful. Ducange, *De imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum ... numismatibus dissertatio*, in the Henschel-Favre edition of his *Glossarium*, X (1887), 128–9, cites from Ughelli a long series of references from Spoletan and Barese documents down to 1027.

[154] *Codice diplomatico Barese*, I, Nos. 1 (952), 4 (962), and 5 (977) of the Duomo; IV, Nos. 1 (939), 2 (962), 3 (988), 4 (990), 5 (991) of S. Nicolà di Bari.

[155] Above, p. 27.

[156] See D. J. Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 78 (1947), 355, 363–6. Ducange tentatively suggested the possibility of a wrongly extended abbreviation, the correct form being *constantinatus*. But it sometimes appears in full as *constantinus*, e.g., in the facsimile of No. I in vol. I of the *Codice diplomatico barese*, line 16 (*constantinos solid' tres*).

[157] Cf. F. W. Hasluck, "Constantinata," in *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), 635–6; V. Laurent, "Numismatique et folklore dans la tradition byzantine," *Cronica numismatica şi arheologica*, 15 (1940), 9–16, and his "Bulletin de numismatique byzantine" (above, p. 44, note 142), 202–3; and T. Bertelè, "Constantino il Grande e S. Elena su alcune monete bizantine," *Numismatica*, 14 (1948), 91–106.

a picture of the variety of the terms used, though in the almost complete absence of records from other parts of the Empire we do not known how widely particular ones were disseminated or what others may have existed. The list does not include the Georgian series from Mt. Athos which were studied by Blake and are for the most part not precisely dated,[158] though these and others will be referred to in the discussion that follows. The dates in the list are those of the documents, though in a few cases the transactions referred to had taken place some years previously. Thus the one listed as "1081 Lavra" is a new agreement confirming an earlier sale also dating from the reign of Nicephorus III, and "1085 Petritzos" refers to sums of money entrusted by Pacourianos to his brother Apasios when he had been named duke of Theodosiopolis sometime during the reign of Michael VII (1071–8).

[158] They can be divided roughly into the entries made by the first scribe, Mik'el Daghalisoneli, who in 1074 wrote the bulk of the Iviron manuscript used by Blake, and those of Iované T'ablaysdze, who continued them between 1074 and 1116.

TABLE 4

UNUSUAL COIN NAMES AND MONETARY TERMS
(10TH–11TH CENTURIES)

Abbreviations as follows, but for complete titles see Bibliography

Akti	*Akti russkago na Svyatom Athone monastirya sv. ... Pantaleimona* (1873)
Beltrani	Beltrani, G. *Documenti longobardi e greci per la storia dell'Italia meridionale* (1877)
CDB	*Codice diplomatico barese* (1897ff.)
CDC	*Codex diplomaticus cavensis* (1873ff.)
CDT	*Codice diplomatico del monastero ... di Tremiti*, ed. A. Petrucci (1960)
Conv.	Morea, D., ed. *Il chartularium del monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano*, I (1892)
De Leo	De Leo, A. *Codice diplomatico brindisino*, ed. G. M. Monti, I (1940)
Dölger	Dölger, F. *Finanzgeschichtliches aus der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei des 11. Jahrhunderts* (1956)
Lavra	*Actes de Lavra*, I., ed. P. Lemerle (1970)
MM	Miklosich, M. and Müller, J. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi* (1860ff.)
Oikonomidès	*Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès (1968)
Petit	*Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. L. Petit and W. Regel (1906)
Rački	*Documenta historiae Chroaticae*, ed. F. Rački (1877)
Trinchera	Trinchera, F. *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (1865)

Date	Locality	Terms and References
962	Casamassima	constantinos solidos quinque bonos dythitos (CDB, I. 8)
971	Bari	auro constantini solidi decem soterichi olotrachi (CDB, IV. 98)
981	Bari	auro constantini solidi quinque sotirichi boni et medium solidum (CDB, I. 12)
990	Lucera	duo aurei solidi constantini boni deithati et nobem millia (*leg.* milliarenses) ex rame bona (CDC, II. 312)
993	Athos	διαχαράγματος χρυσοῦ λόγῳ τιμήματος νομίσματα ἑβδομήκοντα (Lavra, 34)
994	Conversano	aureum solidum sotirici bono unum (Conv., 66)
994	Bari	sex solidi aurei constantini sotirichi [. . .] . . . sex solidi [. . .] sotirichi cum thoria (CDB, IV. 101, 102)
997	Bari	auro constantini solidi numerum octo sotir[ichi pen]santi olotrachi (CDB, IV. 14)
999	Trani	aurei solidi sotiriki boni constantinati veteres thoriati numero duodecim (CDB, IV. 15)
999	Conversano	aurei solidi soterici vani [*leg.* voni, i.e., boni] [. . .] miliarisi sex (Conv., 67)
1001	Bari	auro constantini solidi duo boni beteri soterichi thoriati olotrachi, et quindecim miliaren[s]i de follari leontati (CDB, I. 14)
1005	Bari	auro constantini solidi decem sotirychi veteri boni cum thorio olotrachi et medium solidi (CDB, IV. 19)
1006	Trani	aurei solidi constantini soteriki boni thoriati veteres numero duodecim (Beltrani, 16, correcting *foteriki* and *othoniati* to *soteriki* and *thoriati*)
1009	Conversano	aureum solidum soterici bono unum (Conv., 71)
1011	Canne	aurei solidi soteriky boni olotrachi thoriati veteres sonantes numero quattro (CDB, VIII. 8)
1016	(Palagiano)	χρυσία διαχαράγματα νομίσματα τριάκοντα ἕξ (Trinchera, 17)
1017	Lavra	ὑπέρπυρα ξ' (Lavra, 165, line 36)
1018/19	Lavra	ὑπέρπυρα ξ' (Lavra, 170, line 24)
1021	Bari	solidi octo soterichi [. . .] theariati boni . . . [. . .] olotrachi boni theariati (CDB, IV. 104, 105)

Date	Locality	Terms and References
1024	Troia	centum skyphatos (Trinchera, 22)
1026	Bari	quattuor solidi boni aurei veteri sotirichi olotrachi (CDB, IV. 35)
1028	Bari	solidi tres aurei constantini sotirichi veteri olotrachi ... solidi quattuor sotirichi olotrachi (CDB, IV. 37)
1029	Taranto	χρυσίου διαχαράγματα νομίσματα δύο σωτηρίκια ὁλοτράχεα (Trinchera, 23)
1030	Bari	solidum unum aureo bono betere sotiriho olotraho (CDB, I. 28)
1030	St. Pantaleimon	νομίσματα εἴκοσι δύο, στάμενα ὁλότραχα καὶ ἡλιοσεληνᾶτα (Akty, 2)
1032	Monte Cassino	χρυσίου διαχαράγματα νομίσματα δώδεκα (Trinchera, 27)
1033	Trani	aurei solidi boni, numero decem et hocto et medium, undecim ex ipsis romanati pesanti ad ipsa decahennea, et septem ex ipsis soteris boni olotrachi (Beltrani, 16)
1033	Monte Cassino	χρυσίου διαχαράγματα νομίσματα πέντε ρομανᾶτα (*sic*, for ῥωμανᾶτα) ὁλότραχα (Trinchera, 30)
1033	Oria	aurei solidi constantini stamini numerum mille (De Leo, 3)
1034	St. Pantaleimon	νομίσματα ... στάμενα ὁλότραχα καλὰ τῆς χαραγῆς (Akty, 10)
1034	Esphigménou	ἐν χρουσῷ διαχαράγματι εἴκοσι ἱστώμενα (*sic*, for ἱστάμενα) καινούρ[γ]ια (Esphigménou, 2)
1035	Canne	quingentos solidos constantini boni soterici (CDB, VIII. 26)
1036	Bari	duo solidi romanati maiores (CDB, I. 33)
1036	Bari	solidum unum romanatum et milliaren[s]i quinque de follibus (CDB, IV. 53)
1036	Bari	solidos centum romanati (CDC, VI. 62)
1038	Lucera	unum aureum solidus scifato vonum per caput (CDC, I. 23; wrongly dated 892 by editor)
1039	Lucera	tribus aurei solidi voni scifati ... biginti aurei solidi voni scifati (CDC, I. 25; wrongly dated 843 by editor)
1039	Monte Cassino	χρυσίου διαχαράγματα νομίσματα τρία ῥωμανᾶτα (Trinchera, 37)
1039	Bari	centum solidos michalati (CDC, VI. 117; perhaps 1038)

Date	Locality	Terms and References
1039	Bari	solidi duodecim romanati maiuri ... sex solidi aurei boni scefati maiuri (CDB, IV. 55)
1039	Lucera	quindecim solidi constantinianos ex auro boni ... centum solidos constantini ex auro boni (CDC, VI. 100, 101)
1040	Bari	octo solidi skiphati boni (CDB, IV. 61)
1040	Monte Cassino	χρυσίου διαχαράγματα νομίσματα τριάκοντα ἕξ (Trinchera, 39)
1044	Bari	decem solidi aurei boni scefati (CDB, IV. 63)
1044	Lucera	uno aureo solido constantiniano scifato per caput, et [...] miliarensis ex rame bona (CDC, VI. 251)
1045	Lucera	septem aurei solidi constantini scefati per caput (CDC, I. 161; wrongly dated 910 by editor)
1046	Lucera	[...] aurei solidi constantini boni scifati et uno tario bono (CDC, I. 163, wrongly dated 911 by editor)
1048	Bari	solidum unum sotericho (CDB, IV. 73)
1048	Laresio	solidi sexaginta aurei skifati (CDT, II. 124)
1049	Bari	solidi quinque aurei scefati boni (CDB, I. 40)
1051	Guglionesi	tres milia solidi constantini ex auro purissimo (CDT, II. 139)
1053	Trani	aurei solidi skifati boni pensantes ad ipsa decaennea numero quattuordecim (Beltrani, 22)
1054	Conversano	solidi sedecim maiori ... quinquaginta solidi maiori (Conv., 95, 96)
1054	Monte Cassino	χρυσίου διαχαράγματος νόμισμα ἓν. σκυφάτον καλὸν στάμενον καὶ ἀρεστόν (Trinchera, 51)
1056	Thessalonica	δέκα τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἱστάμενα σταυράτα (Oikonomidès, 41)
1058	Lesina	150 solidos bonos skiphati (CDT, II. 182)
1059	Trani	aureos solidos bonos pesantes ad ipsa decaennea numero 47, 18 ex illis skifatis et 16 ex illis fellatis (*leg.* stellatis) et ipsos re[li]quos tredecim romanati (Beltrani, 26)
1059 (?)	Monteverde	decem solidi aurei boni scifati (CDB, VIII. 37)
1064	Constantinople	dimisit in vestro episcopio solidos tres, et sol. 5 ad S. Erasmo in fore ... et ad Constantinum famulo suo sol. quater; suprascripti solidi triginta quinque tetarter[on?] (*Cod. dipl. Caj.*, II. 5)

Date	Locality	Terms and References
1065	Bari	ducenti sexaginta quattuor boni scefati solidi (CDB, IV. 84)
1065	Iviron	ἑξήκοντα νομίσματα ἀπὸ τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ φύλακος, τὰ μὲν τριάκοντα ἱστάμενα, τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τριάκοντα τεταρτηρά (Dölger, 6)
1066	Terlizzi	uno solido aureo scephato (CDB, III. 19)
1068	Terlizzi	duo solidos aureos boni scephatos (CDB, III. 22; amending from the editor's *aur[eos le]oni*)
1068	Siponto	duecento solidi aurei boni skifati (CDT, II. 239)
1069	Lesina	50 solidos skiphati (CDT, II. 241)
1069	Lesina	quinquaginta solidos skiphati (CDT, II. 244)
1072	Canne	viginti solidi scifati (CDB, VIII. 40)
1077	Rodosto	οἱ μοναχοί . . . ῥόγαν νομισμάτων ιβ', οἱ διακονηταὶ ἀνὰ νομίσματα η', οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀνὰ νομίσματα ξ', καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνὰ νομίσματα ς', τὰ μὲν ἡμίση τραχέα, τὰ δὲ ἡμίση τεταρτ[ηρ]ά (MM, V. 315)
*c.*1070–*c.*1090	Biograd (Croatia)	pro 40 romanatis, pro tribus romanatis, optimum equum et unum solidum romanatum, etc. (Rački, 97, 128, 165–9, 172–4)
1078	Bari	solidi quinque aurei boni skefati maiores pesantes (CDB, V. 58)
1078	Terlizzi	duodecim solidos aurei boni chifati (CDB, III. 31)
1079	Lavra	[ὑπέρπυρα φ'] (Lavra, 86, note to line 19)
1080	Salona	pro 40 romanatis (Rački, 128)
1081	Lavra	(νομίσματα) ὑπέρπυρα λίτρας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας (Lavra, 233, line 11)
1085	Petritzos	παλαιὸν λογάριον ῥωμανᾶτον, τραχὺ μονομαχᾶτον, δουκατόν τε καὶ σκηπτᾶτρον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ μιχαηλᾶτον (Petit, 13)

The novel character of many of these terms is not an illusion, for sufficient texts of the earlier tenth century are available for purposes of comparison, but the list gives a slightly exaggerated idea of the extent of their use, since it ignores the more conventional terms that continued to be employed. It has also in some respects to be treated with

reserve. Many texts are available only in indifferent nineteenth-century editions,[159] and the standard of South Italian Latin was so low that save where emendations are obvious—*olotrachi* for *dotrachi*, *stellati* for *fellati*, *boni* for *leoni*—one hesitates to tamper with the spellings or case endings. The editors sometimes did not have the originals to work from, but only later copies; changes may consequently have been introduced because the copyists did not understand the language of the originals or because they preferred to substitute contemporary terms for others which had become ambiguous or fallen into disuse. One must also remember that coin names, when they are of a fairly obvious character, can be invented independently and do not necessarily mean the same thing at different times and places. The *romanati* of Dalmatia in the 1070's were not necessarily identical with those of South Italy in the 1030's.

Some of the terms used require no discussion: *bonus* (often spelled *vonus*) and its Greek equivalent καλός, ἄριστος (1054 Monte Cassino) in the sense of "best quality," χαράγματον ("struck") and διαχαράγματον ("well struck"), the last a particular favorite with a Monte Cassino scribe of the second third of the century. "Old" coins (*veteres*, often spelled *beteres*) must have meant either coins struck before the weight of the nomisma began to vary or ones struck to the old standard. *Solidi maiores*, referred to in documents between 1039 and 1078, are large-module histamena as distinguished from small-module tetartera. *Solidi pe(n)santes* were simply solidi of full weight, and the odd phrase *ad ipsa deca(h)ennea*, used at Trani in 1033 of *romanati* and in 1053 of *skifati*, perhaps means coins each weighing nineteen local carats, the equivalent of twenty-four Greco-Roman ones.[160] *Dythitus* (962 Casamassima) or *deithatus* (990 Lucera) probably comes from διηθέω, "to filter, sift," either implying well-refined gold (so Filangieri) or specially selected solidi of high weight. Some terms—histamenon, tetarteron, *scyphatus*, trachy—have been examined in the preceding sections. Those that remain are best dealt with in their order of appearance. This sometimes provides a clue to their meaning, and the gradually changing currency pattern would be obscured if the terms were rearranged in alphabetical sequence for greater convenience of reference.

Solidus soterichus, νόμισμα σωτηρίκιον

This term appears as early as 971 (Bari) in a charter of which the original has survived. Spelled in various ways it continues down to 1048 in documents from Bari, Conversano, Trani, and Taranto. Though Greek in origin and appearing once in the form σωτηρίκια (1029 Taranto), it occurs mainly in a Latin context and does not seem to be recorded outside Italy. The derivation from σωτήρ is obvious, and the use of the word was presumably intended to underline the Christian character of the Byzantine solidus, which

[159] Trani documents are cited from Beltrani's *Documenti longobardi e greci*, but his readings have sometimes to be corrected with the help of those in A. Prologo, *Le carte . . . del Capitolo Metropolitano della Città di Trani* (Barletta, 1877), though neither is satisfactory and Prologo's are as a rule the less reliable.

[160] This is not certain. Though local carat values sometimes exceeded 0.20 g.—the later Venetian carat weighed 0.207 g.—19 carats for a full histamenon would imply a carat of over 0.23 g., which is not likely. If it were not for the reference to *skifati* of this standard, one would be tempted to identify the coins with tetartera. Cf. above, p. 28.

contrasted so strongly with the anepigraphic aspect of its only rival, the Muslim tari of Sicily. I doubt that it was intended to apply specifically to solidi having a bust of the Savior, instead of his seated figure.

Holotrachy, ὁλότραχον

This was a statement about condition, not the name of a coin. It occurs in both the Greek and the Latin sources, starting with Bari in 971, and it remained popular for a period of some sixty-five years, its last recorded use being in a text of 1034 from the monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mt. Athos. Its literal meaning is "entirely rough" (ὅλος + τραχύς),[161] i.e., "unworn," a newly struck coin being rough to the touch, and according to circumstances it is found as qualifying *soterichi*, *stamena*, and *romanati*. That it could also be applied to tetartera is shown by the inscriptions on an eleventh-century bronze weight of which several specimens are known.[162] This has on the obverse +ΠΑ | ΛΑΙΟΝΟ | ΛΟΤΡΑ | ΧΟΝ and on the reverse ΕΛΑ | ΦΡΟΝ, i.e., παλαιὸν ὁλότραχον — ἐλαφρόν, "old holotrachon—light." The meaning is that the coin weight was intended to test "light" nomismata, i.e., tetartera, and in this context it is of full weight (ὁλότραχον). Since the Paris specimen weighs 3.90 g. and Svoronos[163] records one of 3.92 g., we have presumably to do with a weight for the earlier variety of tetarteron, in contrast to the later one of 22 carats.[164]

Solidus thoricatus or *cum thorio*

This term appears in documents over the period 994–1021, mainly from Bari or Trani and usually qualifying coins also described as *soterichi* and *holotrachy*.[165] Filangieri di Candida derived it from θεωρία, θωριά, in the sense of "appearance," "representation,"[166]

[161] In publishing a coin weight with the inscription ΟΛΟΤΡΑΧΟΝ acquired by Berlin in 1882 (*ZfN*, 11 [1884], 58), J. Friedlaender included a note by Adolf Erman to the effect that a Coptic-Arabic glossary in Paris included among coin terms the word ὁλότροχον with the meaning *wazin*, "weight," presumably in the sense "of full weight." Schlumberger equated this word with ὁλοίτροχος, "boulder," but in documents and on coin weights the word is invariably spelled with an *alpha*, not an *omicron*, and ὁλότροχος is not given in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* or any other work of reference I have consulted.

[162] G. Schlumberger, "Monuments byzantins inédits," in his *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), 31–2; J. N. Svoronos, "Κομνηνῶν ὁλότραχα," in his Βυζαντιακὰ νομισματικὰ ζητήματα, *JIAN*, 2 (1899), 352–8. Svoronos discussed the word in relation to asper and trachy, assuming the weight to belong to the Comnenid period, but E. Legrand, "Une lettre à propos des ὁλότραχα et ἡλιοσεληνᾶτα," *JIAN*, 3 (1900), 236, succeeded in dating the use of the term to the early eleventh century by citing the Athonite texts of 1030 and 1034.

[163] *Art. cit.*, 349, note 1.

[164] Above, pp. 31–5. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 29, dates the coin weights to the early twelfth century, the παλαιόν referring to tetartera in general, but has subsequently corrected this to the early eleventh, when it would be necessary to distinguish between different varieties ("old" and "new") of light-weight nomismata.

[165] Above, p. 50 (994 Bari, 999 Trani, 1001 Bari, 1005 Bari, 1006 Trani, 1011 Canne, 1021 Bari).

[166] Cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. Θωριά.

the intention being to contrast coins having effigies of Christ and the emperor with the non-representational Arab taris which at that time formed a substantial part of the circulating medium of southern Italy. This seems preferable to the alternative derivation from θώραξ, suggested by Blake,[167] as implying coins having on them a bust of the Savior. Though such a design does contrast with a seated figure of Christ on the solidi of the first half of the tenth century, the date at which the word occurs makes any conscious attempt at distinguishing between the two series unlikely.

Hyperpyron, νόμισμα ὑπέρπυρον[168]

The Byzantine nomisma of the later Middle Ages, from the reform of the currency by Alexius I in 1092 onwards, was regularly termed a hyperpyron. Ducange's derivation of the word from ὑπέρ and πῦρ, meaning a quality of gold that has been "super-fired," i.e., properly refined, fits it into a general pattern of similar terms referring to fineness (*aurum coctum*, *holocottinos*, *deithatus*) and is entirely acceptable.[169] The word first appears in two Lavra charters of 1017 and 1018/19, but then not again in our Greek sources till 1081.[170] Only from 1093,[171] after the Alexian reform, does it begin to become common. Since the earlier documents are known only from copies it might be argued that the term did not occur in the originals, but represents a modernization by subsequent scribes.[172] I was formerly of the opinion that this was the case, and it is still the view of Mr. Hendy. But the Georgian form *perperay* appears in the Synodikon of Iviron in 1074,[173] and in view of the proliferation of novel coin terms in the first decades of the eleventh century I am now disposed to believe it to have been invented with a quite general meaning at an early date. Its specific use for the reformed nomisma of Alexius probably resulted

[167] *Art. cit.*, 27.

[168] Grierson, "From Solidus to Hyperperon: The Names of Byzantine Gold Coins," *N. Circ.*, 74 (1966), 123–4; Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 34–7. The word is usually spelled *hyperperon*, since it is most familiar to economic historians through such Latin or Italian forms as *yperperum*, *perperum*, *perpero*, etc., the second *upsilon* having been heard by westerners as an *e*, but in the context of Byzantine coinage it is best to retain the original form.

[169] Ducange, *op. cit.*, (above, p. 45, note 142), 123. It is doubted, however, by Dölger. Frolow, "Les noms de monnaies" (above, p. 44, note 142), 245–6, suggests a derivation from *perperum*, i.e., something deformed, referring to the concave form of the Comnenid nomisma, but although some such notion may have influenced the western spelling of the word it cannot represent its true etymology.

[170] An Athonite reference in 1079 (above, p. 53) is based on an abbreviation in the text, and may not be properly interpreted.

[171] Testament of St. Christodoulos of Patmos of March 1093 (Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, VI. 82: νομίσματα τεσσαράκοντα δύο ὑπέρ[πυρα].

[172] See T. Bertelè, "Lineamenti principali della numismatica bizantina," *RIN*, 66 (1964), 57–8, note 32, and p. 164, note on line 36, in Lemerle's edition. Earlier copies than those used for the Rouillard-Collomp edition have come to light for most of the documents in question, but no actual originals.

[173] Blake, *art. cit.*, 24, note 2, a reference to thirty *perperay* given by Mik'el Kananakhi the priest. The entry is in the hand of Mik'el Daghalisoneli, who wrote the bulk of the manuscript in 1074 (*ibid.*, 19). There is also a reference to one hundred perperati which may be in the same hand (*ibid.*, 24, note 3).

from the new coin being described as a νόμισμα ὑπέρπυρον, meaning a nomisma of fine quality, in the official documents which put it into circulation and laid down its relationship to existing coins.

Helioselenaton, τὸ [ἱ]στάμενον ἡλιοσεληνᾶτον

Helioselenaton was a term applied to the last issue of histamena of Basil II (976–1025) and those of his successor Constantine VIII (1025–8), though its use was probably brief. The histamena in question are distinguished from the tetartera of the same two rulers, and indeed from the nomismata of most other emperors, in having two small crescents or circles on either side of Christ's head on the obverse, in the upper quarters of the nimbus (Pl. XLV.6). These were apparently thought to represent the effigies of the sun and moon which from very early times had been shown on either side of the cross in representations of the Crucifixion. On some of the Monza and Bobbio ampullae they are represented as small heads crowned with rays or a crescent moon, but usually they are simplified to an asterisk and a crescent.[174] The fact that the latter form was not adopted for the coins, though there would have been no technical difficulties involved, shows that the designers did not intend the symbols to represent the sun and moon, but contemporaries, familiar with their presence on icons of the Crucifixion, might easily make the identification.

The term is known from two references in Athonite documents, one of 1030 and the other of 1034, and from a bronze weight published by Schlumberger. The first refers to a sale of some property for "twenty-two nomismata, holotrachy and helioselenate stamena" (νομίσματα εἴκοσι δύο, στάμενα ὁλότραχα καὶ ἡλιοσεληνᾶτα,[175] the second to another sale for "twenty histamena, fresh helioselenata in well struck gold" (ἐν χρυσῷ διαχαράγματι εἴκοσι ἱστώμενα (*sic*) καινούρ[γ]ια ἡλιοσεληνᾶτα.[176] The weight (4.40 g.) bears the two inscriptions +ΗΛΙ | ΟϹΕΛΗ | ΝΑΤΟΝ and ΤΟΔΕ | ΕΛΑΦΡΟ | ΤΕΡΟΝ | ΤΟΤΟ | ΑΡΓΕΙ, i.e., + Ἡλιοσεληνᾶτον τὸ δὲ ἐλαφρότερον τούτου ἀργεῖ, "This (is a) helioselenaton: a lighter than this is not valid."[177] The inscription shows that the coin was

[174] Cf. A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (*Monza-Bobbio*) (Paris, 1958), Pls. XI, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XXXIV, and XXXV for full representations, Pls. XXII, XXIV, XXVIII, XLVII, and XLIX for simplified ones. They are common in early medieval art, both eastern and western; cf. the great variety illustrated by J. Reil, *Christus am Kreuz in der Bilderkunst der Karolingerzeit* (Leipzig, 1930). A very clear example of simplified style can be seen on a large bronze religious medallion, probably of the Comnenid period, published by Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, 29.

[175] *Akti russkago na Svyatom Athon e monastirya sv. velikomychenika i tselitelya Panteleimon* (Kiev, 1873), 2. The text was first noted by E. Legrand, "Une lettre à propos des ὁλότραχα et ἡλιοσεληνᾶτα," *JIAN*, 3 (1900), 236.

[176] *Actes d'Esphigménou*, Actes d'Athos, IV, ed. L. Petit and W. Regel, Supplement to *VV*, 12 (1906), 2.

[177] G. Schlumberger, "Monuments byzantins inédits," in his *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, 31–3. He quotes a letter of Reinach suggesting that the inscription ΗΛΙΟϹΕΛΗΝΑΤΟΝ implied a dedication to the sun and moon. Svoronos rightly observed that this was nonsense, and though his own attempt to link the term with a coin of Manuel I having two stars in the field was not correct, it was at least a move in the right direction (J. N. Svoronos, "Βυζαντιακὰ νομισματικὰ ζητήματα: 2. Κομνηνῶν ἡλιοσεληνᾶτα," *JIAN*, 2 (1899), 348–52.

distinguished from other coins, i.e., from tetartera, by its weight. The documentary references show that the coin belonged to the class of histamena, and their date allows its identification with the coins of Basil II and of Constantine VIII having crescents in the nimbus of Christ.

Solidus romanatus, νόμισμα ῥωμανᾶτον

The term *romanatus*, which occurs in both Latin and Greek, first appears in a Trani document of 1033, where it can only mean a histamenon of Romanus III (1028–34). It is common over three decades (1033 Monte Cassino, 1036 Bari, 1039 Monte Cassino and Bari, 1040 Monte Cassino, 1059 Trani), always with the same meaning, sometimes having added to it *maior* and the statement that it weighed "nineteen," or being specifically distinguished from a *scyphatus*.[178]

Romanati remained important currency units in South Italy in the late eleventh century and through much of the twelfth, being valued in 1126 at 30 *papienses* (denari of Pavia) and in 1163 at 15 *ducales* (Norman coins of poor silver) or 60 *provisini* (deniers of Provins disseminated by the fairs of Champagne and widely used in Italy).[179] By the mid-twelfth century they were merely units of account, and the same is probably true of many late eleventh-century references, e.g., in penal clauses in charters of Siponto and Troia of 1087 and 1092 and in a promise of an annual payment of seven *romanati* at Troia in 1092.[180] But sometimes real coins of Romanus III must be envisaged. This is true of their mention in the Typicon of Pacourianos, where they formed part of an actual sum of money and are carefully distinguished from the later concave coins which were also included in it, and is probably the case for the many payments in *romanati* which are listed during the 1070's and 1080's in the records of the abbey of St. John's at Biograd in Dalmatia.[181] Coin finds in Croatia show them to have circulated there in unusual numbers,[182] and though the explanation is unknown—their supposed connection with a shipwreck of 1040 may be dismissed as a fantasy[183]—one can fairly presume some exceptional payment made during Romanus III's reign to a local prince. In a relatively restricted monetary economy the currency pattern is easily influenced by occasional imports of such a character. Almost the only examples of the actual use of mancuses in

[178] See esp. Filangieri di Candida (above, p. 45, note 142), 28–9.

[179] Documents cited by Filangieri di Candida, *loc. cit.*

[180] *R. Neap. Arch. Monum.*, v. 155.

[181] Rački, *Documenta* (above, p. 49), 97, 165–9, 172–4. A document of 1080 (p. 128) refers to a fairly recent ransoming of a prisoner *pro 40 romanatis*, and an inventory of church property from Split of the last decades of the eleventh century values a psalter and an antiphonary at ten and six *romanati* respectively.

[182] D. M. Metcalf, "A Shipwreck on the Dalmatian Coast and Some Gold Coins of Romanus III Argyrus," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 3 (1960), 101–6, and his *Coinage in the Balkans 820–1355* (Thessalonica, 1965), 48–9, 185.

[183] The shipwreck is described by Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 517. Since it took place in 1040, the ten *centenaria* of gold (72,000 nomismata) being dispatched to Michael IV would have consisted mainly of his own coins, as he had been on the throne for six years, not those of Romanus III, and nomismata of Michael IV are not particularly common in Croatia. There are other difficulties in the story, notably that of a ship sailing from Constantinople to Thessalonica being wrecked on the Illyrian coast.

southern France occur in the 1070's and 1080's, just after the county of Carcassonne and other fiefs had been bought by the count of Barcelona and paid for with Muslim or pseudo-Muslim gold.[184] The nomismata of Romanus III were in any case the last to be struck before debasement began under Michael IV, so that specimens would both tend to be hoarded for use in special circumstances and, even when not directly available for actual payments, continue to serve as a money of account.[185]

Νόμισμα ἱστάμενον σταυρᾶτον

Coins of this period called *stavrata* are mentioned in a document drawn up at Thessalonica in 1056.[186] They can only be Class III of the histamena of Constantine IX, on which the emperor is shown holding a cross scepter (Pl. LVIII.3), in contrast to those *sceptrata* on which he holds a scepter of more elaborate pattern. There is another reference to them a century later in the Typicon of the monastery of St. John *to Monakheio*, which records how in October 1143 Eudocia Comnena, daughter of the Sebastocrator Isaac, gave four pounds of gold stavrata, of Monomachus (νομίσματα χρυσᾶ σταυρᾶτα τοῦ Μονομάχου λίτρας τέσσαρας) for the purchase of some property.[187]

Solidus stellatus

This seems to be recorded only in a Trani charter of 1059, where a total of 47 solidi of full weight is described as consisting of 18 *skefati*, 16 *stellati*, and 13 *romanati*. The *stellati* must have been the histamena of Class IV of Constantine IX (1042–55), which have two conspicuous stars on either side of the imperial bust on their reverses.

Νόμισμα μονομαχᾶτον

This term occurs only in the Typicon of Pacourianos (1085), where the coins are described as *trachy*. It is impossible to say which of the various issues of Constantine IX Monomachus were known by this name.

Νόμισμα δουκᾶτον

In the Greek documents this occurs in the Typicon of Pacourianos (1085), and since *michelati* are separately mentioned it must here mean coins of Constantine X. This is perhaps also the case with the earliest references to *drakhani dukati* in the Georgian documents from Mt. Athos, since coins of Michael VII Ducas are distinguished from them

[184] To a total of 4,240 oz. of gold and 15,050 mancuses. See M. Castaing Sicard, *Monnaies féodales et circulation monétaire en Languedoc* (*X^e au XIII siècle*) (Toulouse, 1961), 67–8.

[185] Blake, *art. cit.*, 26, notes that the single occurrence of the term *hromanati* in the Iviron *Synodikon* is in an entry later than 1074, and so presumably refers to coins of Romanus IV.

[186] N. Oikonomidès, ed., *Actes de Dionysiou* (Paris, 1968), 41, with discussion on pp. 39–40. The coins have nothing to do with *stavrata* of early fifteenth-century documents.

[187] A. I. Papadopoulo-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae. Sbornik vizantiiskikh tekstov XII–XIII vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1913), 62–3. I owe this reference to Miss V. von Falkenhausen.

in the same documents as *dukamikhaelati*.[188] Later occurrences of the word in Georgian documents are of uncertain meaning, and Blake may be correct in his view that *dukati* remained in general use for nomismata of reasonably good quality. It has nothing to do with the later *ducatus* or *ducalis* of Norman Italy or with the ducat of Venice. The Norman ducat was a base silver coin which was first minted in 1140 and took its name from the *ducatus Apuliae*, where it was intended to circulate. In Venice the term *ducatus*, so-called from the duchy (*ducatus*) of Venice, was first applied to the silver grosso introduced by the Doge Enrico Dandolo in 1202. It was subsequently transferred to, and eventually monopolized by, the gold ducat (*ducatus auri*), which was authorized in 1284 and first struck early in 1285.

Νόμισμα σκηπτράτον

This term, also found only in the Typicon of Pacourianos, implied a coin on which the emperor is shown holding some unusual and conspicuous type of scepter. Both Svoronos and Mme Morrisson,[189] who have discussed the passage, assume that the types of coin it mentions—*romanati, monomakhati, dukati, skeptrati*, and *mikhaelati*—are in order of date, and make the *skeptrati* identical with the *dukati*, since Michael VII is shown on his histamena holding a labarum and a labarum is sometimes described as a σκῆπτρον in the texts.[190] But it seems unlikely that one type of coin would be called by two distinct names in the same text, and I doubt if the author of the latter would really have tried to name the coins in order of issue even if this coincided with their descending order of value. The labarum is also too frequently used on eleventh-century coins for it to be useful in characterizing one particular issue in a period of rapid depreciation. A more likely identification is with Class I of the histamena of Constantine IX, on which the emperor is shown holding a highly ornate type of scepter (Pl. LVIII.1) calculated to catch the user's attention and not otherwise occurring in eleventh-century coinage.

Solidus michelatus, νόμισμα μιχαηλᾶτον

The *michelatus*—both Latin and Greek forms occur—is chiefly characteristic of late eleventh- and twelfth-century records, though a Bari charter in the *Codex diplomaticus cavensis* provides a reference as early as October 1038 or 1039.[191] Such a coin could only be one of Michael IV (1034–41). The later use of the term is generally taken to refer to coins of Michael VII Ducas. The fact that Michael IV's coins were still relatively undebased, while those of Michael VII are only 13/16 carats fine, might suggest that *michelatus*

[188] Blake, *art. cit.*, 25–6.

[189] N. G. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin . . . ," *Bulletin de correspondance hellenique*, 83 (1959), 99; C. Morrisson, "Le michaèlaton et les noms de monnaies à la fin du XIe siècle," *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines*, 3 (1968), 370.

[190] Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v.

[191] The date references (7th indiction, 6th year of Michael, 3rd year of Archbishop Nicolas of Bari) do not agree, 1038 being implied by the first and third, 1039 by the second. The editor would prefer 1039, amending the indiction to "8th," but 1038 seems to me more likely. The document cannot in any case belong to the reign of Michael VII.

was the higher quality coin,[192] but Mme Morrisson's recent study of the values assigned to it in twelfth-century documents shows that it was the baser one.[193] This is confirmed by the fact that the Georgian documents specifically refer to *dukadmikhaylati*.[194] The circulation of these coins well into the twelfth century, and still more their use for regular payments by Alexius I, is surprising, but it seems clear that the coins were still available in quantity, presumably in sealed purses, and that the term is not simply that of a money of account.

A detail not discussed by Mme Morrisson is the curious adjective, *melatus* or *milatus*, by which michelati are commonly characterized in documents of the Norman period.[195] Melo was such a common personal name in Byzantine Italy that one's first impulse is to suppose that *melatus* perpetuates that of some official responsible for the initial import or distribution of the coin, but I am inclined to regard it rather as an allusion to the conspicuous globus cruciger held by the emperor. This piece of regalia was commonly called an "apple" (*pomum*) over much of western Europe (cf. the German *Reichsapfel*), and the equivalent, among the Greek-speaking population of southern Italy, would be μῆλον. Filangieri di Candida also connected the adjective with μῆλον, though in the sense of "apple-shaped" as applying to concave coins, but this seems to me less likely.[196]

In addition to these terms, there are a few referring to the coinage of the period immediately preceding 1081 which occur in the Georgian sources used by Blake and which no doubt had Greek prototypes. They are as follows:

Drakhani votaniati (or *botaniati*), *stavrovotonati*[197]

These are of relatively rare occurrence—references to one pound of *drakhani votaniati*, to 100 *drakhani botanioti*, 100 *drakhani stavrovotonati*—and can only mean the debased nomismata of Nicephorus III Botaniates.[198] Since *votaniati* and *stavrovotonati* do not occur in the same context we cannot say whether there was any intention of distinguishing between them or of limiting *botaniati* to nomismata with the standing figure of the emperor and *stavrovotonati* to those with a bust holding a cross scepter (Pl. LXIX.1). The existence of the second term, however, is a conclusive reason for not assigning the coins with cross scepter to one or the other of Nicephorus III's rivals, Nicephorus Bryennius or Nicephorus Basilacius.

[192] Cf. my article on the debasement of the bezant (cited above, p. 39, note 122), 391, note 5.

[193] *Art. cit.*, 369–74.

[194] Blake, *art. cit.*, 26.

[195] E.g., a sale of some house property at Bari in 1087 for *decem et octo solidi michalatos milatos bonos pesantes et sonantes* (*Codice diplomatico barese*, V. 17).

[196] Scaliger is quoted by Filangieri di Candida as proposing a derivation from μῆλον, "sheep," like the later French *mouton d'or*, but no Byzantine coin has any comparable design. An English scholar inevitably thinks of "appled gold," a common epithet in Anglo-Saxon poetry, since in antiquity an "apple" was a yellow quince. But Michael VII's coins are too base to invite comparison with the Golden Apples of the Hesperides.

[197] *Drakhani*, connected etymologically with the word δραχμή but transferred from a silver to a gold coin, is the regular Georgian equivalent of nomisma (Blake, *art. cit.*, 23–4).

[198] *Ibid.*, 26, 29.

Drakhani ek'ust'avi

The term "six-header," presumably translating an unrecorded Greek ἑξακέφαλον, which is used only once (500 *drakhani stamenoni ek'ust'avi*),[199] must refer to the histamena of Romanus IV. These are the only coins in the Byzantine series to have six persons shown on them, the standing figures of Michael VII and his brothers Andronicus and Constantius on the obverse, those of Christ, Romanus IV, and Eudocia on the reverse (Pl. LXV.1, 2).

Drakhani triake'pali

This must also be based on a Greek term, τρικέφαλον, and occurs only twice in the text Blake was using.[200] He identifies it, no doubt correctly, with the histamena of Eudocia (1067), which have on the obverse the standing figures of Eudocia and her sons Michael and Constantius (Pl. LXV.1). The term reappears in Greek in the twelfth century, but then refers to various coins having two figures on one side and a single figure on the other.[201]

G. THE SILVER COINAGE

The silver coinage of the Isaurian, Amorian, and Macedonian periods is strikingly different from that of the seventh century. Leo III introduced a new type of miliaresion, a broad, thin coin of the same module and general appearance as the Umayyad dirhem. Although the general elements of the design—an imperial inscription in several lines across the field on the obverse, a cross on steps, and the inscription IhSYS XRISTYS NICA on the reverse[202]—are copied from those of contemporary Byzantine lead seals, the thin flan, epigraphic character, and triple dotted border of the coins are evidence of their Muslim inspiration. Sometimes, indeed, they were actually overstruck on dirhems, though since the miliaresia were on a lighter weight standard the dirhems had to be cut down for the purpose.[203] The aniconic character of the Byzantine coin, once established, lasted a long time, the design remaining unchanged in almost every detail down to the beginning of the tenth century.

[199] *Ibid.*, 29.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] See Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 31–4.

[202] Wroth treats the side with the imperial inscription as the reverse, that with the cross as the obverse. I prefer the arrangement proposed in the text, since (a) the inscription takes the place of the imperial effigies, and (b) on solidi of Artavasdus alone and Nicephorus I alone a cross on steps and the IhSYS XRISTYS NICA inscription are used on the reverse. On later miliaresia, when the cross is replaced by a figure of the Virgin or one of Christ, the obverse and reverse change places, as they did on solidi when the same thing occurred.

[203] Below, p. 303, No. 5.5, and p. 331, No. 3.5. See G. C. Miles, "Byzantine Miliaresion and Arab Dirhem: Some Notes on Their Relationship," *MN*, 9 (1960), 189–218.

The miliaresion was created by Leo III in 720, when Constantine V was appointed co-emperor, but his coins have only recently been identified.[204] The combination Leo/Constantine occurred three times in the eighth and ninth centuries, but a change in the inscription introduced by Michael I (811–13) distinguishes the coins of Leo V (813–20) from those of Leo III and Leo IV, since they end with *basilis Romaion* instead of with a simple *basilis*. The types of Leo III/Constantine V and Leo IV/Constantine VI, on the other hand, are identical, and one has to rely upon small changes in the shape and placing of the cross. A comparison with the coins of Artavasdus and Constantine V shows that those of Leo III are likely to have a tall and narrow cross (Type A), the horizontal arms of which end in long vertical bars and the steps of which are narrow and quite separate

Type A

Type B

from each other. On miliaresia of Leo IV, on the other hand, which can be compared with those of Irene, the cross is likely to be broad (Type B), with short bars at the end of the arms, and to have steps which are broader and show a tendency to coalesce at the ends and slope upward and inward, giving them a pyramidal effect. These criteria are not always easy to apply in practice, but one is occasionally aided by other details. A pellet at the end of the obverse inscription is common on coins of Leo III and rare on those of Leo IV, and the odd mistake of hISYS (for IhSYS) seems to occur only on Leo III's coins, though since it has a parallel in the inversion of letters in HRHNI (for IRINH) on some solidi of Constantine VI and Irene one would expect it rather on those of Leo IV.

The thin miliaresion, during the first century of its existence, was issued only in the names of associated emperors, never of single ones. There are no coins of Leo III alone, of Artavasdus alone, of Constantine V alone, of Leo IV alone, of Irene after the deposition of Constantine VI, of Nicephorus I alone, of Michael I alone, of Leo V alone, or of Michael II alone. One must assume that in each reign the coins were primarily envisaged as ceremonial in character and were first struck to be thrown to the people on the occasion of a coronation, though in practice, since most of them are common, they evidently continued to be struck and must have fulfilled a real economic role. It was Theophilus who formally changed their character, issuing miliaresia in his name without any colleague, and thenceforward this was a regular practice. An unexplained gap in the earlier period is the

[204] A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "The Miliaresion of Leo III," *N. Circ.*, 71 (1963), 162–4, and my supplementary note to this (p. 247). Leo III also issued a half miliaresion (below, p. 253, No. 23), but as far as we know his example in the striking of fractional silver was not to be followed up for three centuries.

absence of any miliaresion of Nicephorus and Stauracius, this being perhaps a consequence of the well-known penuriousness of the emperor.

The ceremonial function of the early coins explains a peculiarity of the inscription, for they begin in the vocative case: LEON S CONSTANTINE EC ΘEY bASILIS, i.e., Λέων καὶ Κωνσταντῖνε ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλεῖς, instead of LEON S CONSTANTINOS. The reason is that they represent a form of acclamation and are to be understood with an implied σὺ νικᾷς, "thou conquerest," as on the folles of Theophilus and in the acclamations used at imperial coronations.[205] A similar formula was used for Constantine V and Leo IV, Leo IV and Constantine VI, Michael I and Theophylact, Leo V and Constantine, and Michael II and Theophilus, but for Artavasdus and Nicephorus, Constantine VI and Irene, Theophilus, and later emperors the inscription is in the nominative case and the acclamatory element is abandoned. From Leo III to Constantine VI the inscription ends with bASILIS, i.e., βασιλεῖς, "the emperors," but from Michael I and Theophylact onward this is changed to bASILIS ROMAION, i.e., βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων, "emperors of the Romans," since it was now thought desirable to differentiate between the title of the emperor at Constantinople and that of βασιλεύς alone, which Michael had been compelled to accord to Charlemagne.[206] Theophilus amplified the titles further, calling himself πιστός and δοῦλος χριστοῦ, while Michael III calls himself μέγας βασιλεύς and Leo VI added the adjective εὐσεβής. Some of these formulae continued in more or less regular use throughout the tenth century.

It was in the same century that the design of the coins began to change. Under Michael III a pellet, becoming in later reigns a large globule, appeared below the cross on steps, and under Leo VI eight large globules were added on the obverse border, a feature borrowed from the Abbasid dirhem. These globules, varying in number and often appearing on both sides of the coin, remained customary down to the first issue of Basil II's reign and were briefly revived by Romanus III. Alexander introduced the bust of Christ in a medallion at the intersection of the arms of the cross.[207] Romanus I, Nicephorus II, and John I replaced this with their own busts, while Basil II preferred a type with the busts of himself and his brother Constantine VIII in the field. The cross at the same time became more complicated, acquiring various forms of decoration either on the shaft and arms or on the base.

These changes were all of a minor description. The first major break with tradition occurred on the coin customarily assigned to John Zimisces but better attributed to Basil II,[208] having on the obverse a representation of the Virgin Nikopoios and a long inscription, reading from the obverse to the reverse of the coin, celebrating her aid to the imperial colleagues, i.e., to Basil II and his brother. This, however, represented no more than an exceptional coinage of a ceremonial character interpolated into the regular issues of traditional design. After 1025 the old homogeneity of the coinage began to disappear, and with it the customary uniformity of type. What appear to be three denominations emerged: the full miliaresion, the two-thirds miliaresion, and the one-

[205] E.g., *De ceremoniis*, i. 92 (Bonn ed., I. 418–19).
[206] Below, p. 364.
[207] See below, p. 523.
[208] Below, p. 611, and p. 631, No. 19.

third miliaresion, but after the reign of Constantine IX (1042–55) the weights of the coins began to decline, and their identification cannot be considered certain. The type of the full miliaresion, which was struck by only a few emperors, was either the traditional imperial inscription and cross on steps or else the standing figures of the Virgin and the emperor. The type of the two-thirds miliaresion was generally a bust of the Virgin Blachernitissa, but sometimes another representation of the Virgin or a bust or seated figure of Christ. The types of the one-third miliaresion were generally a bust of Christ or the Virgin and an inscription. The details are set out in Table 5, but some of the coins are extremely rare and further types will almost certainly come to light in due course.

The changes in the weight of the coin and the fluctuations in its value are not easy to determine. In the Isaurian period the coins average about 2.0 g. and rise as high as *c.* 2.25 g., but they are often badly clipped and it is impossible to subject them usefully to any statistical treatment.[209] Possibly they were struck 144 to the pound with a theoretical weight of 2.27 g. Two of the issues of Theophilus, one of a ceremonial character but the other apparently struck for general circulation, saw an increase in weight to *c.* 3.4 g., but his later coins are back at the traditional figure of 2.25 g. Under Basil I there was a second increase to *c.* 3.0 g., at which it remained under his successors, but it is once again difficult to determine the precise figure. An average of 95 coins in good condition from Basil I to Basil II works out at 2.72 g., but since nearly half the coins weigh 2.8 g. or over it is clear that the theoretical weight was a good deal higher, perhaps 3.03 g. (i.e., 108 to the pound).[210] That this weight standard was maintained as late as the reign of Constantine IX is shown by the contents of the Oxarve Hoard, which contained nearly a hundred miliaresia of this emperor; a frequency table of undamaged coins gives a theoretical weight of 2.90 g., which allowance for wear would bring up to *c.* 3.0 g.[211] Thereafter it fell off sharply, but the poor condition of surviving specimens, which because of their religious types have often been pierced for use as ornaments or amulets, makes it impossible to trace the stages of the decline. The heaviest miliaresia of Constantine X and Michael VII barely reach 2.5 g. and are usually about 2.1 g.; those of Nicephorus III never attain 2.0 g. The two-thirds miliaresion, which stood at *c.* 2.0 g. under Constantine IX, is under Constantine X down to *c.* 1.7 g. and under Romanus IV and Michael VII down to *c.* 1.4 g. The one-third miliaresion fell proportionately from *c.* 0.9 g. to *c.* 0.6 g. The exact figures would not in any case be an adequate guide to either the value of the coins or the interrelationships of their denominations, since, like the contemporary nomismata, they were beginning to be badly debased. This is very evident from their appearance and their frequently broken condition, as well as from the fact

[209] Some figures are given in a table by Miles, *art. cit.*, 211.

[210] The figures quoted were compiled from museum material. The miliaresia of Basil II in the Vella Hoard usually weigh between *c.* 2.5 g. and *c.* 3.0 g. See I. V. Sokolova, "Vizantiiskie moneti kladi Vella," *Trudi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, 4 (Leningrad, 1961), 10–22.

[211] A summary account of the hoard, now in the National Museum at Stockholm, is given by T. J. Arne, "Einige Aufzeichnungen über in Schweden gefundene byzantinische Silbermünzen," in *Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie Alfred Götze zu seinem 60. Geburtstage dargebracht*, ed. H. Mötefindt (Leipzig, 1925), 220–4. I weighed the coins in 1960 on a visit to Stockholm. The largest groups were of 2.81/2.85 g. (16 spec.), 2.86/2.90 g. (18 spec.), and 2.91/2.95 g. (8 spec.).

TABLE 5

TYPES OF SILVER COINS, 1028–1081

The obverse type is given first, then the reverse.

Emperor	Miliaresion	Two-thirds Miliaresion	One-third Miliaresion
Romanus III (1028–34)	Virgin Hodegetria standing/ Emp. standing		
Michael IV (1034–41)			
Zoe (1041–2)	Bust of Virgin/ Bust of Empress (pattern)		
Constantine IX (1042–55)	Virgin standing orans/ Emp. standing	Bust of Virgin Blachern./Inscr.	
Theodora (1055–6)		Bust of Virgin Blachern./Inscr.	
Michael VI (1056–7)		Bust of Virgin Blachern./Inscr.	
Isaac I (1057–9)		Bust of Christ/ Inscr.	
Constantine X (1059–67)	Inscr./Cross and two busts	Virgin standing orans/Inscr.	Bust of Virgin orans/Inscr.
Eudocia (1067–8)			
Romanus IV (1068–71)		(1) Bust of Virgin Nikop./Inscr. (2) Bust of Christ/ Inscr.	Bust of Virgin orans/ Bust of Emp.
Michael VII (1071–8)	(1) Inscr./Cross and two busts (2) Virgin standing orans/ Emp. standing	(1) Bust of Virgin Nikop./Inscr. (2) Inscr./Cross and two busts (3) Christ seated/ Inscr.	(1) Bust of Virgin orans/Inscr. (2) Bust of Christ/ Inscr.
Nicephorus III (1078–81)	(1) Inscr./Cross and two busts (2) Virgin standing orans/ Emp. standing	Bust of Virgin orans/ Emp. standing	
Nicephorus Melissenus (Pretender, 1080–81)		Bust of Virgin/ Inscr.	

that the miliaresia of Constantine IX, Michael VII, and Nicephorus III are frequently concave, which there are other grounds for interpreting as a mark of debasement. Few precise figures, however, are available. Chemical analyses of three eleventh-century miliaresia of Constantine VII, Nicephorus II, and Basil II gave 942/1000, 956/1000, and 960/1000 silver respectively, figures which compare favorably with the later argent-le-roi (958/1000) and sterling (925/1000) standards, which were amongst the most highly esteemed in late medieval western Europe. A miliaresion of Constantine X, however, was only 899/1000 pure, and one of Michael VII was 698/1000.[212] How far these are typical one cannot say; the pattern of the decline of the miliaresion has yet to be seriously studied.

The value of the miliaresion in relation to the solidus underwent several changes in the course of its history. In Isaurian times the coin was probably a double carat, and so worth one-twelfth of the gold piece; this at least seems a reasonable deduction from Theophanes' reference to the tax of a *dikeraton* in the nomisma which was introduced by Leo III in order to pay for the repair of the walls of Constantinople after an earthquake.[213] At such a figure the coin was evidently circulating on a token basis, but this could in any case be deduced from the great variations in weight of surviving specimens; it was an obvious precaution against its suffering the same fate as the hexagram in the late seventh century.[214] So high a figure must have been difficult to maintain, for it was far above the bullion value of the coin, and it is possible that the temporary increase in weight under Theophilus and the more permanent increase introduced by Basil II represent attempts to correct a tendency to decline. In the mid-tenth century the value fell below a twelfth of the solidus; a figure of 14 miliaresia is given in a South Italian charter of 959,[215] and approximately the same is implied by a gloss on the Basilics, which says that the miliaresion was formerly worth 1¾ keratia, though "according to present reckoning" it is now 12.[216] This was the figure at which it was reckoned as a money of account in the Comnenid period, when the actual coin was no longer struck, but we do not know when the change from 14 to 12 came about or how the light and debased coins of the mid-eleventh century were reckoned in relation to the nomisma. The debasement of the coin may indeed have been intended to ensure that the ratio remained the same, and have succeeded in doing so.

Byzantine miliaresia of the tenth century are today very common, apart from ceremonial issues of which only small numbers were struck, but those of the eleventh century are rare. Byzantium was presumably suffering from the general silver shortage that at that time prevailed over the whole of the western world. In the Muslim states it led to a general

[212] These figures are given by T. Bertelè, "Lineamenti principali della numismatica bizantina," *RIN*, 66 (1964), 77. A plated forgery of Basil II had a fineness of 664/1000.

[213] Theophanes, A.M. 6232 (ed. de Boor, I. 412).

[214] See *DOC*, II. 18.

[215] *Codice diplomatico barese*, I, p. 6, No. 3: an annual payment fixed at *quattuordecim miliarenis aut solido de auro bono*. Bertelè (*art. cit.*, 88), regards this as a local aberration, but the accounts of the Cretan expedition of 949 also show that in the mid-tenth century more than 12 miliaresia were reckoned to the nomisma (e.g., *De ceremoniis*, ii. 45 [Bonn ed., I. 675, line 8] where the price of some sails is given as 28 nomismata 12 miliaresia).

[216] *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquae*, ed. F. Hultsch (Leipzig, 1864), I. 308–9. The text actually says that 109 miliaresia are worth 9 nomismata 1 miliaresion.

abandonment of the striking of silver, in Latin Christendom to the widespread debasement of the penny. The Byzantine government seems in turn to have reduced output, weight, and fineness, but even after this was done the intrinsic worth of the miliaresion could not be accommodated to the drastic debasement of the nomisma in the 1070's. When Alexius I came to reform the coinage in the 1090's he decided, like Anastasius I six centuries earlier, to dispense with a silver coinage—as distinct from a billon coinage—altogether, so that after 1092 the miliaresion remained in existence only as a memory and as a unit in the system of account.

H. THE COPPER COINAGE

The copper coinage of the East, from Leo III to Alexius I, lacks the relative uniformity found in the gold and silver. One can divide it roughly into three periods, from 717 to 831, 831 to 969, and 970 to 1092.

The first period is essentially a prolongation of the coinage of the sixth and seventh centuries, the reverse type being a mark of value, accompanied in some cases by the bust of a former ruler or rulers. Up to the end of Constantine V's reign the old pattern of several denominations, distinguished from each other by different marks of value, persisted, but Leo IV's half folles are distinguished from his folles only in size, and under Constantine VI the separate striking of half folles was abandoned. Although M remained the reverse type of the folles, it had now lost its meaning of "forty"—since there were no coins below the follis, people had ceased to think in terms of nummi—and it remained on the coins only through custom.

The folles of the second period are characterized by their having as reverse type an inscription in several lines across the field, replacing the now pointless M. The obverse retained the traditional representation of an emperor, with or without a colleague. This new pattern was maintained for nearly a century and a half, from the coinage reform of Theophilus to the end of the reign of Nicephorus II. The only coins which depart from the pattern are the rare folles of Michael III having the bust of Basil I as their reverse type, and these were struck with a special propaganda purpose in mind.

The third period is essentially that of the Anonymous Folles, although from *c.*1060 onwards these were accompanied by issues bearing the names or initials of emperors. The series started as a continuation of the follis type of the second period, but with a representation of Christ replacing that of the emperor. Class A, having simply a bust of Christ and a four-line inscription, spanned a period of over fifty years. With Class B the reverse inscription was broken up by a cross on three steps, and on Class C the cross became more prominent and the inscription was reduced to four syllables (IC XC NI KA) in its angles. With Class G the now disintegrating reverse pattern was replaced by a bust of the Virgin, this in turn paving the way for representations of Christ and the emperor in the revived "imperial" coinage of Constantine X. These ushered in a phase of varying types, both "anonymous" and "imperial," in which the cross played a prominent role, and ended with the complete abandonment of the follis, in its traditional form, as a result of the coinage reform of Alexius I.

TABLE 6

WEIGHTS OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN FOLLES, 820–*c*.976

The weights (in grams) are based on the material in the catalogue, the figures in parentheses being the number of specimens. Worn and damaged specimens have been omitted. The weights of earlier coins are so variable, especially in the Isaurian period, that no useful tabulation is possible.

Emperor and Class	Average Weight	Top Weight	Emperor and Class	Average Weight	Top Weight
Michael II (820–29)			Leo VI (886–912)		
Class 1	5.31 (4)	5.86	Class 1	6.98 (8)	8.98
Class 2	5.58 (4)	7.71	Class 2	6.99 (23)	9.03
Class 3	7.63 (22)	8.35	Class 3	6.92 (60)	10.02
Theophilus (829–42)			Constantine VII (913–59)		
Class 1	6.73 (11)	8.29	Class 1	5.97 (21)	7.87
Class 2	7.58 (1)		Class 2	4.89 (5)	5.67
Class 3	7.22 (28)	9.04	Class 4	6.20 (50)	8.73
Michael III (842–67)	6.97 (6)	7.78	Class 5	6.47 (28)	9.33
			Class 6	6.09 (8)	7.73
Basil I (867–86)			Nicephorus II (963–9)		
Class 1	6.02 (4)	7.09	Class 1	7.66 (14)	12.69
Class 2	6.95 (15)	8.24	Class 2	6.69 (9)	10.41
Class 3	6.44 (17)	9.27			
Class 4	7.47 (17)	9.23	Anonymous Class A1 (970–*c*.976)	6.03 (12)	6.73
Class 5	7.50 (8)	9.75			

Within this typological framework there were great changes in the weight standard of the follis, and presumably in its valuation in terms of the solidus. We are largely ignorant of the latter over most of the period, and even with regard to the weight standard, despite the fact that the coins exist and can be weighed, we are often little better off. The folles were struck, as later Italian moneyers would have phrased it, *al marco* and not *al pezzo*, i.e., a fixed number were struck to the pound of metal but no attempt was made to prescribe the weights of individual coins or even to fix limits of tolerance. The weight spread of the resulting folles is consequently so large as to make their analysis by a frequency table impossible, while mean weights are easily distorted, when one has only a few coins to deal with, by the chance survival of exceptionally heavy or exceptionally light specimens. Nor, with coins of varying provenance, some heavily cleaned and others

perhaps not cleaned at all, can one make a satisfactory general allowance for wear. In some reigns the problem is complicated by overstriking, so that the weight of a coin is not that of the issue to which it belongs but that of a worn specimen of a preceding one, while in others, owing to the occasional carelessness of the moneyers, we find examples of folles struck on half follis flans or vice versa. For certain periods it is therefore impossible to arrive at even an approximate figure for the weight of the follis.

This is particularly true of the reign of Leo III. The folles of his immediate predecessors, in the first and second decades of the eighth century, seem to have had a theoretical weight of about 4 g. This was not much less than what they had been at the end of the reign of Heraclius, but was less than a fifth of the highest weight the follis had ever attained, when for a few years in the middle of the sixth century it had stood at about 22 g. Leo III seems to have begun his reign with an attempt at reform, since the rare coins of his first issue (717–20) weigh between 7 and 8 g., and the decanummia are normally overstruck on half folles of the preceding period. The earliest coins of his Class 2, struck immediately after the coronation of Constantine V in 720, are heavier still, weighing up to 10 g., but his later issues fall back to a figure of between 4 and 5 g. Weight discrepancies within the same class are unusually large—specimens of Class 4a at Dumbarton Oaks, which belong to the early 730's, range from a high 6.20 g. to a low 0.86 g.—and although this is partly due to coins being struck on incorrect flans it is clear that the weight standard was sometimes changed in the course of a single issue. Only the study of more material than is at present available will make the pattern clear.

Constantine V seems to have started his reign with folles of 4 to 5 g., but the half folles of his Class 2—no folles are known—are down to between 1 and 2 g., and the folles of his Classes 3 and 4 are usually between 2 and 3 g., one of the lowest figures in the whole Byzantine series. Leo IV returned to a standard of between 4 and 5 g., but under Constantine VI the folles fell again to between 2 and 3 g., so that one is tempted to regard them as half folles rather than folles. Irene's rare folles sometimes weigh almost 7 g., as do occasional specimens of Nicephorus I, but in the early ninth century the mint seems to have aimed fairly consistently at a standard of between 5 and 6 g. Irene's reign had seen a marked improvement in fabric, and the early ninth-century folles, despite a fairly wide range of weights—specimens of Nicephorus I at Dumbarton Oaks vary between 6.98 and 2.95 g.—all look sufficiently alike for them to have circulated together without difficulty.

With Michael II there began a long period of relative stability which contrasts with the fluctuating pattern of the Isaurian period. The pattern is set out in Table 6. Sometime in the mid 820's the size and weight of the follis were increased, so that from being a relatively small coin some 20 mm. in diameter weighing 4/5 g. it became a much larger and thinner one 25/27 mm. in diameter weighing 7/8 g. The new module and weight were carried on by the newly designed follis of Theophilus, and so far as we can see remained unchanged, or virtually so, for a century and a half. Although individual weights tend to concentrate between 6.5 and 7.5 g., the actual spread in each issue remains enormous: specimens of Theophilus at Dumbarton Oaks rise as high as 9.04 g. and fall to 4.46 g., while among the much larger numbers of Leo VI there are coins rising to 10.2 g. and falling as low as 3.8 g. In a hoard from South Italy which must have been

buried *c.*920, the folles of Constantine VII and Zoe vary from 4.2 to 10.8 g., the coins all being in good condition and relatively unworn.[217] As with those of the early ninth century, however, their general appearance was apparently sufficiently uniform for users to ignore these variations and accept all folles on the same terms. The most consistent series of figures, based on a fairly large number of specimens, is for Leo VI, and points to a weight of just under 7 g. If one assumes that the average loss of weight in circulation was between half a gram and a whole gram per coin, the folles may have been struck 42 to the pound, implying an average theoretical weight of just over 7.7 g.

This weight standard was continued unchanged for Class A1 of the Anonymous Folles, but Class A2, struck over a period of about fifty years, saw an attempt to raise the standard of the follis substantially. Some of the coins in this class do not differ greatly in weight from those of Class A1, but the majority are coins of 25/30 mm. in diameter and 11–14 g. in weight, while some rise as high as 35 mm. and 20 g., a size not far short of the heaviest class of follis struck by Justinian I. One would expect that the differences in weight would correspond to the use of different privy marks on the coins, but while this is often the case there are some marks which are found on coins covering a wide range of sizes and weights. The heaviest coins in Class A1 must have been struck about 18 to the pound, with a theoretical weight of *c.* 18 g., while the medium-sized coins of the same class were perhaps 24 to the pound, implying a weight of about 13 g. This last standard was maintained for Classes B–G, i.e., over the years *c.*1030–*c.*1065, after which there was a sharp drop, for coins of Classes H–L weigh only about 6 g., perhaps 48 to the pound. The practice of constantly using old coins as flans can have made any reckoning only approximate, though presumably some theoretical figure was prescribed for the mint.

The method of reckoning in terms of money of account is not clear, and can scarcely have remained unchanged throughout the period. Under Alexius I the ratio of 288 folles to the nomisma was regarded as traditional, and the fact that the declining weight of Classes H–L of the Anonymous Folles coincides with the rapid debasement of the nomisma in the 1070's suggests an attempt to maintain at a uniform figure the ratio between the two coins. But is is quite uncertain how the follis was reckoned in the tenth century and how many of the heaviest coins of Class A2 went to the nomisma. If the largest of Justinian's folles had been 180 to the solidus it does not seem likely that the largest of Basil II's reign could have stood at 288. Such a figure would be quite acceptable, however, for the medium coins of Class A2 and for those of Classes B–G which followed them.

The wide weight variations between individual coins raises the possibility of their having actually passed by weight, as was the case with the folles (fulūs) of Byzantine and early Muslim Egypt, when the weight variations between twelve-nummus pieces, both Byzantine originals and Arab imitations, were also very large. But no series of tenth- or eleventh-century Byzantine glass or metal weights, marked in terms of *kharrubah* like those of early Muslim Egypt, are known, and we have the express testimony of Psellus that while gold and silver objects were valued by weight, copper coins (νοῦμμοι λεπτοί)

[217] E. Leuthold, "Tesoretto di monete bizantine dei secoli IX e X nel Museo Nazionale di Taranto," *RIN*, 58 (1956), 31–5.

were received by tale.[218] Nor do they seem to have circulated in bags, like the bags of maravedis current in eighteenth-century Spain or the "sacs de douzains" of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France.[219] When large sums were involved, like the 40,000 folles paid by John Zimisces to an Armenian governor for the mule train promised for his Syrian campaign,[220] they would no doubt have been weighed in bags. The fact that contemporary counterfeits are fairly common implies that the folles were to some degree token money, since it was profitable to imitate them, and that their purchasing power was presumably high. But it remains strange that no widespread need for smaller fractions seems to have been felt in the Macedonian period. Only Theophilus struck half folles on any scale: those of Basil I and of Leo VI are extremely rare, and the isolated specimen of Michael VII which is catalogued below (p. 820, No. 15) can have made no serious contribution to the circulating medium. The practice of cutting, in the case of coins as substantial as tenth- and eleventh-century folles, was scarcely practical, though cut billon trachy do make their appearance at a subsequent period.[221]

[218] Psellus, Σύνοψις τῶν νόμων, verses 895–8 (Migne, *PG*, 122.956). The author is explaining how according to their character things are weighed, counted, or measured, gold, silver, and lead falling into the first category, small change into the second, and wine into the third. The passage has been quoted as implying that silver coin was weighed, but this is not what Psellus says nor what he implies.

[219] E. Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation, Written at Madrid During the Years 1760 and 1761* (London, 1763), 271–2; J. A. Blanchet, "Utilisation de la monnaie en sac: sacs de douzains," *RN*[5], 9 (1946), P.V. xix–xxiii.

[220] Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, i. 16 (in *Bibliothèque historique arménienne*, ed. E. Dulaurier [Paris, 1858], 24). The Armenian text has *khrovoul*, which the editor of the Jerusalem edition of 1869 (p. 33) has emended to *ovoul*. This, as Miss S. Der Nersessian has pointed out to me, must be a transliteration of the ὀβολοί of the emperor's original letter.

[221] E. Condurachi, "Monnaies byzantines coupées," *Cronica numismatică şi arheologică*, 15 (1940), 227–9, describing a large twelfth-century hoard from Balş in Rumania. The cutting of the coins in this hoard, which is not noticed by Hendy, seems to be different from the clipping to which many coins of the period were subjected in circulation.

III. MINTS AND MINT ACTIVITY

A. ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

Virtually nothing is known of the organization and personnel of the mints during the period covered by this volume. The written evidence is scanty in the extreme. In 899, when Philotheus described the official hierarchy in his *Kleterologion*,[222] the Master of the Mint (ἄρχων τῆς χαραγῆς) was on the staff of the chartulary of the *vestiarium* (ὁ χαρτυλάριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου), but we have no idea of what qualifications were required of him or how long he might be expected to hold office. The name of a single *monetarius*, who since he had the still respectable title of consul (ὑπάτος) was presumably a mint-master rather than a simple moneyer, has been preserved on a seal in the National Museum at Palermo.[223] Even the evidence of mint-marks fails us, since the great contraction in the number of mints in this period made it unnecessary to distinguish between the products of those that remained. CON, the traditional mint-mark of Constantinople on its folles and sometimes on other denominations of copper, last appears on the coinage of Leo III's sole reign, and by the time that it was dropped (720) it had long outlasted its usefulness. In the West, RAV appears on a follis of the Lombard King Aistulf struck between 751 and 756, which presumably means that it was also used on Ravennate folles of Leo III and Constantine V, though no specimens of such coins are known. ROM, RM, or R appear occasionally on coins of the Byzantine mint of Rome, and RM even survived briefly the transition to papal control, for Adrian I continued to use it on his first issue of denari. CIK′ (for Σικελία) occurs on folles struck in Sicily under Leo IV, but thereafter no specific Sicilian mint-mark is found. Even the use of CONOB disappeared, though more perhaps because it could not be adapted to the usual Isaurian coin type, that of a bust on both faces of the coin, than from a positive desire to get rid of it. Its last appearance in the East was on coins of Artavasdus' sole reign (742), and even then it represents a revival, since it had been dropped from the gold coins of Leo III in 720, when the reverse type became the bust of Constantine V. In the West it was used at Ravenna down to 751 and even beyond, on the coins of Aistulf, while at Rome it was employed spasmodically down to 776 and subsequently, though quite inappropriately, on the silver denari of Adrian I.

[222] In *De ceremoniis*, ii. 52 (Bonn ed., I. 719, lines 16–17). Cf. J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), 84ff., esp. 94–6, 141.

[223] V. Laurent, "Une source peu étudiée de l'histoire de la Sicile au haut moyen âge. La sigillographie byzantine," *Byzantino-Sicula* (Palermo, 1966), 46, No. 2 (cf. p. 36): Ἰωάννῃ ὑπάτ[ῳ] καὶ μονητ[αρίῳ]. He has illustrated in error a different seal.

The great reduction in the number of mints which characterizes the whole of the middle Byzantine period has recently been studied by Hendy.[224] It resulted, apparently, from a general overhaul of the fiscal administration undertaken by Heraclius after his return from the Persian campaign in 629. Up to that date the provincial mints, while coming under the jurisdiction of the Count of the Sacred Largesses and forming part of his department, had in fact reflected the organization of the pretorian prefectures, as the chief tax-collecting authorities. They had consequently been distributed roughly on the basis of a mint for the issue of copper in each diocese, while the striking of gold was normally confined to palatine mints at Constantinople in the East and Ravenna and Carthage in the West. In 629 or 630 most of the provincial mints—Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Thessalonica, a recently created mint in Cyprus, and Catania—were closed, leaving only Constantinople and Alexandria active in the East and Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna in the West. This revolution in minting arrangements, for it was nothing less, cannot have been due to the Arab conquests, since it preceded them in date, and has no obvious economic explanation. Hendy's view is that it reflected a general administrative reorganization, the cumbersome machinery of the pretorian prefecture of the East and the specialized functions of the departments of the *Sacra Largitiones* and the *res privata* being dismantled to the profit of palatine bureaux headed by logothetes and chartularii, one of the latter, as we know from Philotheus, inheriting the control of the mint. Although the resulting centralized institutions admitted of exceptions—provincial minting continued in some places and was resumed in others—the new pattern would have made provincial minting, at least on a regular basis, unlikely in the future save in provinces that could not easily be supplied with coin directly from the capital.

These conditions most obviously applied to Italy, where the gradual extension of Lombard conquest rendered communication among the surviving Byzantine territories difficult. It was thus natural for Constans II to reopen a mint in Sicily, this time at Syracuse, which struck in gold as well as in copper, and to sanction the establishment of one at Naples. In the East, at a later period (ninth and tenth centuries), a similar situation explains the setting-up of a mint at Cherson. But these mints were all peripheral to the main block of imperial territory in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula. It is much more difficult to decide whether Constantinople remained the only mint serving this area, as is suggested by the absence of mint-marks on the coins and the lack of any literary references to provincial mints, or whether its issues were supplemented, either occasionally or on a regular basis, by those of other mints. As Hendy has pointed out, the failure of Philotheus to refer to any provincial mint-masters is a strong argument against their existence, at least at the time when he was writing.

So far as Eastern gold and silver are concerned there are few problems. For the silver, indeed, there are none at all, since apart from the two-thirds miliaresion struck by the usurper Nicephorus Melissenus (Pl. LXX.1), which, since he never occupied the capital, must have been issued at Nicaea, no scholar has ever queried the attribution of the whole of it to Constantinople. As for the gold, the vast bulk of this is extremely uniform in style,

[224] M. F. Hendy, "On the Administrative Basis of the Byzantine Coinage c. 400–c. 900 and the Reforms of Heraclius," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12 (1970), 129–54, esp. 147–54.

and its attribution to Constantinople is certain. This is in one respect surprising, since during the eleventh century the thin, broad, and ultimately concave histamena are very different in fabric from the small, thick tetartera, but the stylistic resemblance between the two groups is so close that it must be held to outweigh the difference in fabric, which would otherwise give strong grounds for suspecting that histamena and tetartera were products of separate mints. The coins for which mints other than Constantinople might reasonably be proposed are virtually limited to one type of semissis and tremissis of Basil I (Pl. XXX.5–6) and one rare type of histamenon of Michael IV (Pl. LVIII.2), though the reasons for uncertainty are not the same in the two cases. The fractional coins of Basil I are markedly different in style from the solidi and of rather rougher fabric, so that to ascribe them to a provincial mint would seem reasonable. On the other hand, no corresponding solidi are known, and a mint striking only fractional gold, though it would not be unprecedented—Carthagena in the late sixth and early seventh centuries struck only tremisses—is not likely. I have therefore preferred to attribute the coins to Constantinople, on the assumption that exceptional issues like these might have been left to inadequately trained workmen and so might differ considerably from regular issues in fabric and style.[225] As for the coin of Michael IV, it is identical in style with the ordinary histamena of Constantinople, but the unusual type—the emperor and the Archangel Michael—and some details of the design which reappear later on coins of Alexius I that can be attributed with considerable confidence to Thessalonica, have led me to follow Hendy in ascribing them to this mint.[226]

The main problems arise with the copper. Since mint-marks disappeared in the eighth century, the existence of separate mints in later coinages can be established only on the basis of such criteria as style, iconographic detail, weight, and fabric, which are not always clear or even applicable. They are not, in any case, conclusive, for such differences as one finds may be due to the coins having been struck in different officinae or by different workmen in the same mint. If they can be reinforced by differences in distribution pattern, by a particular variety being common in Greece but rare in Asia Minor, or common in the southern Balkans but not in the north, the case for a plurality of mints is obviously strengthened, but even in such instances one has to take account of the possibility that the coins differ from each other because they are of slightly different dates. Nor, in any case, do the products of different mints necessarily differ from each other in style. The one eleventh-century coin which cannot possibly have been struck in Constantinople, the two-thirds miliaresion of Nicephorus Melissenus, differs in no respect at all from the silver coins of the capital.

Wroth and other scholars of the nineteenth century were content to assign the vast copper coinages of the middle Byzantine period to Constantinople, reserving for unidentified "provincial mints" only a few groups which differed very markedly in type, fabric, or style from the main series. Many numismatists, however, have wondered whether this was a reasonable assumption for such abundant coinages as the Anonymous Folles and the concave billon issues of the twelfth century, and Metcalf, in a series of

[225] Below, pp. 478–80 and pp. 490–1, Nos. 5–6.
[226] Below, pp. 721–2 and p. 726, No. 2.

articles published in the 1960's, analyzed in considerable detail, with this possibility in mind, a number of groups belonging to the period covered by this volume—the folles of Michael II,[227] of Theophilus,[228] of Basil I,[229] and the Anonymous Folles[230]—as well as discussing the general problem, over a longer period, in his *Coinage in the Balkans* (1965).[231] Thessalonica, as the second city of the Empire, has been naturally much favored as a supplementary mint to Constantinople[232]—Hendy has since proposed to attribute to it the "signed" folles of a succession of eleventh-century emperors, leaving the Anonymous Folles to the mint of the capital[233]—but this city is only one of a substantial number —one or two in Asia Minor, two or three in Greece, of which Corinth is described as "probably second to Constantinople in the ninth and early tenth centuries"—suggested as being responsible for particular groups of coins.

These proposed attributions are each examined elsewhere in this volume, but in the main I must express my scepticism regarding Metcalf's conclusions.[234] It is often possible, in analyzing an extensive coinage, to separate out groups so closely related stylistically as to convince one that the dies were cut by the same workman and used at about the same time. Where these stylistic groupings coincide with marked differences in fabric or weight, there is a strong presumption that the coins were struck at different mints. But the choice of significant variations is necessarily subjective—if others had been selected, appreciably different groupings would emerge—and their interpretation is open to debate. Bellinger[235] has underlined the contrast between the variations noted on ninth- to eleventh-century coins and the early mint and officina marks, which were intended to make it plain where a coin was struck and in what workshop. The minute variations on ninth-century coins "make nothing plain at all, though if they had any purpose they must have been expected to enlighten somebody." Metcalf's reply is that they were not intended to enlighten users, and for the most part were not "intended" at all. They grew out of the fact that different die-sinkers worked in different ways, and it is by studying

[227] "The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus Before His Reform," *HBN*, 21 (1967), 21–34. Cf. below, p. 364.

[228] "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," *MN*, 10 (1962), 81–98; "The Reformed Folles of Theophilus; Their Styles and Localization," *MN*, 14 (1968), 121–53. Cf. below, pp. 413–15.

[229] "Ražba follů Basilia I. a organizace jejich mincoven," *Numizmatićky Sbornik*, 9 (1966), 95–127. Cf. below, p. 478.

[230] "Provincial Issues Among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the Eleventh Century," *HBN*, 15 (1961), 25–32; "Interpretation of the Byzantine 'Rex Regnantium' Folles of Class 'A', c. 970–1030," *NC*[7], 10 (1970), 199–219. The suggestion that the Anonymous Folles were struck at a number of mints had been put forward earlier by Whitting. The problem is discussed below, pp. 640–1.

[231] Esp. pp. 20–1 (Michael II), 25–27 (Theophilus), 29–34 (Basil I), 41–57 (Anonymous Folles and contemporary "signed" issues).

[232] Metcalf, "The Coinage of Thessaloniki, 820–1204, and Its Place in Balkan Monetary History," *Balkan Studies*, 4 (1963), 277–88, as well as his other articles.

[233] *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 77–80. Cf. below pp. 642–3.

[234] See my paper, "Byzantine Coinage as Source Material," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (Oxford, 1967), 318–21.

[235] "Byzantine Notes, 4. Metcalf's Arrangement of the Copper of Theophilus," *MN*, 13 (1967), 136–41. The second article referred to above, note 228, is Metcalf's reply to this.

their mannerisms and peculiarities that one can discover different artists at work in different places. This is true, but different artists and different places are not interchangeable terms,[236] and in general the evidence seems to me insufficient as a basis for mint identifications. Most of the Eastern copper coinage in the period covered by this volume has therefore been attributed to Constantinople, though a few groups of markedly different style and fabric have been assigned to provincial mints and it may well be that more will go the same way in the future.[237]

B. MINTS, MINT-MARKS, OFFICINA LETTERS, AND CONTROL MARKS

CONSTANTINOPLE

This was the chief mint of the Empire throughout the period, and for much of the time was the only mint in operation.

Mint-marks. The monopoly in Eastern minting held by Constantinople in the eighth century made the traditional mink-marks unnecessary. They were therefore abandoned as soon as changes in the design of the coin made it inconvenient to fit them in.

(1) CONOB was retained on Class I of the solidi and tremisses of the sole reign of Leo III (717–20), and on the silver ceremonial coins of the same years, but was dropped in 720 when the reverse type became a bust of Constantine V. It was briefly restored in 742 for the solidi and tremisses of Artavasdus alone. With the association of his son Nicephorus on the throne it disappeared for good, not even being resumed when Nicephorus I revived the old cross-potent-on-steps reverse in 802.

(2) CON was retained on the folles and decanummia of Class 1 of Leo III (717–20), and then dropped because there was no room for it on the coins bearing the new reverse type with a bust of Constantine V above the mark of value. It may have been revived on folles of Artavasdus, as CONOB was on his gold, but no copper coins of this emperor have yet been found.

Officina letters and control marks in the eighth and ninth centuries. The traditional officina letters (numerals) had been A-I on the solidi and A-Є on the copper. Those on the gold had sometimes been followed by a further letter, whose purpose is unknown. After the reign of Leo III the system fell into confusion. On the gold it began to be transformed into one using control marks which no longer had any numerical significance and which in any case lasted only a further century, appearing for the last time on Class V

[236] Cf. I. H. Stewart, "Style in Medieval Coinage," *NC*[7], 9 (1969), 269–89, for an excellent general discussion of this problem. He gives examples of coins widely different in style which are actually die-linked with each other.

[237] There are also some eccentric attributions which do not require discussion, e.g., Sambon's belief (below, p. 83) that some of the Anonymous Folles were struck at unknown Byzantine mints in Italy—a possible but quite unsupported hypothesis—and Nedeltchev's absurd attribution of them to Bogomil monks (K. Nedeltchev, "Das altbulgarische Geldwesen," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 18 [1969], 142).

TABLE 7

OFFICINA LETTERS AND CONTROL MARKS ON CONSTANTINOPOLITAN SOLIDI
LEO III – CONSTANTINE VI

Emperor	Class	Date	Nature of Marks
Leo III (717–41)	[Æ, I, II]	717, 717–20	A, Δ, Є (on ceremonial Æ)
	I	717–20	A-I; ΔC, ZC
	IIa	720	none, B, Γ, Z, H, I
	IIb	720–*c*.725	none, A, B, Γ, Z, Θ
	IIc	*c*.725–732	none
	IIIa	732–*c*.737	none
	IIIb	*c*.737–741	none, Δ, Є, S, Z, Є, Θ, I
Artavasdus (742–3)	I	742	none
	II	742	A, Θ
	III	742–3	A, b, Θ
Constantine V (741–75)	I	741–51	none, H, Θ, I
	IIa	751–*c*.757	none, A, Θ
	IIb	*c*.757–775	none, B, Φ
Leo IV (775–80)	I	776–8	Θ (on obv. or rev.)
	II	778–80	none
Constantine VI (780–97)	I	780–92	none
	II	792–7	none, Θ

(840–2) of the solidi of Theophilus. The marks on the copper ceased to perform any serious function during the reign of Constantine V, and were finally abandoned by Theophilus. The marks on the two metals are best discussed separately.

(1) Gold Coinage. The incidence of officina letters and control marks in the period 717–97 is set out in Table 7. The traditional system of ten letters was carried on during the sole reign of Leo III (717–20), the letter sometimes being followed by a C, as under Theodosius III. The letters, or at least some of them, were retained on Classes IIa and IIb, i.e., to *c*.725, but some coins of both classes are without officina letters, as was to be the case for all coins of Classes IIc and IIIa. On Class IIIb officina letters were restored, but inefficiently, being sometimes placed on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse; some coins, indeed, have different letters on their two sides. Coins of Artavasdus and Constantine V have only a small selection of letters or none at all, while some of Constantine's Class IIb have a Φ, which made no part of the traditional numerical pattern at all. Under Leo IV and Constantine VI there is either a Θ or nothing. Irene used either

TABLE 8

SOLIDUS CONTROL MARKS AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 792–842

Emperor	None	Θ	⊕	X	∈	Λ	B	Notes
Constantine VI with Irene (792–7)	11	23						
Irene (797–802)		1	25	10				
Nicephorus I alone (802)			5	5				
with Stauracius (802–11)		15		27	19			
Michael I with Theophylact (811–13)				15	7			
Leo V alone (813)				2				
with Constantine (813–20)				8	11	2		
Michael II alone (820–1)					4			
with Theophilus (821–9)				5	23		1	
Theophilus alone (829–30/1)				3	28	1		
with Constantine (830/1)						4		
with Michael and Constantine (831–40)	1	78	2	4		7		
with Michael III (840–2)		1				1 (A)		Θ obv., A rev.

X or ⊕, the latter probably developed from Θ, and the next few reigns (Table 8) show a reliance on Θ, X, or ∈, with a very occasional Λ. The ∈ appears from Table 8 to have replaced the Θ/⊕, and the incidence of the marks, when combined with their relative frequency, suggests that the mint was normally operating a two-officina system, with

occasional resort to a third officina (Λ) or even a fourth (B) for special issues. That the marks were performing a real service may be inferred from the fact that they were sometimes recut on the die, e.g., Є altered to X and X to Є under Leo V (below, p. 376, Nos. 2b.2, 3a.1, 3b.2). The system effectively ended with Class V of Theophilus, which dates from 840–2 and may have been struck only to celebrate Michael III's coronation in 840, but there is an ambiguous A on Class I of Michael III which may represent either the last letter of ƆЄCΠVПA or a control mark in its own right.[238] This system of control marks may therefore have ended in 840 and certainly did not go beyond 842/3.

(2) Copper Coinage. The folles and half folles probably retained the traditional five officina letters (A-Є) into Class 2 of Leo III, since while only A and Γ are recorded for Class 1 and A, B, and Γ for Class 2a (i.e., for the largest and earliest coins of Class 2), the coins are too rare for this to be conclusive, and Δ and Є may still be found. On Classes 2b and 2c only A and B are known for certain, but the coins are usually in such poor condition, with illegible officina letters, that this may be simply an accident. Only A and B, however, occur on Classes 3 and 4 and on Class 1 of Constantine V, which suggests that they were the only ones still in use. From Class 2 of Constantine V to Class 1 of Michael II only A is found, sufficient proof that it now fulfilled no real role and was present only because it was customary to have some letter beneath the mark of value. Its meaningless character was emphasized when it was replaced on Class 2 of Michael II by a Θ, the large M being evidently intended to signify Μιχαήλ and the smaller Θ that of his young associate Θεόφιλος. The Θ continued to be used on Classes 1 and 2 of Theophilus' own reign, i.e., to *c.*832, when the introduction of a new reverse, having an inscription in several lines across the field, made the further use of an officina letter of the old type impossible.

Privy marks in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Many small variations in inscription, type, and subsidiary ornament are found on the coins from the reign of Michael III onwards. Whether any of these should be interpreted as officina marks is a difficult problem. The most numerous series, that on the gold and silver of Basil II and the contemporary folles of Anonymous Class A2, is too complex to represent officinae, but it may have a chronological significance.[239] Several coinages, however, fall easily into two groups distinguished from each other by some conspicuous detail, and here an officina interpretation looks more promising. The distinctions may take the form of variations in inscription—e.g., solidi of Class I of Leo VI having either ЄП XW or ЄП CRISƬO, solidi of Class I of Nicephorus II having either CЄ or KAI—but more often it is the designs that are involved. An obvious example is the presence or absence of a pellet on the shaft of a cross or scepter, as on histamena of Class VI of Basil II (Pl. XLV.6a, b), histamena of Constantine VIII (Pl. LVI.1, 2), histamena of Class I of Constantine X (Pl. LXIII.1a, b), and histamena of Class II of Michael VII (Pl. LXVI. 2d, 2e). Class III of Nicephorus III's histamena form two groups according to whether or not they have a pellet in the cross of Christ's nimbus (Pl. LXIX.3a, b), while the form of the labarum, or the details of the cover of the Gospel Book, is variable on a number of eleventh-century issues.

[238] Below, p. 461, and cf. what is said on p. 457.
[239] Below, pp. 600–1, 647.

Some of these differences, such as the substitution of KAI for CЄ or the variations in the design of the labarum, may represent no more than the whims of individual die-sinkers, but the presence of a pellet on a scepter or labarum is something at once so definite and so conspicuous that one cannot doubt its having been authorized by the mint authority with a definite purpose in mind. To treat it as an officina mark, however, seems to me difficult, since an officina pattern implies some degree of permanence and in earlier times had been characterized by the use of identical or nearly identical officina letters carried on from one issue to the next, a feature absent from most eleventh-century "privy marks." Constantine X's histamena of Class II, for example, have nothing to correspond to the pellet/no pellet alternatives of his Class I; Nicephorus III's Classes I and II lack anything like the pellet/no pellet alternatives of his Class III. Hendy, in analyzing twelfth-century mint organization[240] on the basis of rather similar variations on coins of that period, is prepared to envisage an arrangement of semipermanent officinae, called into existence as and when they were needed, but with the discontinuous eleventh-century material I find it difficult to postulate either a clear officina pattern or even a series of moneyer's marks such as that which occurs on Venetian coins of the later Middle Ages and which has a clear counterpart on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Byzantine coins.[241] The evidence requires a more thorough analysis than would be warranted here, but it is at least worth calling attention to the problem.

Thessalonica

There is no formal evidence that Thessalonica was a mint at any time in the period covered by this volume, and although a number of coins have been attributed to it, there is no agreement as to which these coins should be. Metcalf has given it a series of folles from the early ninth century onward,[242] arguing in particular that it had a partiality for lighter coins, so that what are usually classed as the half folles of Theophilus are in reality full folles of Thessalonica intended for local circulation.[243] Hendy has attributed to it a rare histamenon of Michael IV and all the signed folles from Constantine X to Nicephorus III, as well as folles of the usurper Nicephorus Basilacius.[244] I have accepted the attribution of the histamenon but am doubtful about the signed folles, while I assign the last coin in his list to Nicephorus Bryennius, the mint being unknown.

[240] *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 157ff., and esp. 185–7.

[241] Cf. N. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*, I (Venice, 1893), 175, 391. The marks, as introduced under Jacopo Tiepolo (1229–49), took the form first of pellets, triangles, or annulets placed at specific points in the field (beside the right or left leg of the seated Christ, beneath his elbow, etc.). In 1353 the mint-masters were ordered to insert their initials in the field (*Et sculpiri debeat in ipsa moneta prima sillaba nominis massari*), in 1421 the initials of their first name and surname.

[242] Above, p. 76, note 232. In addition to the half folles of Theophilus, he would ascribe to Thessalonica the folles of Basil I with the busts of Basil and Constantine (my Class 2), some varieties of Class A2 of the Anonymous Folles, and Classes E and F of the same.

[243] This reasoning, as Bellinger pointed out, is somewhat wayward, since the preference of Thessalonica in the sixth century was for half folles, so that by analogy one would expect the coins of Theophilus, if indeed they were struck at Thessalonica, to be half folles also.

[244] Above, p. 76, note 233.

Western Mints

The identity of at least three Western mints active during part of the eighth and ninth centuries is known for certain. They are Rome and Ravenna, on the Italian mainland, and Syracuse in Sicily. They are discussed separately below. Two groups of solidi of the first half of the ninth century were struck at some other mint in South Italy, probably Naples, and there are a number of eighth-century Italian coins of poor quality gold which cannot be easily ascribed to any of the major mints and whose places of origin must be considered uncertain. There are also denari of Naples and Capua bearing the name of Basil I, but they cannot be regarded as imperial issues. The mint of Sardinia, active for a few years after the loss of Carthage, seems to have been closed by the time of Leo III's accession, a coin which was ascribed to this emperor by Dessi being more probably one of Leontius.[245]

These Western mints have a number of points in common. They struck no silver, apart from a few billon coins of the mid-eighth century that can be doubtfully attributed to Rome or Naples. There was no attempt to introduce the new miliaresion so characteristic of Eastern coinage from 720 onward. The absence of silver coins no doubt explains why the Western mints never discontinued the issue of fractional gold, though semisses and tremisses had disappeared as regular currency in the East by the middle of the eighth century. Copper was struck in quantity only at Syracuse, and while Sicilian folles presumably circulated in southern Italy they are unlikely to have travelled as far afield as Ravenna or even Rome. How these cities and the adjoining countryside managed without small change is hard to imagine. The gold of the mints of mainland Italy was in the eighth century badly debased, as that of Sicily was to be a hundred years later in the period immediately preceding the loss of Syracuse to the Arabs. Even where the quality of the metal was reasonably satisfactory, the coins were struck to a lower weight standard than that of Constantinople.

The second half of the eighth century saw the loss of Ravenna and Rome, and the first three-quarters of the ninth was followed by the gradual disintegration of Byzantine rule in the West.[246] The maritime cities of Gaeta, Capua, Naples, and Amalfi, though in theory still imperial and dependent on the *strategos* of Sicily, became de facto independent, while Sicily was slowly but steadily being overrun by the Arabs. The Lombard rulers of Benevento and Salerno occupied much of the coastline of the southern Adriatic and the Gulf of Taranto, as well as most of the interior of the country. The decline of Byzantine power was only checked under Basil I. Bari and Taranto were recovered in 876 and 880 respectively—Benevento itself was briefly in Byzantine hands between 891 and 894—and

[245] See *DOC*, II. 617, note to No. 11. No illustration or description of the coin is available, but Dessi was writing at a time when the distinction between the coinages of Leo III and Leontius had not yet been made, and the dating of the Ossi Hoard, while not absolutely excluding Leo III, makes Leontius more likely.

[246] There is an excellent survey by F. Chalandon in chap. 1 of his *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), I. 1–41. The standard work remains that of J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier, jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)* (Paris, 1904).

in the late ninth and early tenth centuries the interior and the coastlands were gradually reoccupied and colonized. By the time of Basil II, as we learn from episcopal lists and from the registers of the bishoprics and great monasteries, Byzantine rule was effective over most of southern Italy. Only Sicily had been definitively lost. Although the coastal cities retained their independence, they imitated the wise policy of Venice in not defining their relationship with Byzantium too closely, so that they could continue to draw profit from an ancient connection that flattered imperial vanity and did not seriously jeopardize their interests or affect their freedom of action.

The reconstitution of Byzantine rule in Italy was not accompanied by the creation of any new mints or the revival of old ones. This fact is surprising, in view of the distance of the two Italian themes from Constantinople, but such inadequate records of coin finds as are available show both the gold and the copper circulating in the country to have been normal Constantinopolitan issues. The Sambons indeed suggested that many of the Anonymous Folles might be Italian in origin, since these coins are found in South Italy and sometimes served as undertypes for the eleventh-century folles of Salerno, but there is nothing to distinguish them from others circulating elsewhere in the Empire.[247] South Italian documents of the late tenth and eleventh centuries, which constitute one of our chief sources of information on Byzantine coin names, nowhere suggest the existence of local mints. The coinage of South Italy in these centuries still requires study, for there are many problems and uncertainties—the reckoning of the nomisma in terms of the follis, the role of the silver miliaresion and whether it was more than a money of account, the degree of penetration of Arab taris from Sicily, the use made of the local coinages of Amalfi and Salerno—but at present there seems no sufficient evidence for imperial minting in Italy in the tenth or eleventh centuries.

Syracuse[248]

This mint, which had been established under Constans II, remained very active down to the reign of Basil II, when it fell to the Arabs (878). It struck in gold, the three traditional denominations in this metal being retained long after the fractions of the solidus had been abandoned in the East, and in copper. The types in both metals were often independent of those used at Constantinople, and the weights of the copper coins were entirely different, no attempt being made to strike heavier folles under Michael II and Theophilus. Some of the gold coins of the second quarter of the eighth century seem of poor quality, though nothing like as debased as those of mainland Italy, but under Constantine V there was a marked improvement, and from his reign to that of Theophilus the coins seem to have been of pure gold. Only under Michael III and Basil I, when the Byzantines were fast losing control of the island, were the coins heavily alloyed with copper.

[247] G. Sambon, *Repertorio delle monete coniate in Italia* (Paris, 1912), 42–3, No. 280; A. Sambon, *Recueil des monnaies médiévales du sud de l'Italie* (Paris, 1919), 50–2. Their dating of the Salernitan folles is seriously astray, all the issues they ascribe to the late tenth century being in fact of the second half of the eleventh.

[248] The standard work is that of D. Ricotti Prina, "La monetazione Siciliana nell'epoca bizantina," *Numismatica*, 16 (1950), 26–60. A new survey, by Sig. R. Spahr, is in preparation.

The attribution of most of the coinage to Sicily presents few problems. Formal mint-marks occur only rarely: SCL on some folles of Leo III (pp. 267–8, Nos. 52–4), CIK′ (for Σικελία) on folles of Leo IV (p. 334, No. 8) and perhaps on half folles of Constantine V (p. 314, No. 20), C on the obverse and I on the reverse of one issue of gold under Leo III (pp. 265–6, Nos. 44, 47, 49), and C and I on either side of the bust of one type of follis of Leo V and Constantine (p. 384, No. 17; cf. p. 374). Other coins—they comprise a high proportion of those classed by Wroth as "Provincial"—owe their attribution to their stylistic affinities with these, coupled with the fact of their being commonly found in Sicily and not usually elsewhere.

The products of the mint nonetheless include a number of anomalies. They are discussed in the introductions to the reigns involved, but their existence suggests that there may be a number of misattributions in the series that still require to be put right. Puzzling features include the apparent absence of any solidi for the first decade of Constantine V's reign, of any gold for the whole of that of Leo IV, of any Syracusan coinage at all for Constantine VI, and the surprisingly large amount of copper struck under Leo V. The gold coinage of Michael II and Theophilus also shows diversities of fabric which suggest that more than one mint may have been at work.

Naples[249]

A mint at Naples had been opened under Constans II, probably in the 660's. Solidi and tremisses attributable to it with some degree of confidence continued to be struck down to the reign of Leo III.[250] The early coins of this emperor are of poor-quality gold, slightly greenish in color and rather soapy to the touch, and have the terminal star to the reverse inscription that had characterized the gold coins of the mint from Tiberius III onward. Some later coins of Leo III with Constantine V, which are certainly Italian and equally certainly neither Roman nor Ravennate, can probably be given to Naples also. There are no copper coins of the eighth century, however, with the mint-mark NE, which had formerly identified the mint. A half follis attributed to Leo III by Cordero di San Quintino and accepted by Sambon is probably a misread coin of Constantine IV.[251]

Whether Naples continued to mint under Constantine V is quite uncertain, though I have provisionally attributed to it a few coins for which no other Italian mint seems likely.[252] It was in the second half of the eighth century that the duchy, by imperceptible stages, began to escape imperial control.[253] This was still effective in the 770's and 780's,

[249] For the earlier history of the mint, see *DOC*, II. 48–9. The most useful accounts of the coinage are those of A. Sambon, "Le monete del ducato napoletano," *RIN*, 3 (1890), 445–71, and in his *Recueil*, 69–79. For the coins, see also *CIN*, XIX. 1ff., and G. Sambon's *Repertorio*, 40–5.

[250] Below, pp. 236–7.

[251] Reproduced by Sambon, "Le monete del ducato napoletano," Pl. x.8.

[252] Below, pp. 296, 314–16.

[253] The best account is still that in chaps. IV–VII of M. Schipa, "Storia del ducato napoletano," *Archivio Storico per le provincie napoletane*, 17 (1892), 358–421, 587–644, reprinted without footnotes in his *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia anteriormente alla monarchia* (Bari, 1923). Most of the material is collected in B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1881–92). For relations with the duchy of Benevento and the Frankish Empire, which are very relevant to

as is apparent from various episodes that can be partly reconstructed from papal correspondence in the *Codex Carolinus*, notably when in 778 the patrician of Sicily stationed himself at Gaeta to organize what Pope Adrian I assumed to be a policy directed mainly against himself. As late as 818 and 821 the patrician was able to nominate two dukes in succession, though the second was overthrown in a popular uprising and thenceforward the emperors did no more than confirm self-appointed dukes whose names were presented for their approval. Ducal policy, in all its complex ramifications, was guided by Neapolitan interests, or what were conceived to be such, with little reference to those of Byzantium. Imperial authority, however, was still formally recognized in the dating of documents, and as late as the mid-tenth century Constantine Porphyrogenitus felt justified in asserting that Naples, Amalfi, and Sorrento had never ceased to obey the emperor.[254]

It was no doubt in consequence of this that the dukes of Naples, unlike their neighbors of Benevento, never minted gold in their own names. They did, on the other hand, strike copper. The earliest coins of certain date are the large, handsome folles of Duke Sergius I (840–64), copied from the reformed coinage of Theophilus, having on the obverse the inscription SERGIV DVX and a three-quarter length figure of the duke modelled on that of the emperor, and on the reverse the bust of St. Januarius, the patron saint of the city. Either earlier or later than these are smaller folles of rough fabric, one group having on the obverse a bust of the same saint and on the reverse the three-line inscription NEA | ΠOΛ | IC, the other having on the obverse a bust and on the reverse a cross on base and steps flanked by the letters S and T. The first group is generally assigned to the eighth century, the second to either the Duke-Bishop Stephen II (755–800) or Duke Stephen III (821–32), the ST being interpreted as *Stephanus*. Their date is in reality quite uncertain; they may be as late as the tenth or eleventh century. In any event they are not Byzantine and need not be discussed here.

Nominal subjection to Byzantium, however, would not have prevented the dukes of Naples from minting gold in the emperor's name, and I am inclined to attribute to them two groups of ninth-century solidi, of base gold and very crude fabric, which belong together and are usually classified more vaguely as "South Italian." The first have the busts and badly blundered names of Nicephorus and Stauracius—or possibly of Stauracius alone—and so presumably were introduced in the reign of Nicephorus I (802–11), or even in that of Stauracius (811), though since there is a hybrid coin with the name of Theophilus the issue probably continued after Nicephorus' and Stauracius' deaths; it may indeed have begun after them. The second consists of coins of Theophilus alone and of Theophilus, Michael, and Constantine, the latter being copied from the Nicephoran series and presenting the curious anomaly of two names being mentioned in the reverse inscription but only one bust being shown in the field. Clearly the die-sinker had only the vaguest idea of what he was doing.

what follows, see also J. Gay, "L'état pontifical, les Byzantins et les Lombards sur le littoral campanien (d'Hadrien Ier à Jean VIIIe)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 21 (1901), 487–508, and F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* (above, p. 82, note 246), 421–5.

[254] *De administrando imperio*, c. 27 (ed. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, 2nd ed., Dumbarton Oaks Texts, I [Washington, D.C., 1967], p. 117).

The grounds for attributing these coins to Naples are partly their relative commonness, suggesting that they were struck in a place of some importance, and partly their general resemblance to the solidi of the princes of Benevento, both series being characterized by the same poor metal and by rough designs and lettering. They are not from Benevento itself, since, quite apart from the omission of the prince's name and their types being Byzantine, they differ from the coins of this mint in a number of technical details, notably in the dies being cut with gravers' tools without recourse to triangular-headed punches, the free use of which is characteristic of Beneventan coins of this period. One must look for a mint in some locality of importance not too far from Benevento, and Naples is the obvious candidate. It is in fact possible that the blundered inscriptions of the Nicephoran series contain an allusion to the mint, for they normally end with IOЄƧPOHЄ. This is basically a corruption of the ƆЄSPOƧ of the Constantinopolitan solidi which served as their model, but HЄ has been added. Italian mints in the past had occasionally resorted to the device of modifying the terminal letters of inscriptions into a sort of mint-mark—e.g., the RVM of *Victoria Augustorum* changed into ROM on some Ostrogothic tremisses of Rome[255]—and the *trompe l'oeil* of PΛPΛ on some denari of Pope Adrian, which falls into the same category,[256] shows that such habits had not been forgotten. The inscription is so blundered and distorted, however, that one cannot insist on this point.

A possible reason for Neapolitan minting at that particular moment would be an unexplained interruption in the gold output of the mint of Benevento. Grimoald III (788–806), the first Beneventan ruler to put his full name on the coins, had added silver denari to the traditional issues of solidi and tremisses, so that his coinage was now linked with that of Frankish Italy and the Papal State as well as with that of Byzantium. His successor Grimoald IV (806–17) abandoned the striking of gold altogether, minting only in silver, and the production of solidi and tremisses, of the poorest quality gold, was resumed only in the reign of Sico (819–32). The reason for this temporary interruption in the minting of gold is unknown: a shortage of precious metal,[257] a strengthening of economic links with Frankish Italy that would make it preferable to mint in silver, a wish to conciliate Byzantium by not issuing gold coins—any of these are possible. In any case, the gap existed, and even when minting was resumed before 832 the new solidi and tremisses were very debased. This temporary gold shortage may have been something

[255] Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London, 1911), 47, Nos. 8, 9 (wrongly ascribed to Ravenna).

[256] Below, p. 87, note 260. Such devices long retained their popularity. Denari of Pope Benedict IV and Louis the Blind (900–902) have as their reverse type an open hand between the letters RO. Since *Roma* is always abbreviated as RM, not RO, the type must be read RO-MANVS, completing the *Ludovicus Imp* of the inscription.

[257] Ducal finances at this time were not being helped by substantial tributes of gold to the Franks. In 812 Grimoald IV paid 25,000 gold solidi, evidently covering several years' arrears, and in 814 he promised Louis the Pious to continue the annual tribute of 7,000 solidi he had paid to Charlemagne. See *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 812, 814 (ed. F. Kurze [Hanover, 1895], 137, 141). These payments would presumably have been made in coins of Grimoald III. One of the few gold coins of the period to come to light in Frankish Gaul is in fact a tremissis of this ruler, found near Namur and now in the museum there.

which the Nicephoran and Theophilan solidi were primarily intended to make good. Whether they were official issues, and whether indeed they are attributable to Naples, remains uncertain, but since they are Byzantine in form and circulated in an area under Byzantine influence it has seemed best to follow Wroth's example and include them in the catalogue here.

ROME[258]

Rome was, for the first three-quarters of the eighth century, the most important Byzantine mint on the Italian mainland. Although its coins are for the most part easy to recognize its history is in many respects obscure. Its products were virtually limited to solidi and tremisses of what was technically gold[259] but in fact was, at best, electrum and, at worst, copper or potin. Coins of the latter metals were presumably plated before being put into circulation. From *c.*720 onward the coins are stylistically very uniform, with extraordinarily crude busts (see Pls. VI, X) and characteristic letter-forms, notably a tall and narrow A and a very broad T having the vertical stroke extremely short and the horizontal one abnormally long. Their attribution to Rome is based on the fact that a few issues have RM, the traditional mint-mark of Rome, in the field, while some others have ✱R, R, or RI. Their style and type are also continued by the early coins of Pope Adrian I (772–95) in his own name.[260]

The most striking feature of the coins of Rome, apart from the poor quality of their alloy, is the variety of letters and symbols in the field of the reverse. Up to the early 750's there is usually a star accompanied by a letter; after that, with one exception, there are only letters. No satisfactory explanation for these has yet been found. Under Leo III they can be arranged in numerical sequence A-I, i.e., 1–10, which apart from the Θ, which is stylistically out of place, may well correspond to their order of issue. But the letters do not seem to represent either regnal years or indictions, though since there are also coins with IE (= 15) one would expect them to stand for the latter. At the very end of Leo III's series there are coins with two stars and no letter in the field, a feature which recurs on coins of Artavasdus of 742–3, though Artavasdus also struck coins with IB, which must surely be an indiction (=12, i.e., 743/4). Constantine V's early coins have a star and R in the field, first with a single bust which is identical in every respect with

[258] See *DOC*, II. 49–51. The list of coins in the *CNI*, XV (1934), 50ff., is not helpful for the eighth century, being little more than a badly classified listing of the material in Wroth.

[259] This pretense is kept up in the documents of the time, which constantly refer to *solidi auri purissimi*, *solidi obryzi*, and so on. The biographer of Pope Stephen II (752–7) asserts that the Lombard King Aistulf had hopes of levying an annual poll-tax of a gold solidus per head on the people of Rome (*Vita Stephani*, c. 6, in the *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, I [Paris, 1886], 441: *per unumquemque scilicet caput singulos auri solidos*).

[260] *CNI*, XV. 62–4, Nos. 1–14 (Pl. IV.1, 2). Adrian on some coins reverts to the old imperial custom of placing DN before his name, and the P's of PAPA after his name are occasionally very large and the A's very small, so that there is a kind of *trompe l'oeil* for the old PP (= *perpetuus*). Laffranchi once suggested that these coins were intended as Byzantine denominations, but their general appearance is nothing like the debased Byzantine coins that preceded them and there can be no doubt that they were intended as denari on the Frankish model.

TABLE 9

SYMBOLS ON THE COINS OF ROME, 717–781

Symbols	*DOC* Page / No.		Symbols	*DOC* Page / No.	
	Solidus	Tremissis		Solidus	Tremissis
Leo III alone			Artavasdus and Constantine		
L ✱	272/62	272/65	✱ ✱	288/7	
Γ ✱	272/63				
✱ Δ	272/64		Artavasdus and Nicephorus		
Leo III and Constantine V			✱ ✱	288/8	289/9
✱	273/66	275/75	I B		289/10
R M		275/76	Constantine V alone		
✱ ✱ ✱		276/77	✱ R	317/25	317/26
Є ✱	273/67		Constantine V and Leo IV		
✱ R		276/78	(*busts together*)		
✱ A		276/79	✱ R	318/27	318/28
✱ B		276/80	R M		318/29
✱ Γ		276/81	(*Leo IV on rev.*)		
✱ Δ	274/68	276/82	B		320/37
✱ Є ✱		276/83	Γ	319/30	
✱ Z		277/84	Δ	319/31	320/38
✱ H	274/69	277/85	R	319/32	320/39
✱ Θ	274/70	277/86	I ∂	319/33	320/40
✱ I	275/71	277/87	✱ ✱ I Δ	320/34	320/41
I Є ✱	275/72	277/88	I Є	320/35	320/42
∂	275/73	277/89	R I	320/36	320/43
None	275/74	277/90	Leo IV alone		
✱ ✱		278/91	R I	335/9	335/10

that used for Leo III, subsequently (after 751) with two, those of Constantine V and Leo IV, side by side, having a *Manus Dei* between them. This type was in turn abandoned for one having a single bust on each face of the coin, once again with a series of unexplained letters in the field and of steadily deteriorating metal. The issues end with rare coins having the name of Leo (IV) accompanying the busts on both faces of the coin. The various symbols, and the denominations found for each, are set out in Table 9.

Rome had occasionally minted in silver during the seventh century, but eighth-century coins of this metal are few. One type, which surprisingly combines an imperial bust with what is, in effect, a monogram of Pope Gregory III, can be attributed to Leo III (below, p. 278, No. 92). The other has on the obverse a facing bust wearing a loros and on the reverse the monogram of a cross combined with a K (below, p. 322, No. 44). Although the reverse type is seventh-century rather than eighth-century in its general aspect, the imperial bust, and in particular the design of the hair, cannot be earlier than the eighth century. Laffranchi believed that the K referred to the anti-pope Constantine (767–8), on the analogy of the coin with the "monogram" of Gregory III,[261] but a more reasonable assumption is that it represents the initial of the Emperor Constantine V. On some specimens the loros becomes a mere lattice pattern, a feature carried still further on a related coin which has a formalized bust between two stars on both sides. This has sometimes been ascribed to Rome, but I am more inclined to give it the mint of Naples (below, p. 316, No. 23).

The only Roman copper coin of the Isaurian period—it may have been theoretically of billon—is one of Leo III, with a facing bust on the obverse and XXX, with the mint-mark ROM, on the reverse (below, p. 278, No. 93). It has been very variously dated, but the bust resembles that of Constantine V on some early Roman tremisses of Leo III and it is best attributed to his reign.

The date at which the mint of Rome ceased to be "Byzantine" is one of considerable historical importance, but is not easy to determine. The mint administration must have been under the effective control of either the popes or the local civic authorities long before the popes began to coin in their own names, and even before Gregory III's monogram appeared on silver coins of Leo III. But Rome, unlike Ravenna, was not lost to the Empire by sudden conquest, and the replacement of imperial by papal sovereignty was a slow and barely perceptible process. The office of *dux Romae* persisted throughout the period, but we do not know when the duke ceased to be nominated by the emperor. Already the biographer of Pope Zacharias (741–52) could write that when the pope was absent from the city its rule was left in the hands of the Duke Stephen,[262] as if normal government belonged to the pope. Zacharias was also the last pope to announce his election to a Byzantine exarch at Ravenna and make the customary request for imperial confirmation, since when Stephen II succeeded him in 752 Ravenna was a Lombard possession, and in the absence of an exarch the formality was simply dispensed with. Even in the 750's, however, imperial authority was still recognized in two important respects: papal documents, despite all the exacerbations of Iconoclasm, continued to be dated by regnal years of the "most pious" emperors, and coins continued to be struck in the emperor's name and bearing his effigy. We know from Charlemagne's relations

[261] L. Laffranchi, "Il tremisse di Ariperto con Iffo e le prime monete beneventane," *Rassegna numismatica*, 31 (1934), 35.

[262] *Vita Zachariae*, c. 12 (in the *Liber pontificalis*, I. 429): *relicta Romana urbe iamdicto Stephano patricio et duci ad gubernandum*. The significance of the passage is noted by the editor. Adrian I refers to his nephew Theodore as *dux noster* (*Codex Carolinus*, Ep. 60, in *MGH, Epist. merow. et karol. aevi*, I [Berlin, 1892], 587).

with Grimoald III of Benevento that these were regarded in the eighth century as decisive marks of sovereignty.[263]

The date at which imperial dating ended should therefore tell us how long imperial coins continued to be issued, but unfortunately our information on this point is unsatisfactory. All we can say is that it occurred sometime between 772 and 781.[264] A document of 20 February 772 in favor of the abbey of Farfa is dated by the regnal years of Constantine V and his son Leo, with Adrian's own pontifical year added as a kind of afterthought.[265] In a document of 1 December 781 in favor of St. Denis the traditional phrase [*N.*] *a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno* [*X*] is replaced by *regnante Domino et salvatore nostro Iesu Christo,* with the pontifical year,[266] and the same occurs in a document of 1 November 782.[267] Though we have many letters of Pope Adrian written between 772 and 781, the compiler of the *Codex Carolinus* was unfortunately only interested in their substance and systematically omitted the formal phrases with which they began and ended, so we do not know how matters were arranged in the intervening years. The general view of scholars is that imperial dating was discontinued in 781, when Charlemagne was in Rome and relations with Byzantium were particularly good.[268] Under such circumstances an old-fashioned dating formula, which meant nothing in the West, could be quietly dropped without giving too much offense.

As for the imperial coinage, it continued down to at least 776, since rare solidi and tremisses exist which can be attributed to Leo IV.[269] Although he succeeded his father in September 775 the news only reached Rome in the following February.[270] One may hazard the conjecture that, despite its rarity, the coinage continued to 781, its dis-

[263] Grimoald was a hostage in Charlemagne's hands when Duke Arichis of Benevento died (787), and before releasing him the king made him swear *ut . . . cartas vero nummosque sui nominis caracteribus* [i.e., those of Charlemagne] *superscribi semper iuberet* (Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum beneventanorum,* 4, in *MGH, Script. rer. Lang.* [Hanover, 1878], 236). Erchempert goes on to say that Grimoald did this, but only for a short time, a statement confirmed by the numismatic evidence.

[264] For what follows see A. Menzer, "Die Jahresmerkmale in den Datierungen der Papsturkunden bis zum Ausgang des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Römische Quartalschrift,* 40 (1932), 27–103, esp. 31, 48, and 62–3; and R. L. Poole, "Imperial Influences on the Forms of Papal Documents," in his *Studies in Chronology and History,* ed. A. Lane Poole (Oxford, 1934), 172–4.

[265] *Il Regesto di Farfa,* ed. I. Giorgi and U. Balzani, II (Rome, 1879), 33, No. 18. The document is accepted as authentic in Jaffé-Ewald, *Regesta,* No. 2395. In the same year Adrian referred to the emperor's tribunal some of those implicated in the murder of the *secundicerius* Sergius (*Vita Adriani,* cc. 13, 15, in the *Liber pontificalis,* I. 491; cf. Duchesne's note on p. 515 regarding the implications of this act).

[266] S. Baluze, *Miscellanea,* ed. J. B. Mansi, III (Lucca, 1761), 3 (= Jaffé-Ewald, No. 2435). It is taken from a tenth-century copy and appears to be authentic.

[267] Poole, *art. cit.,* 179, citing a somewhat corrupt derivative of 1053. Leo III dated by his pontifical year and by that of Charlemagne's reign in Italy.

[268] Charlemagne visited Rome at Easter 781, and it was while he was there that his daughter Hrotrudis was betrothed to Constantine VI and arrangements were made for her to be instructed in Greek and in the customs of "the Empire of the Romans" (Theophanes, A.M. 6274; ed. de Boor, I. 455).

[269] Below, p. 335, Nos. 9, 10.

[270] *Codex Carolinus,* Ep. 58 (in *MGH, Epist.,* I. 583).

appearance thus coinciding with the abandonment of dating by regnal years. It was in 781 that Charlemagne demonetized the old tremisses of base gold circulating in his Lombard kingdom, replacing them with silver deniers on the Frankish model,[271] and a simultaneous ending of the nominally "gold" coinage of Rome would have brought the city's circulating medium into line with that of the Frankish state whose fortunes it now so largely shared. A change at that moment would also have provided a solution to an awkward problem with which the Roman mint-master must have been faced, that of deciding whether or not to recognize the regent Irene on the coinage of the infant Constantine VI. By minting in the pope's name instead of the emperor's he could sidestep the problem altogether.

CHERSON[272]

No coins can be ascribed to Cherson between the early seventh century[273] and the second half of the ninth. Minting began in the reign of Michael III with small coins having on one face a Π (for πόλις) and on the other X (for Χερσῶνος). This issue was presumably a municipal one, even though the administration of the "primate" (πρωτεύω) and city council had been superseded under Theophilus by that of a military governor when Cherson and other Byzantine possessions north of the Black Sea were incorporated into the organization of themes.[274] In the joint reign of Michael III and Basil (866–7) the coins became imperial, with MB on one face and ΠX on the other. The ensuing coinage continued for just over a century, down to the capture of the city by the Russian prince Vladimir in 989.

The early issues of Cherson tend to have on one face the initials of the reigning emperors and on the other Π or ΠX, or a cross on steps. Under Leo VI and in the early years of Constantine VII's reign there was a preference for one or two imperial busts. Later still there are monograms of a rather more complicated character than had been usual on Byzantine coinage, with one monogram including all or nearly all the letters of the emperor's name, instead of only a few of them, and another those of the word δεσπότης or δεσπότου. These changes are helpful in dating the coins, since the imperial initials are sometimes ambiguous, with the name of Romanus and the combination of Basil and Constantine each occurring twice between 866 and 989.

The coins are very diverse in size and weight, varying from about 10 mm. to 25 mm. in diameter and from about 2 g. to 7 g. in weight, though no distinction of denominations is apparent. They are of poor-quality alloy—an analysis of one by Lucien Sabatier gave

[271] Cf. P. Grierson, "Money and Coinage under Charlemagne," in *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunfels, I (Düsseldorf, 1965), 507, 514–15.

[272] See A. V. Oreshnikov, "Khersono-vizantiiskiya moneti," *Trudi Moskovskago Numizmaticheskago Obshchestva*, 3 (1905), 359–73, with supplementary material in *Numizmaticheskii Sbornik*, 1 (1911), 107–12, 303–4. There are some corrections to the traditional attributions by I. V. Sokolova, "Khersonesskie moneti X v. s portretami imperatorov," *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 5 (1965), 116–20. Great quantities of these coins have come to light in the Cherson excavations.

[273] See *DOC*, II. 38.

[274] *De administrando imperio*, 42.39–54 (ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins, p. 184).

72 percent copper, 22 percent lead, and the remainder zinc and tin[275]—and unlike most coins are cast instead of being struck. Their attribution to Cherson is certain, since apart from the ꟿX on some of the early coins it is in the Crimea and its neighborhood, more particularly on the site of Cherson itself, that virtually all known specimens have been found. The reason for their issue is unknown. The fact that they are cast, extremely variable in weight, and quite different in design from the folles of Constantinople naturally raises the suspicion that they are not really coins at all, but some kind of token or receipt, perhaps used in connection with the corn trade. Against this is the fact that they bear an imperial mark and were evidently issued in great numbers. Possibly prices were lower at Cherson than in the capital and in the European and Asiatic provinces of the Empire, so that the local authorities found it convenient to issue coins of smaller value than the heavy folles of Michael II and Theophilus, the supply of which, owing to the interruption in minting under Michael III, may in any case have been running low at the date when local minting began. The situation is one for which there have been many parallels under modern colonial conditions.

Coins of Cherson had been countermarked at Bosporos (Kerch) in the early seventh century. Another countermark, consisting of the letter B, has been found on a Constantinopolitan follis of Tiberius III discovered at Bosporos.[276] There is no external evidence for dating, but I am inclined to believe that the letter stood for both Bosporos and Basil I, Bosporos having been stimulated by the example of its neighbor into a brief revival of minting activity at the same period.

Ravenna[277]

During the first half of the eighth century Ravenna remained the seat of the imperial exarch. Though the latter was theoretically responsible for all Byzantine possessions in Italy, his direct control was exercised over a relatively small area. An attempt to put Leo III's Iconoclastic decrees into effect cost the Exarch Paul his life. The city was besieged by Liutprand in the middle 720's and captured by him in the late 730's. This first Lombard occupation was brief and Ravenna was almost immediately recovered, as a result of Venetian prowess, for the Empire, but the restoration lasted barely ten years. The city fell to the Lombard King Aistulf (749–56) in or shortly before 751, under circumstances completely unknown to us.[278] Aistulf in turn held it for five years. As

[275] J. and L. Sabatier, *Production de l'or, de l'argent et du cuivre chez les anciens* (St. Petersburg, 1850), 82–3.

[276] K. V. Golenko, "Gegenstempel auf Chersoner Münzen des Maurikios Tiberios," *HBN*, 18/19 (1964/65), 5–13; Grierson, "The Crimean Countermarks of Heraclius," *NC*[7], 6 (1966), 221–4.

[277] For the mint in the seventh century see *DOC*, II. 51–3. The article by I. Maull, "Le zecche nell'antica Ravenna (402/404–751 d.c.)," *Felix Ravenna*, 84 (1961), 79–134, is of no value for this period.

[278] The *terminus ante quem* is given by a charter of Aistulf dated *Ravennae in palatio* on 5 July 751 (*Il Regesto di Farfa*, ed. Giorgi and Balzani, II, No. 23). The date—late 750 or early 751—is discussed by L. M. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien* (Leipzig, 1889), 136.

successor to the exarchs he was free to claim jurisdiction over Rome, and papal fears resulted in Frankish intervention in Italy. In 754 the Lombard king was forced to promise the cession of his conquests to the pope, but he went back on his undertakings and Pepin had to cross the Alps again in 756 and compel Aistulf to submit. In the summer of that year Ravenna was occupied by papal representatives, despite the protests of the Byzantine ambassadors who had been sent to remonstrate with Pepin and claim the city in their master's name.

The coinage of Ravenna during the years 717–51 seems to have been scanty. No folles are known for either Leo III or Constantine V, though since this denomination was struck by Aistulf they are probably yet to be found. A few tremisses of Leo III can be attributed doubtfully to the mint; they are certainly not of Rome, and have stylistic affinities with the corresponding coins of Constantine V. With the latter we are on firmer ground, for his Ravennate coins can be compared with those of Aistulf. Only tremisses are known, and these are of such poor metal and so pale in color that they have often been published as silver coins. All are dated by indictional letters in the reverse field. The recorded dates are I (= 10, i.e., 741/2; the coin shows Constantine associated with his father) and IΔ, IЄ, and A (= 745/6–747/8). Nothing later than 747/8 is known, and the recorded coins of Aistulf start in 753/4.

It is the existence of these Lombard coins that makes possible a firm mint identification for the final Byzantine issues. Aistulf's Ravennate coins[279] are of Byzantine pattern, completely different from his other coinages of north Italy and Tuscany. The obverse type consists of his bearded bust, facing, wearing a chlamys and holding a globus cruciger, the inscription being ƆNAIS ƆЧLFR. The reverse varies according to the denomination. The tremissis reproduces that of the preceding period, with a cross potent, a *Victoria* inscription, and CONOB, but on the solidus the steps beneath the cross potent are transformed into a monogram of the letters AYT, letters which also occur in Aistulf's name. The coins are dated by the letters Z or H, corresponding to Indictions 7 (= 753/4) and 8 (= 754/5), in the reverse field. A single specimen[280] of the corresponding follis is known, with an M having ANNO vertically to the left and R[AV] beneath; the date is unfortunately off flan. The coins are of notably good workmanship but the alloy of the gold is poor, though not so bad as that of Rome in the middle years of the century.

There were separate mints at Ravenna for copper and gold, as there were at Constantinople, and both were sufficiently important edifices to serve as landmarks in the city. Agnellus, writing in the fourth decade of the ninth century, when recording the fact that two archbishops had previously been abbots of San Apollinare, goes out of his way

[279] *CNI*, X. 681, Nos. 1–4; E. Bernareggi, *Il sistema economico e la monetazione dei Longobardi in Italia superiore* (Milan, 1960), 162–3, Nos. 162–3, and "Le monete dei Longobardi nell'Italia Padana e nella Tuscia," *RIN*, 65 (1963), 97–9. A specimen of the tremissis was published by Wroth (p. 390, No. 76, Pl. XLV.15) as a silver coin of Constantine V. The late Dr. Stefan had one or two further specimens in his collection, but details are lacking.

[280] H. Longuet, "Notes de numismatique byzantine," *RN*[5], 2 (1938), 6, No. 6 and Pl. I.6. Longuet rightly identified the portrait with that on the debased tremissis in the British Museum referred to in the preceding note, but wrongly followed Wroth in attributing it to Constantine V. The coin, which formed lot 494 in the Longuet Sale (Platt 17. iii. 70), is now in the author's collection.

to say that this monastery was close to the ancient *Moneta publica*.[281] This would place it in the northwestern part of the city, north of San Vitale and close to Santa Croce and the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia.[282] The *Moneta aurea* for gold, on the other hand, lay to the east, in the great palace complex which included the church that since the ninth century has been known as San Apollinare Nuovo as well as the neighboring Calchi, a building of the final Byzantine period formerly regarded as the Palace of Theoderic and occupying part of the site of the latter.[283] Whether the two mints were still separate institutions in the eighth century we have no means of knowing.

C. MINT OUTPUT

Numismatists until recently took it for granted that in periods and countries for which no mint records were available the size of mint output would remain forever unknown. Some types of coin were obviously commoner than others, and where there seemed reason to believe that the figures were not distorted by the vagaries of hoard evidence, and where the impression given by the relative number of surviving coins was borne out by that for die diversity, a scholar would be prepared to argue that larger survival probably reflected a larger mint output. But to give absolute figures seemed out of the question.

Nowadays figures, in numismatics as in other disciplines, are in fashion, and even unreliable estimates are regarded as better than none.[284] Those for mint output require two sets of data, one of the number of dies employed and the other of the average number of coins likely to have been struck per die. The ascertainment of the first is a

[281] *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, cc. 115, 164 (in *MGH, Script. rer. Lang.*, 353, 383). The first passage records that Archbishop Reparatus (671–7) had been abbot of San Apollinare, *non longe a posterula Ovilionis in loco qui vocatur Moneta publica*, the second that Archbishop Gratiosus (late eighth century) came from the same monastery, *quod est fundatum non longe ab ecclesia sancte redemptricis Crucis ad Monetam veterem*. At the time when Agnellus was writing there was no longer a mint at Ravenna, hence the use of the term *vetus*.

[282] For the whereabouts of the early buildings in Ravenna see the double-page map after p. 116 in A. T. Rasponi's edition (not completed) of Agnellus in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, II. iii (Bologna, 1924). It is necessary to combine this with a modern street-plan. The maps in the recent article of B. M. Felletti Maj, "Una carta di Ravenna romana e bizantina," *Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, III. *Rendiconti*, 41 (1968–9), 85–120, are too much reduced to be very helpful here.

[283] The earliest contemporary reference to its location is in a document of 572, one of the parties to which was a *Flavius Iohannis forensis huius splendedissime urbis Ravennatis habens stationem ad Monitam auri in porticum Sacri Palatii* (G. Marini, *I papiri diplomatici, raccolti ed illustrati* [Rome, 1805], No. 120, p. 185; cf. note on p. 351). It appears as *Moneta aurea* in an undated account of the building activities of Odovacar and Theoderic cited in *Script. rer. Lang.*, 267, note 2, and was still a landmark in the twelfth century, being cited in documents of 1154 (*Moneta*), 1184 (*Moneta aurea*), and 1188 (*Monetae domus*); see M. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati de' secoli di mezzo*, VI (Venice, 1804), 248, 244, 245. The later medieval mint was differently located, near the former church of San Vincente (*ibid.*, 199, doc. of 1336, misdated 1366).

[284] For the literature up to 1965, see my *Bibliographie numismatique* (Brussels, 1966), 27. The statistical methods and formulae are set out in the various works of Metcalf cited in the notes that follow.

matter of fairly well-established statistical procedure. If, in a given sample of coins, there are one or more die-duplicates, it is possible to calculate, within rather large limits of error, the total number of dies likely to have been used for the coinage from which the sample was taken. The second depends on a mixture of experiment, reasoning by analogy, and faith. Experiments with modern bronze dies have shown the number of coins which under favorable circumstances can be struck by a single pair of dies.[285] Analogies are provided by a few mint records, dating from the thirteenth century or later, that are detailed enough to permit a calculation of the actual number of coins per die which on occasion were struck. The contribution of faith is the belief that dies will in all circumstances and countries be treated in more or less the same way, and used until they are worn out. If this be indeed the case, figures valid for thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England can be employed for calculating mint output at quite other times and places.

Since the estimation of mint output in this fashion requires intensive die study, it has so far been applied to only a few Byzantine coin series, although these range from the early fifth century (small folles of Anastasius I)[286] to the mid-fourteenth (silver coins of Anna of Savoy).[287] In the period covered by this volume the following estimates, based on an assumed average output of 15,000 coins per obverse die, have been put forward by Metcalf:

1. Leo IV. Folles of Class 1. 320/1000+ obverse dies. Output: minimum 5 million, maximum 15+ million.[288]
2. Nicephorus I. Folles. All dies recorded are different, so no estimate is possible.[289]
3. Leo V. Folles. 134/850 dies. Output between 2 and 13 million coins.[290]
4. Michael II. Large-module folles. 238/625+ dies. Output between 2 and 10+ million, assuming an average of 10,000 coins per obverse die.[291]

[285] See particularly D. G. Sellwood, "Some Experiments in Greek Minting Technique," *NC*[7], 3 (1963), 217–31. He struck nearly 8,000 coins before the upper die became unusable. His work completely invalidates the much lower maximum proposed by Brunetti (1,800 coins) on purely theoretical grounds, his calculation being based upon the relative hardness of the metals used for dies and flans. We do not in fact know whether Byzantine dies were of bronze, as was usual in antiquity, or of hardened iron, approximating to steel, as was the case in the West during the later Middle Ages, but since Sassanian dies were of iron (H. Nützel, "Sasanadische Münzstempel," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen*, 31 [1909/10], 49–50), those of Byzantium may have been so too.

[286] D. M. Metcalf, *The Origins of the Anastasian Currency Reform* (Amsterdam, 1969), 74–81.

[287] L. Brunetti, "Sulla quantità di monete d'argento emesso sotto Anna di Savoia, imperatrice di Bisanzio (1341–1347)," *RIN*, 65 (1963), 143–68.

[288] "How Extensive Was the Issue of Folles during the Years 775–820?" *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 302.

[289] *Ibid.*, 303 ("Anepigraphic Folles").

[290] *Ibid.*, 302–3.

[291] "The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus before His Reform," *HBN*, 21 (1967), 31–2, revising the figure of 204/522 + dies and 2/5 + millions of the preceding article, p. 303. The lower estimate of 10,000 per obverse die is intended to allow for the larger module of the coins.

5. Theophilus. Folles. 25/70 million coins, assuming the same average.[292]
6. Basil I. Folles. 1650/4950 obverse dies. Output 15/50 million coins, or 25/75 million if the average output per obverse die is taken as 15,000 instead of 10,000.[293]

These figures show the wide range of variation that exists in statistical estimates of die totals where few die-duplicates occur in a sample, as is the case with the large coinages here envisaged, and in particular the uncertainty about the higher figures, for which no satisfactory "maximum" can sometimes be estimated at all. In the case of Leo IV, for example, where out of 45 coins examined there was only one die-duplicate, the median figure for the total of dies works out at 1,000, but the number might be as low as 320 and the maximum cannot be usefully calculated. Figures for total output will also vary enormously according to the multiplier used for the number of coins struck per die.

How reliable the totals are is, in any case, a question on which opinions differ.[294] They certainly require revision on one point of substance. Metcalf based his totals on the commonly received opinion that the average "life" of an obverse die, in hammer striking, was likely to run to about 15,000 coins. Subsequent calculations by I. H. Stewart, for English coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, suggested that the true figure might be twice as much. This has since been confirmed by the discovery of records giving the number of dies used annually at various English mints between 1281 and 1327.[295] These show that in periods of heavy coining the number of dies used was very large—the highest total, that of the fiscal year September 1299–September 1300, exceeded 4,000—and the average number of coins struck per obverse die was in the vicinity of 30,000, with a workman able to strike some 2,000 coins a day if required to do so. The die-sinkers, however, sometimes found great difficulty in keeping up with the mint's needs, as in fact occurred in 1300, when they were reprimanded for supplying dies of such poor metal and workmanship that they wore out in a few days. This was reflected in a reduced coin/die output of only 23,000 in this year.

These data suggest that Metcalf's totals may be underestimates, though whether they should be simply doubled is another matter; probably not, for die-life is likely to have been much shorter for thick copper coins struck in relatively high relief than for thin English pennies not much more than half an inch in diameter. The fundamental difficulty is that of knowing how far "averages" have any validity at all. The English figures show "averages" ranging from 5,400 to 72,000, and even if the higher ones are somewhat invalid—they presumably resulted from the continued use of dies supplied the preceding year—it is clear that mints frequently obtained more dies than proved to be necessary. The great variations in survival rates, or what would be such if the estimates for mint output were correct, are also disturbing. This is most strikingly illustrated by Brunetti's

[292] "How Extensive Was the Issue of Folles . . .," 277, referring the reader for details to a future article in *Hesperia*.

[293] "Ražba follů Basilia I. a organizace jejich mincoven," *Numismatický Sbornik*, 9 (1966), 122, 127.

[294] Cf. my comments in "Byzantine Coinage as Source Material," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (Oxford, 1967), 321–3.

[295] M. Mate, "Coin Dies under Edward I and II," *NC*[7], 9 (1969), 207–18.

calculations for the silver coinage of Anna of Savoy. He put the total of dies at about 2,800, which at an average of 30,000 coins per die—the coins are in size not much different from English sterlings, so one can fairly use this multiple—would imply a total coinage of over 80 million. Of this only 250 specimens are now known, all from a single hoard, implying a survival rate of highly improbable dimensions. The calculations as a whole, indeed, involve so many assumptions and unknown factors that they must be treated with the greatest reserve.

D. COUNTERMARKS

Countermarking by authorities within the Byzantine Empire, as was pointed out in the preceding volume (p. 53), is practically limited to the seventh century. The only recorded example in the period between 717 and 1081 is a follis of Tiberius III, countermarked by a large B, which was found at Bosporos. It has been suggested above[296] that the letter may represent the initial of Basil I, but the countermark cannot at present be dated, and only the finding of further specimens in a secure archeological context would show whether this conjecture is well-founded or not.

Arabic countermarks, on the other hand, are common on folles of the eleventh century which the Seljuqs and their successors found circulating in those parts of Asia Minor and Syria which they overran. Sabatier, in his *Description générale*, published two specimens from his own collection, one a follis of Michael VII (overstruck on an Anonymous Follis of Class H) bearing two countermarks,[297] the other a follis of Alexius I from some Eastern mint also bearing two marks.[298] In his *Iconographie* he had included a number of others: three Anonymous Folles of Class A2 and one of Class C, two folles of Constantine X and Eudocia, and one follis, most surprising of all, of Leo VI and Alexander.[299] Wroth added to these an Anonymous Follis of Class K.[300] There are a number of similar coins, unpublished up to the present, at Berlin (mainly from the Mordtmann collection) and at Paris, as well as elsewhere.[301] Since a general study of the whole series is highly desirable, most of the countermarked specimens at Dumbarton Oaks have been illustrated as well as described. The commonest countermarks are عدل *ʿadl* ("just"), لله *liʾllāh* ("to God"), and شمس *shams* (i.e., "Sun," part of a personal name), but many of them are indecipherable. The provenance of none of our specimens is recorded, but others are known to have been purchased at Teheran and Beyrouth and their place of origin is believed to be somewhere in eastern Asia Minor.

[296] P. 92.

[297] *Description*, II. 143, No. 11 (Pl. XLVIII.8) = his *Iconographie*, Pl. byz. suppl. XX.8.

[298] *Ibid.*, II. 191, No. 21 (Pl. LII.19) = *Iconographie*, Pl. byz. suppl. XX.6. He had previously published and discussed it in his "Monnaie d'Alexis Ier Comnène avec deux contremarques en caractères arabo-cufiques," *Mém. de Soc. impériale d'archéologie*, 4 (St. Petersburg, 1850), 11–16, Pl. IV.3. His reading of the countermark is incorrect, however; it is the ordinary لله, "to God."

[299] *Iconographie*, Pl. byz. suppl. XII.2 (Leo VI); Pl. byz. suppl. XXIII.4–7, 29, 30.

[300] Wroth, p. 504, No. 27 (Pl. LIX.10).

[301] Cf. G. C. Miles, "Some Islamic Coins in the Berne Historical Museum," *Revue suisse de numismatique*, 45 (1966), 136–7, and I. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkheoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki islamî sikkeler kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1971), Nos. 1312–16.

The countermarked coins here are all, with one exception, Anonymous Folles, and are as follows:

B.64 (p. 679; Pl. LV) لله
C.46 (p. 684; Pl. LX) لله
D.34 (p. 687; Pl. LX) لله (badly made)
G.12 (p. 693; Pl. LXI) عدل (*ʿadl*, "just")
K.2 (p. 702) كمر (*kmr* [?], meaning uncertain)
K.13 (p. 703) شمس (*shams*)
Michael VII (p. 820, No. 14c.4) لله

In addition to Arabic countermarks, Georgian ones are sometimes found on Byzantine folles of the eleventh century. Wroth has cited one of Michael VII on which the face of Christ is obliterated by the monogram of Erakle II (1762–98).[302] Although this king's countermark is more commonly found on earlier Georgian coins,[303] eleventh-century folles were about the same size as these and were evidently regarded as acceptable when they happened to turn up in circulation. The same phenomenon is known in other coin series.[304]

E. PATTERN COINS

The category of pattern coins is one of which no account was taken in the previous volumes of this Catalogue, since this class of object did not, as far as we know, exist prior to the Macedonian period. Between the early tenth and the late eleventh century, however, there were struck a number of coin-like objects in poor-quality silver or copper which correspond very closely in inscription and type to what one would expect of coins of the period. Since they are different from anything known in the appropriate metal for coins of each particular denomination, it seems natural to regard them as patterns which failed to receive official approval and consequently were never struck in gold or silver for circulation. Their appearance at this particular period is not surprising. The Isaurian tradition of coinage had been a sober one, with no special commemorative issues of the type popular in Roman times. Theophilus was reviving an ancient tradition when he issued coins showing his wife and three daughters as well as himself, and the practice of occasional showy issues was kept up by his successors. The first of the known pattern coins is one of Alexander, but similar coins of Leo VI and Basil I may well come to light. It is no accident that nearly half of the small number we possess are from the reign of the art-loving Constantine VII, or that the practice of striking pattern coins seems to have disappeared under the harsher rule of the military emperors in the last decades of the century.

The survival of these patterns is at first sight surprising, since only a few specimens are likely to have been struck and their lack of intrinsic value would have made them

[302] Wroth, p. 533, note 3.
[303] Cf. E. A. Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii* (Tbilisi, 1970), 269–70, 346–7.
[304] A. Dieudonné, "Les monnaies romaines contremarquées dans les temps modernes," *RN*[4], 14 (1910), 517–25.

not worth hoarding. But curios have been treasured in every society, and most of those which have survived are each unique of their kind. Although they never became coin, their iconographical interest is sufficient to justify their inclusion in this Catalogue. The list of such as are known to me is set out in the accompanying table; others will probably be found in the future. They are all illustrated with the exception of the last, which is easily available in *BNC*, Pl. XC.12 (p. 652). It is the only one furnished with a contemporary frame.[305]

TABLE 10

PATTERN COINS, ALEXANDER – ROMANUS IV

Ruler	Denomination	Metal	Reference		Location
			Page/No.	Plate	
Alexander (912–13)	Solidus	Æ	524/1	XXXV.1	DO
Constantine VII (913–59)					
(a) C. and Zoe	Solidus	Æ	541/1	XXXVI.1	Private coll.
(b) Romanus I and C.	Solidus	Æ	548/9	XXXVII.9	Berlin
(c) C. alone	Solidus	Æ	550/11	XXXVII.11	Hermitage
(d) Romanus I alone	Miliaresion	Æ	556/19	XXXVII.19	BM and Hermitage
Zoe (1042)					
(a) Alone	Histamenon	Æ	729/1	LVIII.1	Istanbul
(b) With C. VIII	Tetarteron	Æ	730/2	LVIII.2	DO
(c) Alone	Miliaresion	Æ	730/3	—	(?)
Romanus IV (1068–71)	Tetarteron	Æ	792/4	—	BN

F. FORGERIES AND IMITATIONS

During the seventh century a substantial part of the Byzantine Empire was conquered by the Arabs, who for a time issued imitative coinages which in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were predominantly of copper and in North Africa of gold. These coinages were of the same character as those struck earlier by various Germanic peoples in the states they had set up in what had formerly been the western provinces of the Empire. The

[305] Cf. J. A. Blanchet, "Essais monétaires romains," *RN*³, 14 (1896), 231–9, who argues that some Roman copper "medallions" are really patterns and associates this one with them.

motive behind them was economic rather than political. They imitated Byzantine coins because these were the types most familiar to the inhabitants of the conquered areas, and the imitations were in no way intended to imply a recognition of imperial sovereignty. The fact that their designs and sometimes their inscriptions were "imperial" in character would not justify our treating them as Byzantine, since they were neither issued by imperial authority nor intended to circulate inside the Empire.

The phenomenon of massive pseudo-imperial coinages is not repeated in the period 717–1081, since the military circumstances were so different and Arab rulers had no longer to take account of the needs of newly subjugated populations. But there exist a few marginal coinages whose status cannot be precisely determined, and which in consequence have been included in this volume. They are as follows:

(1) South Italian solidi of crude style, blundered inscriptions, and base gold struck in the names of Nicephorus I (802–11) and Theophilus (829–42) and perhaps attributable to the dukes of Naples (p. 361, No. 12; pp. 449–51, Nos. 31–3; Pls. XVII.12, XXVI.31–33; cf. pp. 84–7, 354, 421–3).

(2) Solidi struck in Sicily in the name of Theophilus, whose style and fabric make it unlikely that they are products of a regular mint (p. 444, No. 25; Pl. XXVI.25; cf. pp. 417, 420).

(3) Very crude imitations of Class B of the Anonymous Folles which must represent local production of some kind (pp. 674–5, 680–1, Nos. A2.52 and Ba, Bb). The same is presumably true of an entire hoard of imitations of Class A found in 1939 at Zlataritsa in Bulgaria and summarily described by Gerasimov.[306] Here the coins were struck, not cast, and varied in style from relatively exact copies to ones on which the letters of the reverse inscription are reduced to single strokes and rectangles.

It may well be that some of the Italian issues of the eighth century which are attributed to unidentified (but imperial) mints are really the work of local authorities outside the Empire, but their inclusion here will perhaps contribute to their further study. Other catalogued series probably contain a few contemporary counterfeits, duly noted as being of doubtful authenticity, as it seemed desirable to be as comprehensive as possible and to exclude only palpable forgeries such as solidi of gilded copper and miliaresia of copper or other base metal.

Coins struck outside the Empire, whether pseudo-imperial (with blundered inscriptions and types) or having designs inspired by those of regular solidi or miliaresia, do not fall within the scope of this Catalogue, but an indication of the extent and area of Byzantine numismatic influence in the period may be useful to scholars. It was naturally strongest in states contiguous to the Byzantine frontiers and in regular diplomatic and commercial relations with Constantinople,[307] but it could occasionally operate further afield. Only the Carolingian Empire and Anglo-Saxon England escaped it almost entirely, partly because of their remoteness, partly because of the policies of their rulers, and partly

[306] T. Gerasimov, "Fausses monnaies antiques de l'empereur byzantin Jean Zimiscès," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare*, 17 (1950), 313–15.

[307] Cf. A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, II (Paris, 1894), 924–8.

through having, in the silver penny (denier), a totally different system of coinage.[308] The predominant influence is that of milaresia; the influence of gold coins, which could not be legally exported by merchants, was slight, and that of copper was limited to former imperial lands where folles formed the bulk of the circulating medium.

Asia Minor and Syria

Imitations in these former Byzantine provinces, which were lost only in the decades after Manzikert, belong naturally to the very late eleventh and the twelfth centuries. They are limited to the copper, and for the most part involve prototypes struck later than 1081. A fels of the second Danishmendid ruler Malek Ghazi (1084–1136)[309] has on it a bust of Christ probably copied from that of Class I of the Anonymous Folles, and a common fels of the Zengid ruler Nur ad-Dīn Maḥmud (1146–73) has a type which goes back to the follis with the standing figures of Constantine X and Eudocia, though its direct model was probably some twelfth-century derivative of this.[310] Several early Crusader coins of Edessa and Antioch, which were struck in a region only recently lost by the Empire and in which Byzantine coins were still circulating, have designs which in varying degrees depend on eleventh-century Byzantine prototypes.[311]

Armenia

The kings of Armenia in the tenth and eleventh centuries had no independent coinage of their own, but there exists a rare fels having on one face a bust of Christ, copied from

[308] D. Talbot Rice, in his *English Art 871–1100* (Oxford, 1952), 34, alleges Byzantine influence on the coins of Alfred and his successors, but it is nonexistent. There was considerable copying of motifs from ancient Roman coins, but these would have been found in the country. The reverse of the so-called "sovereign" type penny of Edward the Confessor is taken from the seated Constantinopolis on a solidus of Justin II, but we have no way of knowing how this came to the attention of the eleventh-century die-sinker. On the question in general see P. D. Whitting, "The Byzantine Empire and the Coinage of the Anglo-Saxons," in *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies Presented to F. M. Stenton*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (London, 1961), 23–38.

[309] P. Casanova, "Monnaies des Danichmendites," *RN*³, 14 (1896), 211–15 and Pl. III.1; the model of Pl. III.2 seems to me different. This article (pp. 210–30, 306–15), with two earlier ones in the same periodical for 1894 and 1895, remains the fullest account of Danishmendid numismatics. The Greek element in this highly eclectic coinage was discussed by A. von Sallet, "Die griechischen Münzen der türkischen Dynastie des Danischmende," *ZfN*, 6 (1878), 44–54, and G. Schlumberger, "Les monnaies à légendes grecques de la dynastie turque des fils de Danichmend," *Revue archéologique*², 39 (1880), 377–84, partly amended by his "Monnaie à légende grecque d'Amir Ghazi," *RN*³, 6 (1888), 264–5, the last coin being that with the bust of Christ referred to in the text.

[310] S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, III (1877), Pl. XI.598. His identification of the Byzantine prototype as a follis of Theodora is incorrect, and in general his list of Byzantine protypes on p. 297 must be both corrected and pruned. His Pl. VII.315 (said to derive from Constantine VI and Irene) and Pl. VIII.398 (from Artavasdus) do not look to me Byzantine at all, and his Pl. VII.343 might be copied from Romanus I but certainly not from Justinian.

[311] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), Pls. I, II, and V.1–2, the derivative types being the bust of Christ, the standing Virgin, the leaved cross (from Class I of the Anonymous Folles; Pl. I.13–15 are specimens of this class wrongly attributed to the counts of Edessa), and letters arranged in the arms of a cross.

that of Class A1 of the Anonymous Folles, and on the other a four-line inscription, in Armenian, signifying "May the Lord aid Kiurikē (Gurgen) the Khorapaghat (Curopalates)." The prince in question might be either the petty dynast Kiurikē I of Tashir-Loṛi (979–89) or his grandson Kiurikē II (*c.*1048–1100), but since its Byzantine prototype was in circulation during the reign of Kiurikē I it is to him that it is best assigned.[312]

Georgia

The exiguous coinage of the Bagratid kings of Georgia in the second half of the eleventh century consisted entirely of miliaresia copied from those of Constantine IX (Pl. LIX.8). They have on one side a facing bust of the Virgin *orans* and on the other, which is of Muslim inspiration, a circular inscription and one in the field.[313] The coins of Bagrat IV (1027–72), who married in 1032 a niece of Romanus III and maintained close relations with Byzantium, are of good style; those of his son George II (1072–89) and of David the Builder (1089–1125), being copies of copies, are notably inferior.

Russia

Enormous quantities of Byzantine silver coins reached Russia in the tenth century through trade and diplomacy—the account of Olga's embassy to Constantinople in 957 shows that she and her entourage were the recipients of well over a million miliaresia[314]—and large numbers of crude imitations of those of Basil II and Constantine VIII, probably struck after the supply of these dried up in the early eleventh century, have been found on the Taman Peninsula, southeast of the Sea of Azov, and elsewhere. They have been extensively studied by K. V. Golenko.[315] Specimens are usually of low weight and of poor-quality billon or even copper, besides being of indifferent workmanship; the inscriptions on the two at Dumbarton Oaks are completely illegible. Byzantine silver coins, in their general fabric and design, also influenced the early *srebreniki* of the princes of Kiev, the bust of Christ on some of these rulers' coins being purely Byzantine in inspiration.[316]

Scandinavia

Minting in Denmark virtually started only in the eleventh century, the dominant influence in it being Anglo-Saxon, but in the 1040's there began a brief period during which the coin types struck at Lund and some other mints were Byzantine in inspiration.

[312] Grierson, "Kiurikē I or Kiurikē II of Lori-Armenia? A Note on Attributions," *MN*, 10 (1962), 107–12, arguing against the attribution to Kiurikē II favored by D. M. Lang, "Supplementary Notes on Kiurikē II, King of Lori in Armenia, and His Coins," *MN*, 6 (1954), 183–91.

[313] A. G. Kapanadze, *Gruzinskaya Numizmatika* (Moscow, 1955), 55–8, Pls. III–IV, Nos. 45–50; E. A. Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii* (Tbilisi, 1970), 57–74, Pls. III–VI, Nos. 40–82.

[314] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 15 (Bonn ed., I. 594–8).

[315] Below, p. 612 and note 24.

[316] I. G. Spasskii, *Russkaya monetnaya sistema*, 3rd ed. (Leningrad, 1962), 41–7. See also the very well illustrated reconstructions of the Nezhina and Kiev hoards by M. P. Sotnikova, "Nezhinskii klad srebrennikov 1852 g.," *Numizmatika i Sfragistika*, 4 (1971), 15–41, and "Srebrenniki Kievskogo klada 1876 g.," *ibid.*, 3 (1968), 114–37.

The models were partly the common miliaresia of Basil II and Constantine VIII, but mainly rare issues of the years 1035–42, notably the large and very beautiful miliaresion of Romanus III (Pl. LVII.3) and the Thessalonican histamenon of Michael IV (Pl. LVIII.2). The cause of this is generally believed to have been the return of Harald Hardrada in the mid 1040's with a great treasure, amassed during nearly a decade in Byzantine service, which provided the moneyers with their models. There is an extensive literature on the subject, since beside their interest in Scandinavian history, these imitations are important for the dating of their Byzantine prototypes.[317]

Germany and Central Europe

German coinage of the tenth and eleventh centuries derived in the main from that of the Carolingians, but in due course saw a great proliferation of coin designs in which Anglo-Saxon and Byzantine influence played a role. The latter[318] is most evident in the facing busts used at several imperial mints, showing the ruler wearing a crown with conspicuous pendilia—this feature was subsequently borrowed in England—and sometimes holding a globus cruciger and scepter. The two heads of St. Simon and St. Jude on the coins of Goslar are clearly borrowed from the two imperial busts of some Byzantine coin.[319] A bust or a seated figure of Christ of evident Byzantine origin is known from a few mints, and there exists a curious group of late tenth-century coins struck in the Rhineland which copy exactly, even to the inscriptions, solidi of Theophilus having on the reverse the busts of Michael II and Constantine.[320] Since the German pennies were not intended to be mistaken for the Byzantine prototypes—they are much smaller and lighter, as well as being of a different metal—one can only assume that a specimen of the solidus, which must have long dropped out of circulation in its country of origin, fell by chance into the hands of some die-sinker and pleased him as a design.

One remarkable group of German coins deserves a word of comment, since their prototype was the histamenon of Zoe and Theodora, discovered twenty years ago, which has on its obverse a bust of the Virgin of the Episkepsis type, i.e., a Virgin *orans* with a medallion of Christ on her breast, and on the reverse the busts of the two empresses. The combination of this type of the Virgin with two figures shows this histamenon to have

[317] Below, pp. 712–13, 721–2. Other imitations of the same miliaresion of Romanus III, intended as ornaments rather than coins, have been found in Finland. See P. Sarvas, "Kaiser und Jungfrau Maria. Barbarische Darstellungen auf einigen in Finnland gefundenen Nachahmungen byzantinischer Münzen," *Suomen Museo*, 1966, pp. 5–13.

[318] Engel and Serrure, *op. cit.*, II. 529–30; A. Suhle, "Der byzantinische Einfluß auf die Münzen Mitteleuropas vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert," *Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. J. Irmscher, II (Berlin, 1957), 282–92.

[319] Goslar was the recipient in the mid-eleventh century of a gold bulla of Constantine IX, which was melted down in order to make a chalice, but this would not have had two busts side by side and so cannot have been the model. Cf. W. Ohnsorge, "Das nach Goslar gelangte Auslandsschreiben des Konstantinos IX. Monomachos für Kaiser Heinrich III. von 1049," in his *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt, 1958), 317–32.

[320] On this group see now V. Hatz and U. S. Linder Welin, "Deutsche Münzen des 11. Jahrhunderts nach byzantinisch-arabischen Vorbild in den schwedischen Funden der Wikingerzeit," *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis*, II (Stockholm, 1968), 1–38.

been the coin that provided the model for a fairly common penny of Speyer, having the same image of the Virgin and the heads of the two emperors Conrad II and Henry III.[321] These *Marienpfennige* were attributed by Dannenberg to the last years of the reign of Conrad II. This, as he died in 1039, would make them precede their Byzantine prototype, but even before the discovery of the latter they had been redated on other grounds to the 1060's or 1050's, Conrad appearing on them because of his role in the rebuilding of the cathedral, which had been begun in 1030.[322] Other *Marienpfennige* of Speyer link the same image of the Virgin with different reverse types (boat or building),[323] and the penny with the two-bust reverse was imitated on a rare coin of Würzburg, on which the busts of SS. Kilian and Burchard are substituted for those of the two emperors.[324]

Bohemian coinage in the tenth and eleventh centuries was abundant, and from the mid-eleventh century onward extremely varied in its designs. It was little influenced by Byzantium, however, though solidi of Basil II and Constantine VIII, with the bust of Christ on the obverse and those of the two co-emperors on the reverse, served as models for some unusual issues of Jaromir (1003–12); the differing costumes of the emperors, loros and chlamys, are very clearly shown.[325] Byzantine coins probably reached Bohemia in some quantity, despite the paucity of finds, since we know from Arabic sources that Prague was at this period an important center of commerce. It has recently been argued[326] that Moravian coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries also borrowed much from Byzantium, but the illustrations are not convincing; the themes belong to a common stock going back many centuries (e.g., a facing bust), and even when there is ultimately some Byzantine inspiration (e.g., two standing figures) the immediate model is more likely to have been the product of some German mint. Radomersky has argued that the plumed crown of Great Moravia, shown either as a separate object or worn by the ruler on some eleventh-century coins, derives from the Byzantine tufa, but this is very dubious.[327]

[321] H. Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, I (Berlin, 1876), 315–17, No. 829, with references to earlier literature. See also G. Boes, "Iconographie et numismatique. A propos de l'évolution d'un type de Vierge byzantin," *RBN*, 89 (1937), 5–15, esp. 11 ff.

[322] N. Bauer, "Der Fund von Spanko bei St. Petersburg," *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 93, assigns them to the 1060's, but on grounds that will not stand up to examination, for the coins he associates them with are those referred to below, note 324, and not really of Bishop Einhard of Speyer (1060–67). R. Gaettens, *Der Fund von Ludwiszcze* (Halle, 1934), 83–5, prefers, I think rightly, the 1050's, though his identifications of the Byzantine prototypes (p. 18) are necessarily incorrect. Cf. his Pl. A for fine enlargements.

[323] Dannenberg, Nos. 837–8.

[324] Dannenberg, No. 840, as Bishop Einhard of Speyer, only]ARDVS being legible on the single specimen known to him. The correct attribution, with a conjectural dating to 1084, was made by P. Joseph, "Ein Würzburger Drei-Heiligen-Denar," *Frankfurter Münzzeitung*, 1 (1901), 25–6, on the evidence of a better preserved specimen. The same correction was made by Boes (pp. 12–13), but he dates the coin too early.

[325] E. Fiala, *České denáry* (Prague, 1895), Pl. VI.17 (bust of Christ), 11 and 12 (two emperors) and the comments of G. Skalsky, "České mince a pečeti 11. a 12. stoleti," *Sbornik Narodniho Musea v Praze*, Rada A, Historia, 1 (1938/9), 5–6.

[326] J. Pošvář, "Eléments byzantins des deniers moraves," *Byzantinoslavica*, 31 (1970), 64–8.

[327] P. Radoměrský, "Koruna králů moravských," *Sbornik Narod. Mus.*, Rada A, Historia, 12 (1958), 183–231; Pošvář, *art. cit.*, 65. The picture is complicated by the existence of an Austrian crown (Babenberg and Habsburg) also adorned with peacock feathers; see references in Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), 51–2.

The crown on the coin of Břetislav I (1037–55) more closely resembles the stylized helmet of some types of Ethelred II, which derive from fourth-century Roman coins, and the likelihood of this form of crown being introduced from Byzantium in the ninth century, despite the Moravian mission and Theophilus' revival of the tufa on his folles, seems to me slight.

Italy

Byzantine influence on Italian coinage belongs mainly to an earlier period, that of the pseudo-imperial coinage of the Lombard kingdom, though the imitative element in that of Benevento lasted almost as long as the duchy retained a gold coinage at all. The tendency in the late eighth and ninth centuries, however, as further territories were lost to Byzantium, was for their coinages to fall into line with the silver denier of the Franks, a coin so different in its external appearance as virtually to exclude Byzantine influence. This is most obviously the case with Rome, where the earliest coins of Pope Adrian I were copied from the traditional solidus type[328]—a facing bust on the obverse, a cross potent on steps on the reverse—while the later issues of Leo III and his successors were denari of the Frankish pattern. At Naples Duke Sergius I (840–64) struck follari with obverse types directly copied from that of the new folles of Theophilus;[329] later, when the city authorities showed themselves prepared to mint in the name of Basil I, the coins are silver denari modeled on those of Benevento. When Salerno emerged as an important mint in the eleventh century, its gold was copied from that of Muslim Sicily—it is significant that the Byzantine solidus was no longer regarded as an acceptable model—and while its copper coinage depended in module and general appearance (the use of a large facing bust on the obverse, often an inscription in several lines on the reverse) on that of Byzantium, the details of the designs are largely original.[330] Only the practice of constant overstriking, which makes it necessary to examine several specimens before the types can be properly deciphered, serves to remind us that where imitative coins are concerned, bad features are just as likely to be copied as good ones.

[328] *CNI*, XV, Pl. IV.1, 2. Cf. below, p. 297.

[329] Above, p. 85.

[330] A. Sambon, *Recueil des monnaies médiévales du sud d'Italie avant la domination des Normands* (Paris, 1919), 45ff., though most of the dating is incorrect; the copper coinage does not start till the middle of the eleventh century. See my article, "The Salernitan Coinage of Gisulf II (1052–1077) and Robert Guiscard (1077–1085)," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956), 37–59.

IV. TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS

A. GENERAL FEATURES

The types and inscriptions of Byzantine coinage during the three and a half centuries between 717 and 1081 cannot be covered by any single formula, since what is true of the Isaurians will not hold good for the Macedonian period. Isaurian coinage is more obviously secular than that which came later. Only the silver miliaresion has a cross as a main type; the typical solidus has an imperial bust or busts on both sides, leaving no space for a religious type, while copper coins have usually an imperial bust and a mark of value. The typical Macedonian solidus has an effigy of Christ to balance that of the emperor, and during the century 970–1092 the copper coinage was so completely "religious" that on most of it there is no imperial element at all. The transition from the one bias to the other was effected under Theophilus and Michael III. Theophilus dropped the mark of value from the copper, the typical reverse type consisting henceforward of an inscription in several lines, and Michael III reintroduced the bust of Christ, after which a religious image, much more evocative than the cross of the seventh century, became normal on the coinage. A great elaboration of costume and insignia also characterizes the Macedonian period.

The chief single novelty in the appearance of the coins was the replacement of the type by an inscription in several lines across the field. This was introduced by Leo III for his silver miliaresion and extended to the copper by Theophilus, but never affected the gold. Although the concept of such an epigraphic coinage was borrowed from the Arabs, the details of the lay-out owed much to contemporary lead seals, which frequently had an inscription disposed in this manner. Those on Byzantine coins are rarely very informative, particularly when they are compared with their Arabic counterparts—they never say where or when a coin was struck—and their substitution for other types marks an impoverishment of the coinage from both the artistic and the historical points of view.

Dates and marks of value, which had been very characteristic of sixth- and seventh-century copper coinage, disappeared very early. The dates were the first to go, no true dates being found on Constantinopolitan issues after the reign of Theodosius III. Leo III's earliest folles have an immobilized ANNO XX or ANNO XXI, copied from the coins of Justinian II and having no reference at all to Leo's regnal years. Subsequently the date formula was transmuted into a purely decorative feature, first ANN XX (or AA XX, etc.) and later NNN XXX or XXX NNN (etc.), a formula dropped only by Theophilus when he abandoned the mark of value which it accompanied. In the West, dates by indictions were used on some Ravennate tremisses of Leo III and Constantine V, and perhaps at Rome under the same two emperors, while the decorative XXX NNN formula puts in an unexpectedly late appearance on Syracusan folles of Theophilus. Marks of

value covering several denominations (M, K, I, Є) were retained at Constantinople into the reign of Constantine V, but under Leo IV the fractions K, I, and Є were dropped and under Theophilus M as well. Since normally only the full follis was struck, and the rare half folles could easily be differentiated from these in size, specific marks of value were no longer necessary. In the West, where marks of value had never been used as generally as in the East, no Ravenna folles with M are known of either Leo III or Constantine V, but since Aistulf had a follis of this type it is probable that they were being struck down to the loss of the city in 751. A small copper or billon coin of Rome with XXX is doubtfully attributed to Leo III (No. 93). Sicilian folles marked with M were used in the early years of Leo III (Nos. 52–4) and thereafter not until the reign of Theophilus. The mint then copied Constantinopolitan folles with an M and Θ and continued to strike these under Michael III, i.e., effectively down to the end of Byzantine rule at Syracuse.

The coin inscriptions in general are characterized by a very slow and irregular transition from Latin to Greek. DN and AVC disappeared in the early eighth century, being replaced by *despotes* or *basileus*, or more rarely by other titles, variously abbreviated. Latin, rather surprisingly, was used for the formula *Ihsus Christus Rex Regnantium*, which usually accompanies representations of Christ from the ninth to the eleventh century, but otherwise religious inscriptions tended to be in Greek. The letter-forms of the two alphabets are mixed together very indiscriminately, with Greek becoming the major element by the end of our period.[331]

B. IMPERIAL TYPES[332]

Over a period of three and a half centuries there were inevitably many changes in the representation of emperors on the coins. Some resulted from changes in fashion in imperial costume and insignia. Others arose out of the complications of co-rulership or of the linking of emperors with their predecessors, as under the Isaurians and occasionally later, or with religious images, as was customary on the gold coinage from the reign of Michael III onward. There were also occasional approaches to something resembling characterized portraiture.

(1) General Features

The emperor was by the end of the seventh century always shown facing, instead of in profile as on Roman coins, and this convention was maintained throughout the period that concerns us. He is never shown nimbate, as he sometimes is in mosaics and other forms of art and had occasionally been on sixth-century coins. The imperial representation under the Isaurians and Amorians normally takes the form of a bust or busts; standing figures of increasingly elaborate design came into favor under the Macedonians, and even more under their successors. A single standing figure is rare, and practically limited to

[331] See below, p. 177 ff.

[332] The most useful general works are A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), for the background, and for costume and insignia G. P. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *MN*, 8 (1958), 99–117, and J. Deér, *Der Kaiserornat Friedrichs II.* (Bern, 1952). See also *DOC*, II. 68–94.

the eleventh century, the only earlier example in the East being a rare solidus of Basil I (Pl. XXX.1). In the West it was employed on Sicilian folles of Leo III and of Constantine V (Pls. V.55 and X.18), the field on either side being filled with vertical inscriptions in large letters. In the eleventh century Romanus III introduced a standing figure on his miliaresion (Pl. LVII.3), Michael VI on his tetarteron (Pl. LXII.2), and Isaac I on his histamenon and tetarteron (Pl. LXIII.1–3), after which it became fairly common. A pair of standing figures, which accorded better with the circular shape of the coin, was more usual, starting with solidi of Leo VI and Constantine VII (Pl. XXXIV.2), but once again it was limited to the Macedonian emperors and their successors. Three emperors shown together almost necessarily had to be shown standing—the few exceptions, the three seated figures or busts of Constantine VI's ancestors (Pls. XIII.1–2 and XIV.5–6), the busts of Theophilus with his wife and eldest daughter (Pl. XXII.4) and of Basil I with Constantine and Leo (Pls. XXXI–XXXII.10–11), are desperately crowded—and in the nature of things are rare, the only cases being solidi of Romanus I and two colleagues (Pl. XXXVI.8) and histamena of Eudocia Macrembolitissa and her family (Pl. LXV.1). Emperors were rarely shown seated. A single seated figure never occurs on the gold, and on the copper only under Basil I (Pl. XXXIII.12) and Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.5–6), a pair of seated figures only under Constantine V (Pl. IX.13–14, with Leo IV), Leo IV (Pls. XII.2 and XIII.6–8, with Constantine VI), Basil I (Pl. XXXI.9, with Constantine), and Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.6, with Alexander), and three figures only under Constantine VI (Pl. XIII.1–2, his ancestors). In view of the important role played by seated representations of Christ from the reign of Basil I onward, it is at first sight strange that emperors were so reluctant to use this particular design, since in general they had no objection to imitating religious types. The reason is perhaps that they attached less importance to their representation on the coins than we are apt to suppose. A substantial proportion of the coins—the whole of the silver for a period of nearly two centuries and the great bulk of the copper between John Zimisces' introduction of the Anonymous Folles in 970 and Alexius I's monetary reform of 1092—was without any imperial effigy at all.

The claims of members of the imperial family to recognition on the coinage have already been discussed (pp. 9–13). Since such persons would all have the rank of *basileus*, they could not be distinguished from each other by robes or insignia which only one was entitled to wear, as had been the case for Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine on coins with Heraclonas as Caesar.[333] Questions of protocol and precedence, however, had necessarily to be resolved, more especially when they were complicated by the presence of Christ or a saint on the coins as well. Precedence might be indicated in a number of ways: by an emperor being placed on the reverse instead of the obverse of a coin, by particular robes or insignia, by the positioning of figures in relation to each other, by the presence or absence of a beard, by placing the senior person on a higher level than the others. Size in itself was relatively unimportant, since this depended on the relative ages of the persons depicted rather than on their status. When Irene is shown side by side with Constantine VI (Pl. XIII.1–2), Theodora with Michael III (Pl. XXVIII.1–2), and Zoe with Constantine VII (Pls. XXVI.1–2 and XXVIII.22), the child emperor is shown much smaller

[333] *DOC*, II. 84: the crown of a Caesar had no cross on it.

than his mother but takes the place of honor on the left. Nor is the way in which objects are held—the use of the right hand or the left, the placing of one emperor's hand above another's when they jointly hold the shaft of a cross—of any significance. Some apparent ambiguities arise from the fact that different considerations were held to operate when the figures depicted were considered purely in relation to the spectator—i.e., when they were passively facing him—and when they were engaged in some form of activity—a crowning, a marriage—in which he was not directly concerned. These various points require discussion.

(a) *Obverse and Reverse*

On coins of the imperial Roman and early Byzantine periods the obverses were normally reserved for representations of the emperor, the reverses for secondary types. This custom was maintained up to the reign of Justinian II, who introduced the bust of Christ as the obverse type and had himself represented holding the mark of value on the reverse. The new arrangement was maintained in the future, and may be formulated as the rule that when a representation of Christ or a saint forms the main type, it marks the obverse of the coin. This is most apparent on the concave coinage of the eleventh century, when the religious image always occupies the convex side, i.e., that struck by the lower die, and on coins where there is an inscription running from one side of the coin to the other, for this always starts on the "religious" side and ends on the "secular" one. When no religious personage is shown, the senior emperor occupies the obverse, and any breach of this arrangement, such as occurred in the reign of Constantine VI when Irene usurped the obverse for herself, was quite contrary to protocol. A cross, despite its religious symbolism, was regarded as a secondary type and occupied the reverse. The officina letter or other control mark, as long as one survived, was also normally placed on the reverse, but occasional exceptions to this rule occur.

While the pattern is for the most part clear, there are a few ambiguities or uncertainties.

(1) Scholars have differed as to whether, on Isaurian coins from the reign of Constantine V onward, it is the living ruler or his predecessor who occupies the obverse. At first there seems to have been some ambiguity,[334] but in general, since on the copper it is the deceased emperor who accompanies the mark of value (Pls. IX.11 and XIII.6–7), one may say that he is outranked by the actual ruler.

(2) On histamena of Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.1–2) the convex side (i.e., the obverse) is occupied not by Christ or by the reigning emperor but by the standing figures of Eudocia Macrembolitissa and her sons Michael and Andronicus; it is the reverse type which is a standing Christ blessing the marriage of Romanus IV and Eudocia. The reason for this is that the figure of Christ is not the main type but only an element in it, while Romanus in theory ranked after Eudocia's children by her first marriage, who, although younger, had been created emperors before him and had a prior right to the throne.

[334] Cf. below, p. 292.

(b) *Bearded and Beardless Busts*

Two co-emperors are frequently distinguished from each other by the elder being shown as bearded, the younger as beardless. The "beard" is often barely indicated—it may be no more than a thickening of the line marking the lower part of the face—but it is usually accompanied by a mustache, which even if simply a thin bar running from one side of the face to the other is still distinguishable as such. Such a formalized beard bore no relation to an emperor's real appearance. Not the least of Constantine V's impieties was that, anticipating Peter the Great and in defiance of Scripture, he was not only beardless himself but tried to compel his subjects to be so too.[335] The full beards of the portrait effigies of Leo VI, Romanus I, and Constantine VII are also markedly different from those on the conventionally "bearded" effigies of the bulk of their respective coinages. The distinction between bearded and beardless busts is nonetheless important in the eighth and ninth centuries, since with two equally expressionless faces of the same age it is sometimes the only way of telling which is that of the senior emperor and consequently to whose reign a coin belongs.

(c) *Relative Positions of Two Persons*

Custom required that when two co-emperors were shown together, the senior should be on the spectator's left and the junior on his right (*DOC*, II. 69). Where two secular persons are concerned, this rule is observed on the coins almost without fail. The single exception is the follis of Constantine X with Eudocia Macrembolitissa (Pl. LXIV.8), on which the empress appears to have the place of honor. The explanation is given by the gesture of reverence (hand laid on breast) which is unexpectedly being made by the two figures; apparently they envisage the labarum on steps which stands between them as representing the standing figure of Christ on the other side of the coin, and with three persons present the order of precedence shown would be correct, with Eudocia ranking after her husband.

In cases where an emperor and a heavenly personage were concerned and the relationship between them was passive, with both figures facing the spectator, the saint took the place of honor, as on solidi of Nicephorus II showing the busts of the Virgin and the emperor side by side (Pl. XLI.4–5). But where the relationship is active, which normally means where Christ or a saint is shown crowning the emperor, the latter has the place of honor and Christ or the saint is on the right. The reason was partly practical, since it allowed the crowning to be carried out by the right hand of Christ or his representative, and partly ideological, since it focussed attention on the person being honored. It is the arrangement employed when St. Alexander is shown crowning the emperor of this name (Pl. XXXV.2), Christ crowning Romanus I (Pl. XXXVI.5–6), and the Virgin crowning John Zimisces (Pl. XLII.1–6), Romanus III (Pl. LVI.1), Michael VI (Pl. LXII.1), and Constantine X (Pl. LXIV.1). In contrast, where the Archangel Michael hands Michael IV a labarum on the rare histamenon of Thessalonica (Pl. LVIII.2), he stands on the left, perhaps because he is shown not facing but in three-quarter profile. When Theodora and

[335] *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, in Migne, *PG*, 100. 1133.

the Virgin hold between them a labarum (Pl. LXII.1), however, both are facing and one would expect the Virgin to be on the left; instead, she is on the right. The reason would seem to be the same as in the case of Eudocia and Constantine X already discussed; once again there is a standing Christ on the reverse, and if the design is envisaged as a three-figure one the order of precedence would be correct.

(d) *Relative Positions of Three Persons*[336]

There are only seven cases of three persons being shown side by side on coins during this period. One of them occurs on the histamenon of Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.1–2) which has as its reverse the standing figures of the emperor (on left) and Eudocia (on right), with that of Christ between. Where a marriage scene of this kind is shown either on the coinage or in other forms of art this is the invariable order of precedence, with the husband on the spectator's left.[337] A second instance, the solidus and follis of Constantine VI with the seated figures of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather (Pls. XIII.1–2 and XIV.5–6), can be left out of consideration, since there is no way of telling which of them is which. The other five cases each show three living co-rulers, and two of them raise problems that require explanation. The arrangement of figures on the coins is set out in Table 11, which includes such comparable cases as there are from the seventh century. Three of the later ones obviously conform to precedent, with the senior emperor in the center, the second in rank on the right, and the third on the left, for Thecla would presumably come after her mother Theodora, and, although the design of Constantine VII's solidus is ambiguous—his figure and that of Christopher are indistinguishable from each other—the inscription shows that Constantine outranked his older colleague. The others appear to conflict with this pattern: Michael VII was undoubtedly senior to Constantius, and Constantius was created Augustus before Andronicus.

The explanation of the first anomaly is that where a woman occupies the place of honor and her sons are shown with her, she is treated as if she were not present and the boys are placed as if they alone were there, the elder taking the place of honor on the left. The arrangement on the coins of Eudocia Macrembolitissa has in fact an exact parallel in a famous miniature in Paris MS grec 510, which once belonged to Basil I, for the latter's wife, another Eudocia, is there shown with her elder son Leo on the left and her youngest son Alexander on the right.[338] The order of precedence on the histamena of Eudocia Macrembolitissa is thus in conformity with an accepted variant of the usual arrangement.

The explanation of the second anomaly is that it is not one at all. Constantius was created Augustus by Constantine X and Andronicus only by Romanus IV, so that

[336] See *DOC*, II. 69–70.

[337] On coins: marriage solidi of Licinia Eudoxia (order is Valentinian III-Theodosius II-Eudoxia), Pulcheria (order is Marcian-Christ-Pulcheria), Ariadne (order is Anastasius I-Christ-Ariadne); on ivories: that of Romanus II and Eudocia (D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* [London, 1959], Pl. 97). For the solidi see E. H. Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 14 (1960), figs. 21–23b.

[338] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1929), Pl. XVI. Constantine, the eldest of the family, is not shown, presumably because he was already dead when the miniature was painted.

TABLE 11

THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE FOR THREE CO-RULERS

Assuming that the figure in the center is in each case the senior, the name in *italics* indicates the one who should be second in rank.

Reign	Plate	On Spectator's Left	Center	On Spectator's Right
Heraclius	*DOC*, II, Pl. XII.90–96, etc.	Martina	Heraclius	*Heraclius Constantine*
Heraclius	*DOC*, II, Pl. IX.33–45, etc.	Heraclonas	Heraclius	*Heraclius Constantine*
Constans II	*DOC*, II, Pl. XXV.40–43, etc.	Tiberius	Constantine (IV)	*Heraclius*
Theophilus	Pl. XXII.4	Thecla	Theophilus	*Theodora*
Basil I	Pls. XXXI–XXXII. 10–11	Leo (VI)	Basil I	*Constantine*
Constantine VII	Pl. XXVII.8	Constantine VII	Romanus I	*Christopher*
Eudocia	Pl. LXV.1	*Michael* (VII)	Eudocia	Constantius
Romanus IV	Pl. LXV.1–2	Constantius	Michael (VII)	*Andronicus*

Constantius should have had seniority in rank. But Andronicus was older than Constantius, and the order of the signatures to the marriage contract between their nephew and the daughter of Robert Guiscard (1074) shows that on becoming co-emperor he had been given precedence over his brother.[339] The arrangement on the coin is therefore what one would expect it to be.

(e) *Robes and Insignia*

It has been suggested[340] that precedence may sometimes have been indicated by the wearing of particular robes, the loros being superior to the chlamys. The argument is

[339] Below, pp. 785–6.
[340] A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "New Light on the Solidus of Leo IV," *N. Circ.*, 69 (1961), 30–1.

that the loros is the usual imperial costume in mosaic decorations of churches and that as an imperial costume on coins it was reintroduced by Justinian II for solidi of which the obverse type is the bust of Christ (*DOC*, II, Pl. XXXVII.7). But Justinian II wears either loros or chlamys indifferently on coins of his second reign with the bust of Christ (*DOC*, II, Pl. XLIII.1 ff.), and the loros is quite often worn by the junior emperor on coins of the eighth and ninth centuries, as by Nicephorus on solidi of Artavasdus (Pl. VII.3), by Theophylact on those of Michael I (Pl. XVII.1), and by Theophilus on those of Michael II (Pl. XX.1–5). It seems safe to conclude that neither costume carried with it specific implications of rank.

The same is true of the imperial insignia. Sometimes identical insignia are borne by both emperors—a globus cruciger and akakia by both Leo III and Constantine V on the former's solidi (Pl. I.1–9), the akakia alone by both emperors on Class 4 of Leo's folles and half folles (Pl. IV.38–41)—or, as is more usual in later centuries, they hold the same insignia jointly (e.g., a long cross). Even when the insignia differ it seems without significance: Nicephorus I has a cross potent and akakia and Stauracius a globus cruciger and akakia (Pl. XV.2), Michael I a cross potent and akakia and Theophylact a globus cruciger and cross scepter (Pl. XVII.1). On coins of the early ninth century the cross potent shows signs of becoming the mark of the senior emperor—it is borne by Nicephorus I, Michael I, Leo V, and Michael II—only to drop out completely under Theophilus. Perhaps the only coins on which the insignia seem to have clear political implications are those of Constantine VI and Irene, which show the empress with a cross scepter, and sometimes a globus cruciger as well, while the emperor has no insignia at all (Pl. XIII.1–2). This is the exception that proves the rule, since much of Irene's coinage involves a series of subtle attempts to deprive her son of the honor and position to which he was legally entitled.

It was suggested by F. de Saulcy[341] that when two rulers hold between them an object like the shaft of a cross, the senior emperor's hand is always placed above that of his junior colleague. This is true as a generalization, but one can instance several contrary cases. The most obvious one occurs on the gold coins of Justinian II and Tiberius, where the two emperors hold the mark of value on the reverse (*DOC*, II, Pl. XLIII.2–7), but it could perhaps be argued that the convention might not apply to a mark of value, and that in any case it would have taken a little time to become established. There are, however, other exceptions, notably Class 3 of the folles of Leo III (Pl. IV.36–7), the solidi of Constantine VII and Zoe (Pl. XXXVI.2) and of Constantine VII and Romanus I (Pl. XXXVI.10), and the folles of Constantine X and Eudocia (Pl. LXIV.8). The two of Constantine VII might be explained away on political grounds, but since the folles of Constantine and Zoe (Pl. XXXVIII.22) reverse the arrangement on their solidi it seems fair to assume that no importance was attached to the matter. Nor can it have been of consequence whether insignia were held by the right hand or the left, for on solidi of

[341] *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (Metz, 1836), 290–1. It was endorsed by Bertelè (*Monete e sigilli di Anna di Savoia* [Rome, 1937], 64: "certamente esatta, in linea generale") and applied by Gerasimov to Bulgarian coins (in *Izvestiya na Bulgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo*, 14/15 [1937], 112).

Basil II, while his hand on the shaft of the patriarchal cross is always above that of his brother, it is sometimes one hand and sometimes the other that is involved.[342]

Imperial costume is discussed in the next section, but three subordinate details of imperial representation on the coins can best be dealt with here. They are imperial gestures, thrones, and footstools.

Gestures are usually not important, since for the most part the emperor holds a globus cruciger or other piece of insignia, but a few may be of some significance. Two are the familiar gestures of reverence, the hand held either against the breast or toward the person to whom reverence is being shown. Both are exhibited on the Moscow ivory of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the ivory of Romanus and Eudocia at Paris,[343] but on the coins they always occur separately, the outstretched hand on solidi showing Alexander crowned by his name-saint (Pl. XXXV.2) and Romanus I crowned by Christ (Pl. XXXVI.5–6), the hand on breast on coins of Romanus III with Christ (Pl. LVI.1), of Theodora or Michael VI with the Virgin (Pl. LXII.1), of Michael IV with St. Michael (Pl. LVIII.2), and of Romanus IV and Eudocia with Christ solemnizing their marriage (Pl. LXV.1–2). The same gesture is made by Eudocia and Constantine X on the folles that have been discussed already (above, p. 110). Another gesture, that of the emperor's closed hand either resting in his lap with seated figures (e.g., Pl. XII.2, Leo III and Constantine V on coins of Leo IV; Pl. XXXI.9, Constantine on folles of Basil I) or held in front of his breast with standing ones (Pl. XXXII.11, Basil I), is often ambiguous and may perhaps be an error. It looks as if the emperor was intended to be shown holding an akakia—this seems certain where the seated figures are concerned[344]—but that the die-sinkers did not comprehend the designs with which they were furnished.[345] Yet another puzzling gesture on coins of the early ninth century is that of the emperor's right forefinger seemingly pointed at his head. It is mainly associated with the cross potent on base, which is first treated as a symbol of rule on coins of Constantine V. Under him there is no exaggeration of the forefinger (Pl. VIII.1), but under Nicephorus I, who revived the symbol, the finger is extended in this "pointing" position (Pl. XVI.1), which carries on under successive emperors, with cross potent or labarum, down to the reign of Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.5), after which it disappears. Although parallels to it can be found in antique art,[346] I suspect that it was originally devised to distinguish insignia from marks of value—when the cross potent on base or globe was held from behind it was a mark of value[347]—and although conspicuous and striking it had no significance in itself.

[342] See below, p. 602.

[343] Cf. below, p. 120.

[344] Cf. below, p. 329, note to No. 2 (akakia shown on some specimens).

[345] Cf. below, p. 484 (Basil I).

[346] A pointing forefinger, or something approximating to one, was used by courtiers in Sassanian art as a gesture of homage (cf. J. Orbeli in A. P. Pope and P. Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art*, IV [London, 1938], 719 and Pl. 137A), and a gesture very similar to that on the Byzantine coins, but without any obvious explanation, is employed by two figures standing beside a winged Pegasus on a Sassanian silver plate in New York (P. O. Harper, "The Heavenly Twins," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 23 [1964], 186–95).

[347] Below, p. 292.

Imperial thrones of three types are shown on the coins. Constantine V and Leo IV, and later Leo IV and Constantine VI, appear seated side by side on a throne with lyre-shaped sides (Pls. IX.13–14 and XII.2, XIII.6–8)[348] similar to that on one group of solidi of Justin I and Justinian (*DOC*, I, Pl. XII.7a)[349] and most familiar as that of the seated Christ of the Macedonian period in the narthex of Saint Sophia.[350] A throne with a broader base and high, wing-like, curved sides or back—it is not clear which is meant—is shown on coins of Basil I (Pl. XXXIII.12) and Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.5), in each case having seated on it a single emperor only, who seems lost in its vast expanse. A miniature in the MS of the Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzus at Paris,[351] which was painted for Basil, shows Christ seated on a low throne with a back of rather similar shape, but it can scarcely represent the same object. Finally, there is on late ninth-century coins a broad throne with high, panelled back on which either Basil I and Constantine (Pl. XXXI.9) or Leo VI and Alexander (Pl. XXXIV.6) are shown seated side by side. This also had a precedent in the high-backed throne of some solidi of Justin I and Justinian (*DOC*, I, Pl. XII.1, 3, 6b, not always completely depicted), but in fact represents a fresh design, presumably corresponding to one of several thrones available to the sovereigns in the Palace.[352]

A minor innovation of eleventh-century coin design was the provision for standing persons of something on which to stand. The objects involved take two forms, a square or rectangular carpet or footstool for sacred personages and a rounded cushion for emperors and their colleagues. Some such kind of *souppedion* (σουππέδιον)[353] had been traditional for representations of Christ and the saints from quite early times, and the cushions used by emperors were adaptations of these, serving to raise the sovereigns physically above the level of their audience and so render them at once both more visible and more impressive. The earliest numismatic representation of such a cushion is on the miliaresion of Romanus III (Pl. LVII.3), and from then onward its use is common but by no means invariable; we do not find it provided for the standing figure of Theodora, or for such military figures as Constantine IX, Isaac I, Michael VII, and Nicephorus III, while we

[348] The curious knobs behind Irene's shoulders on a Sicilian solidus (Pl. XV.3) may represent the finials of a similar throne, as is suggested below (p. 347). Nothing can be discerned of the throne occupied by Constantine VI's ancestors on Class I of his solidi (Pl. XIII.1–2).

[349] Also on solidi of the co-emperors Leo I and Leo II (Tolstoi, Pl. 8.2) and folles of Justin II and Sophia (*DOC*, I, Pl. LFF.). Since on these last coins and on solidi of Justin I and Justinian the lyre-shaped throne is sometimes used and sometimes not, there seems little justification for Breckenridge's idea that it was a type to which a special significance was attached.

[350] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. 93. This design, and even more clearly an illustration of a similar throne in an eleventh-century manuscript in the Panteleimon Monastery on Mt. Athos (K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* [Princeton, 1951], Pl. XVII, fig. 58), shows that it is the sides and not the back of the throne that are lyre-shaped, but I have adhered to the usual formula in describing the coins.

[351] Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, Pl. 84.

[352] Basil's bedroom was decorated with a mosaic of himself and Eudocia enthroned (below, p. 147).

[353] The note on the *souppedion* by A. Heisenberg in his study, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 10 (Munich, 1920), 20–1, has little to say on the earlier period.

do for Constantine X (Pl. LXIII.1) and for Nicephorus III on his gold (Pl. LXIX.1–3).[354] Eudocia, on her histamena of 1067, emphasizes her preeminence by showing herself standing on a cushion, while her sons, despite their imperial titles, are without them (Pl. LXV.1). On the later histamena of Romanus IV's reign, on the other hand, she and her husband have no cushions when they are being crowned by Christ, who himself stands on a footstool, while on the other face of the coin her three sons stand either on separate cushions (Pl. LXV.1) or on a dais with an ornamented edge (Pl. LXV.2). This was no doubt the movable wooden platform (ἀναβαφρὶς διὰ ξύλων) which we hear of being placed in the throne room, or wherever it was required, and on which the emperors could stand or sit.[355] It is also in the mid-eleventh century that the standing figures of Christ and the Virgin are commonly provided with carpets or footstools, the Virgin on Romanus III's miliaresion (Pl. LXII.3) and Christ for the first time on Theodora's histamena (Pl. LXII.1).[356] The use of cushions under the feet of the emperor and his family was to become particularly characteristic of the Comnenid and Palaeologid periods, a famous example being the lost mosaic of Michael VIII and his family in the Peribleptos, which has been reproduced by Ducange[357] and other authors.

(2) Imperial Costume[358]

It was possible in Vol. II to discuss imperial costume under the three headings of civil, consular, and military, the characteristic feature of civil costume being the chlamys and that of the consular costume the loros. These distinctions became meaningless in the eighth century. Military costume remained a separate category, but the emperor is rarely shown wearing it. Chlamys and loros became alternative imperial costumes, the loros losing its specific consular connection. Already on all types of solidus struck by Leo III the emperor holds an akakia, that derivative of the mappa which, with the eagle-topped scepter, had been the most conspicuous insignia of consular office, but he wears a chlamys and not a loros. Not until the Macedonian period were any changes made in the appearance of either garment, when side by side with the traditional forms more elaborate varieties of both were introduced which, after a century or more during which both the simple and

[354] Cf. the decorated cushion beneath Nicephorus III's feet in the miniature in Paris MS Coislin 79 (D. Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* [London, 1963], fig. 112). Basil II is shown standing on a much plainer one in the frontispiece to his Psalter in the Marciana, which is three-quarters of a century earlier in date (*ibid.*, fig. 91).

[355] E.g., Pseudo-Codinus, *Traité des offices*, c. 10 (ed. J. Verpeaux [Paris, 1966], 278). It is to be distinguished from the πρόκυψις, a much higher tribune supported by columns, on which imperial ceremonies that were intended to be seen by all could take place (*ibid.*, 197–8, and note 1 on p. 171).

[356] Cf. the footstool which is now much more clearly depicted as an adjunct of the throne on which Christ is seated (e.g., histamena of Constantine IX, Pl. LVIII.1–2).

[357] *Familiae Byzantinae*, 233; *De imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum . . . numismatibus dissertatio*, Pl. VI.

[358] See the works cited above, p. 107, note 332, and the useful account of imperial costume in J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris, 1917), 52–65.

the modified variety were used, eventually supplanted them. Other robes were occasionally worn, by Romanus II and by Constantine VIII, and in the eleventh century there was a revival of military costume.

(a) *Chlamys* (χλαμύς)

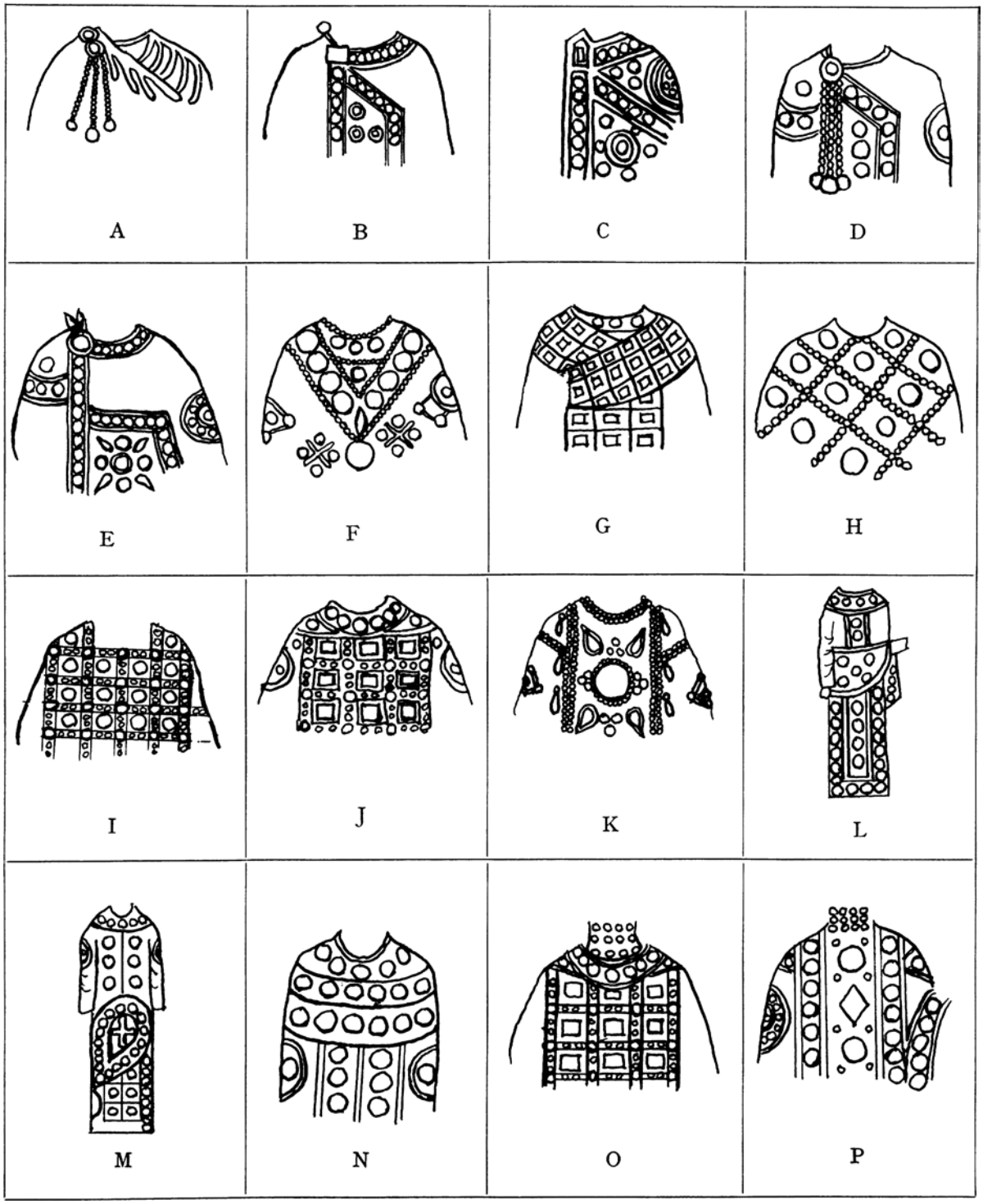
The earlier history of the chlamys has been described in Vol. II (pp. 76–8). It was the full-length purple cloak that formed the most important single element in the coronation insignia. A characteristic feature of it was the tablion (ταβλίον), an embroidered rectangular panel about a foot square, contrasting in color with the main garment, which was fastened to its edge from just below the level of the armpit to the level of the waist. A second tablion, not visible from the front, would be fastened to the back of the chlamys, so that the two would make a continuous pattern when the cloak was closed. The chlamys was fastened at the right shoulder by a circular fibula (φιβλῶν) or brooch, having a projecting ornament above and from which were suspended three gold chains or beaded wires.

This design continued unchanged on the coinage of the eighth and ninth centuries, as can be seen from the plates. The chlamys of Theophilus and of Michael III (Pls. XXII.2, XXVIII.1–2), and of Basil I's sons on the coins of this emperor's reign (e.g., Pl. XXX.5), differs in no important respect from that worn by Leo III (Pl. I.1 ff.). The robe hangs in what are basically the same kind of folds, though their representation is more stylized. The fibula retains its traditional three pendants, but the upper part, which in the past had often assumed a figure eight pattern, tends to disappear. The tablion, which on some early eighth-century coins had been very clear—e.g., on some folles of Leo III (Pl. IV.39a.2)—was in the ninth century never shown, though whether this was because it presented too much of a problem to the die-sinkers or because it had actually been eliminated is hard to say. If it had still formed part of the real imperial robes one cannot easily explain its absence from coins on which the "bust" had become virtually a halflength representation of the sovereign (e.g., Pl. XX.9) and room for it was available.

Under the Macedonians we find two forms of chlamys, a simple and a complex one, the main varieties of the latter being shown on Table 12. The traditional simple design (Table 12, A), with fibula having three pendants—the fibula sometimes has the form of a quatrefoil (Pl. XXVI.2)—continued to be used till late in the reign of Basil II, being the regular attire of his brother Constantine on all the early nomismata of their joint reign. The modified chlamys first appears on the portrait coins of Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.1; Table 12, B). Its borders, at the neck and along its vertical edge, are lined with pearls, as are the edges of the tablion, and the latter is decorated with annulets having central pellets. The fibula is shown as a large upright pin with a knob on top, and there are no pendants. An identical robe is worn by Alexander on his pattern solidus (Pl. XXXV.1) and a very similar one by Romanus I on his pattern solidus (Pl. XXXVI.11) and folles (Pl. XXXVIII.25), though here there is no pin to the fibula and the tablion decoration is not the same. Constantine and Christopher, when shown with Romanus I, each wears a chlamys whose total fabric, and not the tablion only, is elaborately decorated (Pl. XXXVI.8; Table 12, C);

TABLE 12

EVOLUTION OF THE CHLAMYS AND LOROS



on Christopher it is fastened at his left shoulder instead of at his right for reasons of symmetry. The standing figure of the youthful Constantine VII on one type of his early solidi (Pl. XXXVI.10) shows him wearing a rather simpler chlamys, with fibula pin and a cross on the tablion but without any decoration at the neck. The design shows what was to be one of the problems for die-sinkers in the twelfth century, when standing imperial figures wearing a modified chlamys became frequent on the coinage. Since the opening of the cloak followed the wearer's right side, his left arm would be concealed if the cloak were closed. In earlier times, e.g., on solidi with the standing figures of Heraclius and his sons, it was accepted that this must be the case, and that only the ruler's right hand would be available for the holding of crosses or other insignia. On Constantine VII's coins the emperor holds a globus cruciger in his right hand and a long cross in his left, and the left side of the cloak has to be tucked up over his left forearm in order to make this possible.

After Romanus I the elaborate chlamys disappears for half a century, to emerge again for Constantine VIII on the later solidi of Basil II (Pl. XLIV.4; Table 12, D). On these coins the traditional fibula with pendants, which had been excluded from earlier designs of the modified loros, makes a belated reappearance, though for the last time. Since the earlier solidi of Basil had shown Constantine wearing an ordinary chlamys, the contrast between the two forms of the garment is particularly clear. The new chlamys was used again by Constantine IX, on both histamena and tetartera (Pl. LIX.4–6), but with no pendants to the fibula, and, on the histamena, with an elaborately decorated tablion showing a circular ornament surrounded by four pear-shaped objects pointing outward, having pellets between (Table 12, E). On Michael VI's histamena, for the first time since Constantine VII's reign, the modified chlamys is shown on a standing figure (Pl. LXII.1). There are pearl edgings to the whole of the cloak, including the part tucked over the emperor's left forearm, so that the hanging end of this somewhat resembles the hanging end of the loros as traditionally worn. On one group of coins, indeed, the hanging edge finishes with three tassels (Pl. LXII.1b), which probably result from the influence of the loros design and were not there in reality. The shape of the tablion is no longer a parallelogram but something between this and a segment of a circle (Table 12, L), a concession to realism arising from the fact that its lower part would be bunched up when the wearer was holding an object in his left hand. This was to become a highly characteristic feature of the modified chlamys as shown on Comnenid coins.[359]

The chlamys, like the loros, was normally worn over a silk robe, generally identified with the divitision (διβητήσιον) of the texts, under which in turn would be worn a tunic. These are normally concealed by the chlamys, though the upper part of the sleeve of the divitision, decorated with a rosette or some similar ornament, is often visible at the emperor's right shoulder, where his arm emerges from the opening of the chlamys. More of these garments can be seen on coins where the emperor wears the loros, especially after the modified form of this (below, pp. 121–3) was introduced, since it allowed both arms and shoulders, and the lower hem of divitision or tunic on standing figures, to be seen.

[359] See Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 81, 163.

On two types of Basil II's tetartera (Pl. XLV.10, 15; Table 12, F) the junior emperor, Constantine VIII, is shown wearing an elaborate robe with a V-shaped opening in front which is neither chlamys nor loros but apparently corresponded to that worn by Nicephorus III in a miniature in B.N. MS Coislin 79 showing him standing with the empress Maria.[360] The details on the two types of tetartera are not identical with each other, but the robe intended is probably the same. On another of the same emperor's tetartera (Pl. XLV.13) Constantine wears yet another variety of robe, but it is too inadequately shown for an identification to be proposed.

(b) *Loros* (λῶρος)[361]

The traditional form of the loros, as a long embroidered scarf wound round the body in a somewhat complicated fashion so that the end of it hung over the emperor's extended left forearm, has been described in Vol. I. It continued in use down to the eleventh century, the pattern of its double crossing of the chest being particularly well shown on Classes I and II of the histamena of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.1–2; Table 12, G), and occasionally even later. But for the most part, from the mid-tenth century onward, it had been superseded by a modified loros, simpler in form and worn in the same way but even richer in design. As represented on the coins it is most easily distinguished from the original loros by having a vertical-horizontal instead of a diagonal pattern (Table 12, H) on the wearer's chest.

This modified loros can best be studied from the famous ivory of Romanus II and Eudocia in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[362] It has the form of a richly embroidered strip of cloth which would have been about a foot wide and twelve feet long, with an opening a third of the way along its length through which the head could pass. It falls straight down both back and front, so that in front it hangs almost to the level of the ankles and behind, if allowed, would have formed a short train. Instead it is picked up in the same way as the loros, passed round the right side of the wearer in front of his body, and hung over his left arm. The pattern of the loros on the Romanus ivory consists of horizontal rows of four square panels, each having in its center a square plaque and separated from the panels next to it by a row of pellets. At each end there is a fringe of five pear-shaped pendants, and usually, though not in this case, there are smaller pendants on each side along its length. The end which hangs over Romanus' forearm shows a lining embroidered with a cross and four square ornaments, and the opening through which the head passes has a simple collar of circular jewels. This modified loros is worn over an almost plain robe of silk or some other light material that extends to just below the knee, the sleeves being

[360] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. LXIV.

[361] See *DOC*, I. 78–9; Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, 64–5; my discussion of the modified loros in "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 248–9; and the brief comments of C. Albizzati, "L'ultima toga," *RIN*, 35 (1922), 69–92, and E. Condurachi, "L'origine et l'évolution du loros impérial," *Arta şi archeologia*, 11–12 (1935–6), 37–45.

[362] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. 97. This reproduction has the advantage of facing that of the Moscow ivory (Pl. 96), where Constantine VII wears the traditional loros, thus enabling one to compare the two in detail.

loose and embroidered with a rosette on the upper arm just beneath the shoulder; a pattern of rosettes and squares appears on the lower part of the robe at each side. Underneath this robe is a long, tight-fitting tunic, of which only the embroidered wrist bands, lower hem, and lower part of a narrow embroidered panel in front are visible.

This modified loros was much simpler than the loros to wear, being without the folds which would tend to fall out of position. On the other hand, the fold behind, where the "train" was gathered up, must have been both ugly and uncomfortable. It has consequently been argued[363] that the part which comes round from the wearer's right side and passes in front of his body formed a separate strip of cloth sewn on behind, a view supported by the fact that it seems often to be of a different breadth than the part hanging down in front—on the Romanus ivory it is five panels wide instead of four—and sometimes, particularly in later times, is of a different design. Since there is no Byzantine sculpture in the round and rulers are regularly shown frontally or nearly so, it is not possible to arrive at any certain conclusion.

The modified loros is first clearly depicted on Class X of the solidi of Constantine VII and Romanus I (Pl. XXXVI.10). Romanus I is shown standing to the right of the young Constantine, wearing a loros shown as a double row of pellets running up to his neck, with four rows of pellets on the strip which crosses his body from his right side to his left arm. Romanus I wears the same costume on his pattern miliaresion (Pl. XXXVI.19), but it is most familiar to numismatists from the solidi with the splendid portrait bust of Constantine VII (Pl. XXXVI.12–13; Table 12, I). On other coins, however, this emperor is shown with the traditional type of loros which he wears in the Moscow ivory.

What seems essentially to be the same form of the loros first appears on folles of Basil I, but no conventions for designing it had yet been devised and it is not yet very correctly shown. All his solidi and Class 1 of his folles show him wearing a loros of the traditional type, but on Class 2 of the folles (Pl. XXXI.9), with him and Constantine seated side by side, the two figures each wear a straight, apron-like robe consisting of a double or triple row of pellets. The same design appears on folles with the seated figures of Basil I (Pl. XXXIII) and Leo VI, both alone and with Alexander (Pl. XXXIV.5–6). On the folles showing Basil with Leo and Alexander, some show him with a normal loros (Pls. XXXI–XXXII.10), others (Pl. XXXII.11) with a modified loros, though its lines are often not completely vertical-horizontal and the fold of the loros crossing the body to hang over the forearm is omitted, presumably because the die-sinker did not properly understand his design. Whether the modified loros was devised under Basil I is impossible to say, but I have found no representation of it that can be dated earlier than his reign.

During the century after Constantine Porphyrogenitus the emperor is more frequently shown wearing the modified loros than the true loros. The only cases of the latter are the early solidi of Nicephorus II (Pl. XLI.1–3), Class II of the histamena and several groups of tetartera of Basil II (Pls. XLIII.2, XLV.8, 11–12), and Classes I and II of the histamena of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.1–2). All the remainder have the modified loros, which

[363] By D. F. Belyaev in his fundamental study of imperial processions and ceremonial, "Byzantina II. Ocherki, materiali et zametki po vizantiiskim drevnostyam," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, klass. otdel.², 6 (1892), 213–15.

became more and more elaborate (Table 12, J) with the passage of time, and one suspects that by that date it was the only one to have a real existence.

The modified loros could be varied in several ways, one of which involved the replacement of the normal pattern of square panels with a more elaborate decoration. On the solidi of Romanus II, the only emperor of this period shown wearing it on his coins (Pl. XL.1–2), this decoration assumes the form of a large panel covering his chest, looking something like a breastplate, with a circular ornament in the center, four pear-shaped ones in the corners, and four clusters of three pellets between (Table 12, K). That it is a variant of the loros is shown by the fact that it retains along each side—only one side is actually visible, the other being concealed by the globus cruciger held in the emperor's left hand—the short pendants that were the normal adjunct of the loros. Another variant, ultimately much more important, involved the redesigning of the part of the loros which crossed the wearer's body from his right side to his left forearm, so that instead of having a pattern of small squares it forms a large panel decorated usually with five dots (Table 12, L). On women, where the loros apparently had a longer "train" and consequently started upward from the level of the ankle instead of the knee, it has a very characteristic kite-like appearance (Table 12, M) and was formerly thought to represent an independent article of clothing, wrongly identified with the *thorakion* of the texts. It is discussed below. On men the panel becomes a parallelogram, instead of the virtual square which it had been earlier, and the practice of providing it with a different design appears only at the very end of our period, when the two co-emperors Michael VII and Andronicus, and later Romanus IV, are shown wearing it on the histamena of Eudocia and of Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.1–2).[364] From Alexius I onward this design plays a major role in imperial costume.

Whether the modified loros had a distinctive name is not clear. Mme Morrisson[365] uses for it the term *clapotos loros*, on the assumption that κλαπωτά, a word used in Pseudo-Codinus and other texts for embroidered vestments, is connected with κλάπος, i.e., *clavus*, "nail," the reference being to the plaques in the centers of the squares of the loros design, which on ivories and coins have the appearance of square nail-heads. But it may be doubted whether the same objects, when actual size, would have given the same impression, and *clavus* in the context of Roman costume had a different sense, that of the colored stripe on a tunic or toga which was used to denote the rank of the wearer.[366] I do not feel sure enough of either the etymology or the Byzantine use of the term to feel justified in using it.

The modified loros was normally provided with a collar over whose identification there has been some dispute. Ebersolt[367] supposed it to be the *maniakion* of the texts, and this

[364] Cf. below, p. 781.

[365] *BNC*, II. 577, note 1; see also the note of H. Verpeaux in his edition of Pseudo-Codinus, *Traité des offices*, p. 151, note 1, with references to further literature by Ph. Koukoulès, G. Sotiriou, and A. Chatzmichali.

[366] Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Clavus latus, angustus*.

[367] J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines*, 72, and *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), 38.

identification has been accepted by Mme Morrisson,[368] in part on the authority of a gloss in B.N. MS grec 2062 of the fourteenth century, cited by Ducange, which equates it with the collar of a himation (μανιάκιον, τὸ τοῦ ἱματίου περιστόμιον).[369] But glosses often represent no more than the guesses of their writers, and I suspect that this may be the case here. *Maniakion* was the term used in classical antiquity for the military torque, a gold circlet, plain or twisted and without much decoration, worn round the neck. Even in Byzantine times it sometimes still retained the two knobs or flared ends familiar to us from Celtic torques of the Bronze Age. Polybius, in describing the defeat of the Gauls at Telamon in 225 B.C., uses the word for the gold torques worn by the leading warriors,[370] and its military affiliations were never lost. When Julian was acclaimed Augustus at Paris in 360, he was lifted on the shield by the troops and crowned with the gold *maniakion* of a standard-bearer,[371] both of which operations provided precedents for later coronations.[372] The degradation of SS. Sergius and Bacchus from their military rank was effected by the removal of their *maniakia*,[373] and in Byzantine art such *maniakia* are sometimes shown on soldiers[374] or are worn by military saints.[375] In the *Book of Ceremonies* they are described as a mark of office of the *spatharocandidati*.[376] There is no hint of their ever being worn with the loros, or by the emperors, except as a substitute for the diadem in military coronations. The identification of the collar-piece with the *maniakion* must therefore be regarded as unlikely.

The normal costume of an empress was the loros, though the chlamys was not excluded. Irene's wearing of the latter on a Sicilian solidus (Pl. XV.3) might be written off as a provincialism but for the fact that Zoe Carbonopsina is shown in one on the Constantinopolitan folles of her son's minority (Pl. XXXVIII.22). The traditional loros of women, as long as it remained in fashion, is indistinguishable from that worn by emperors. This is true of the loros of Irene (Pls. XIII–XIV.1–7, XV.1–4), of the loroi of Theodora, Thecla, Anna, and Anastasia on the solidi of Theophilus (Pl. XXII.4), and of the loroi of Theodora and Thecla on solidi of Michael III (Pl. XXVIII.1–2). Only on the solidi of Zoe and Constantine VII (Pl. XXXVI.2) do we see the beginnings of a change, for above the top of the loros there appears a collar of larger pearls which forms a prelude to the more elaborate collars of the later tenth and eleventh centuries.

[368] *BNC*, II. 617, and her review of Hendy (who uses the term "collar-piece") in *NC*[7], 11 (1971), 365.

[369] Cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. Μανιάκης, Μανιάκιον, with many citations. The MS referred to in the text is one of commentaries on Aristotle.

[370] Polybius, ii. 29.8.

[371] Ammianus Marcellinus, xx. 4.17 (*torquis*). Julian, describing the same event, uses the word μανιάκιον (*Epist. ad Athen.*, 284d).

[372] *De ceremoniis*, i. 91, 92 (Bonn ed., I. 411, 423: coronations of Leo I and Anastasius I).

[373] *Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchii*, c. 7, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 14 (1895), 380.

[374] E.g., Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pls. XLI, LIII, from MS grec 510 of the period of Basil I.

[375] E.g., by St. Demetrius, in an early twelfth-century icon in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era*, fig. 119), and by SS. Sergius and Bacchus on a portable icon at Kiev (A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* [Paris, 1957], Pl. 71).

[376] *De ceremoniis*, i. 10 (Bonn ed., I. 49; ed. Vogt, I. 73, cf. his *Commentaire*, I. 114). Cf. also ii. 40 (Bonn ed., I. 640).

It is the simplified loros that dominates the costume of eleventh-century empresses. It differs from that of the emperors in the absence of the terminal length hanging over the forearm and in the presence in front of a kite-shaped panel. There is always a collar-piece, often so large as to become a kind of superhumeral covering the shoulders and the upper part of the breast, and there is sometimes also a narrow, high collar of several rows of pearls. The details on the coins, which are not always very clear, can be interpreted with the help of other contemporary monuments, which for this period are reasonably plentiful. The best known is the mosaic of Constantine IX and Zoe in Saint Sophia,[377] but Zoe also appears with Theodora on the enamel plaques of the crown of Constantine IX at Budapest[378] and alone or with Constantine IX on other enamels and miniatures.[379] Eudocia Macrembolitissa and her family are shown in B.N. MS grec 922, and Maria of Alania is shown with Michael VII on an enamel in the frame of the icon of the Virgin of Khakhuli (Tbilisi Museum)[380] and with Nicephorus III in B.N. MS Coislin 79.[381] There are also many miniatures and other representations of saints, particularly St. Helena, wearing imperial costume.

Some of the features of the modified loros are shown in Table 12, N–P. Two varieties with deep collars appear on the pattern histamenon of Zoe (Pl. LVIII.1) and the histamenon of Zoe and Theodora (Pl. LVIII.1; Table 12, N). On the histamenon the loros below the collar has the form of two vertical rows of pellets, but on the pattern of Zoe there is an elaborately decorated panel on the breast. Since these coins show only the busts of the empresses, the kite-like lower part of the loros does not appear. This is also true of the depiction of the loros on the four-solidus gold bulla of Theodora (Table 12, O), where the collar has only one row of pearls and is surmounted by a choker, while the loros has the form of large square plaques in panels outlined with pellets and dots.[382] Essentially the same pattern is shown on the tetartera of Eudocia with Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.2–3) and those of Maria of Alania with Michael VII (Pl. LXVI.3–5), though Theodora on her tetartera preferred an elaborate central pattern and a high choker (Pl. LXII.2; Table 12, P).

The details of the lower part of the modified loros can be seen only where the empress is shown standing, as on histamena of Theodora (Pl. LXII.1), folles of Eudocia and Constantine X (Pl. LXIV.8), and histamena of Eudocia with her sons (Pl. LXV.1; Table 12, M) or with Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.1–2). Here the main part of the loros has the usual form of two vertical rows of pellets enclosed in square panels, running up the front of the body, but much of its form below the waist is concealed by a kite-like or shield-like design,

[377] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. XIII.

[378] *Ibid.*, Pl. 134; see also below, p. 129.

[379] J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), fig. 132b (enamel in the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice); Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Pl. XIX.2 (frontispiece to MS 364 of St. Catherine's, Sinai).

[380] Beckwith, *op. cit.*, fig. 136.

[381] Above, p. 120, note 360.

[382] For illustration and enlargement see my article, "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 20 (1966), No. 3 on pl. following p. 253. The loros on the pattern miliaresion of Zoe, which is known only from a drawing (below, p. 728), was apparently similar.

rounded above and pointed below, which has an outer border of dots and is usually decorated in the center with a cross. This object is familiar from mosaics, miniatures, and other designs of the period, and is indeed one of the most conspicuous features of the costume of Byzantine empresses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ebersolt,[383] perhaps following up a suggestion of Kondakov, believed it to be identical with the *thorakion* (θωράκιον) mentioned in the Book of Ceremonies. Its development was subsequently traced by Père de Jerphanion,[384] who listed the monuments on which it appears and observed quite rightly that it was only the lower part of another garment, not a separate object. Since this other garment covered the upper part of the body, he accepted the correctness of the term *thorakion* for the whole.[385] Maria Soteriou subsequently showed that the panel was the part of the loros customarily brought round in front of the wearer's body, but that instead of being allowed to hang over the left forearm it was cut short and the end was either fastened to the belt or, more probably, tucked inside it.[386] The panel is certainly not the *thorakion*, both on etymological grounds and because it is characteristic of the empress' robes, while the *thorakion* of the Book of Ceremonies was worn by emperor and empress alike.[387] The extraordinary proliferation of this garment on monuments of the mid-eleventh century might suggest that it dates from then, but it must be substantially older, since St. Theodora, who restored the cult of images in 843, is shown wearing one in the Menologion of Basil II, which dates from the mid-980's.[388]

(c) *Military Costume*

Coins showing the emperor in military costume occur only at the beginning and end of the period.

The early group consists of coins of Leo III struck between 717 and 720. One type (Pl. II.20a) of his ceremonial silver coins, struck with dies prepared for solidi but not used for them, shows him in the traditional military costume of the fifth and early sixth centuries as it had been revived by Constantine IV (see *DOC*, II. 73–5): cuirass, shield

[383] *Mélanges*, 65, and *Les arts somptuaires*, 75.

[384] "Le 'Thorakion,' caractéristique iconographique du onzième siècle," in his collection *La voix des monuments*, 2e Série (Rome-Paris, 1938), 263–78. This supersedes an earlier version with the same title published in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, II (Paris, 1930), 71–9, in which the author had failed to take account of the numismatic evidence.

[385] "Dans les images ... ce pan triangulaire parait se rattacher à une sorte de tablier qui couvrirait la poitrine et le dos et pendrait assez bas, en serrant le corps, sur le coté droit. A cet object, on le voit, correspondrait bien le nom de 'thorakion' (cuirasse)" (p. 377).

[386] "Τὸ λεγόμενον Θωράκιον τῆς γυναικείας αὐτοκρατορικῆς στολῆς," in Κανίσκιον Φ. Ι. Κουκουλέ (= Ἐπετερὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν, 23 [1953]), 524–30.

[387] *De ceremoniis*, i. 46 (ed. Vogt, I. 175). *Thorakia* were also worn by magistri, proconsuls, and patricians (ii. 52; Bonn ed., I. 766), as well as by patrician ladies (i. 59; ed. Vogt, II. 63).

[388] *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (*Cod. Vaticano greco 1613*), ed. A. Stornajolo (Turin, 1907), No. 392. On the date, see S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II," *Byzantion*, 15 (1940/41), 104–25. This is the earliest example I have found of the kite-shaped panel.

decorated with horseman and fallen enemy, shouldered spear, and plumed helmet with a cross as frontal ornament. The same pattern was used for Class 1 of the copper, though the few specimens known are in too poor a condition for one to be sure how far the details are identical (Pl. III.24–7). The British Museum specimen of the half follis, indeed, differs from the silver coin in one important particular, for the shield is decorated with a Christogram instead of a horseman (p. 254, note to No. 26).

For three centuries after the end of Leo III's coinage of Class I no military types were used on the coins, unless one regards Theophilus' tufa as falling into this category. They came into fashion again in the eleventh century, though only on a small scale. The new designs break completely with the traditional accoutrement of the Roman infantryman, substituting a sword for shield and lance. The coins fall into two groups, one represented by Constantine IX's miliaresion and its derivatives, the other by the gold coinage of Isaac I. To these one should perhaps add Class IV of Constantine IX's histamena, though its only military feature is the hilt of a sword in the emperor's left hand. His cloak seems to be a normal chlamys, with only a slight variant in the pattern of the tablion.

The first of the two main groups is represented by the miliaresia of Constantine IX (Pl. LIX.7) and those of Michael VII (Pl. LXVII.7) and Nicephorus III (Pl. LXIX.7), which are identical in type. The emperor is shown standing, wearing scale armor and a belted tunic, usually with a military cloak fastened in front with a circular brooch and thrown back over his shoulders, so that it hangs down to well below the knee. He holds with his left hand the pommel of his sword, which rests, in its scabbard, with its point on the ground. With his right hand he holds a long cross having near its lower end a series of knobs or thickenings which may indicate that it was meant to be planted in the earth as some kind of standard. He wears a crown instead of a helmet, however, so one must assume that the costume represents court armor rather than proper military costume. The general pattern conforms fairly well to that worn by Basil II in the miniature which forms the frontispiece to his Psalter in the Marciana,[389] though the armor and the portion below the belt are differently designed.

The other military type is that of the histamena and tetartera of Isaac I (Pl. LXIII.1–3). Here the armor is substantially the same, but the emperor's stance is notably more aggressive. This is true even of the design in which the sword rests on the ground—the emperor's arm is differently held—and he has in his right hand a globus cruciger as a concession to civilian traditions. This feature is naturally more obvious on the coins which show him with a drawn sword resting against his shoulder; here, since he grasps the top of the scabbard in his left hand, he holds no civil insignia at all. It was presumably this latter issue that caused ill-feeling at the time, since it was interpreted as implying that the emperor held his throne by the sword and not by divine grace.[390]

[389] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. XI facing p. 26.
[390] Below, p. 759.

(3) Imperial Insignia

The imperial insignia remained in essentials what they had been in the seventh century, but there were changes in form and emphasis. The development of the chlamys and loros have already been discussed. The crown was unchanged down to the end of the ninth century, but tended to greater elaboration from the reign of Leo VI onward. The globus cruciger remained in constant use, with few variants. The akakia completely displaced the mappa and played a more prominent role than the latter had ever done; it was, indeed, under the Isaurians and Amorians, a more important imperial symbol than the globus cruciger. The labarum, neglected since the end of the fourth century, was revived by Theophilus and either as a standard or scepter recurs frequently in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when other forms of scepter also begin to appear. Finally, when sovereigns are shown in association with the Virgin or with saints, they often hold between them a long cross or similar object, which perhaps do not qualify as insignia but clearly were of imperial as well as religious significance.

(a) *Crown or Diadem* (στέμμα, στέφανος)[391]

The distinction between the crowns of emperor and empress already known in earlier centuries continues throughout the period, but the empress' crown seems to have undergone some development and the emperor's crown is depicted in two quite separate ways, as a simple diadem or as a real crown. The chief varieties are shown in Table 13.

The "diadem" type is that characteristic of the Isaurian and Amorian periods, when it is the only one used, and it lasts through the early Macedonian period into the reign of Nicephorus II, whose solidi of Class I (Pl. XLI.1–3) show it for the last time. It is shown as two curved, dotted lines, close together, following the top of the head, and is surmounted by a frontal ornament consisting of either a cross on a semicircle or a cross only (Table 13, A, B). The simple cross is more commonly found on the later coins of the period, which also show a tendency for the curved lines of the diadem to become two straight lines sloping upward, at a very shallow angle, from each side (Table 13, C). The "ties" of the diadem, which would be behind the head, are naturally not shown, and there are no pendilia.

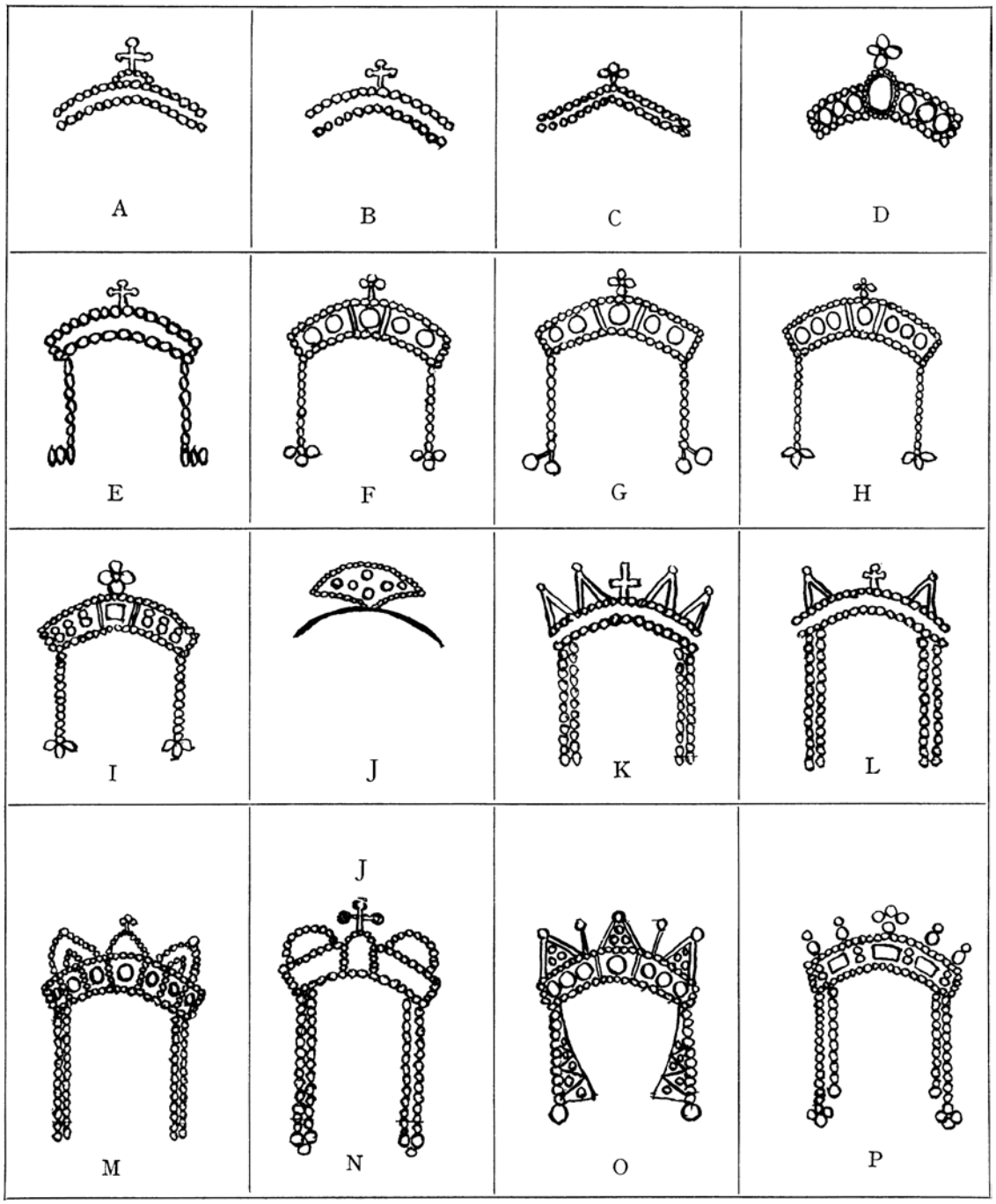
This design seems to have been simply traditional, bearing no relation at all to what the emperors actually wore. The "real" crown, which had disappeared from the coins in the reign of Heraclius, was revived on the portrait solidus of Leo VI as an essential adjunct to the representation of the emperor's true likeness. It takes the form of a row of six large pellets between two rows of dots, having in the center a larger pellet in a circle of very fine dots surmounted by a cross of five pellets (Table 13, D).[392] This crown is without pendilia, as is the similar one of Romanus I on his "portrait" folles (Pl. XXXVIII.25), but others of the same type on portrait coins of the mid-tenth century—pattern solidi and miliaresia of Romanus I (Pls. XXXVI.11, XXXVII.19), solidi of Constantine VII (Pl. XXXVI.12–13) and Romanus II (Pl. XI.1–2)—are all furnished with

[391] See *DOC*, II. 80–4.

[392] Exceptionally, on the pattern solidus of Alexander (Pl. XXXV.1), by a trefoil ornament.

TABLE 13

IMPERIAL CROWNS



pendilia, which take the form of a vertical line of fine dots on either side of the face, ending in a trefoil ornament shown as three pellets. This realistic crown was adopted by Nicephorus II for his folles and for Class II of his solidi, and was thenceforward used by all emperors of the late tenth and throughout the eleventh centuries. The design varies slightly in elaboration from one reign and issue to another (Table 13, F–I). The central ornament may be replaced by a slightly larger square and the pellets on either side separated by fine lines or replaced by squares (Pl. LXII.2, Romanus IV) or by two rows of smaller dots (Pl. LIX.4); the pendilia may sometimes end in bifid ornaments instead of trifid ones. Each issue is usually consistent within itself, but different varieties may occur on coins of the same emperor—e.g., bifid pendilia on Romanus III's histamena and silver, trifid ones on his tetartera—and on the debased tetartera of Nicephorus III (Pl. LXIX.5) both varieties occur within the same class. On Basil II's early coinage it is not clear whether the vertical series of dots on either side of the head, with three short vertical strokes at the bottom of each (Table 13, E), are meant to represent pendilia or hair curling above the shoulders; only on his last coins are the pendilia clearly shown. The substitution of squares for pellets in the design of the crowns was no doubt intended to bring them closer to reality, since they would better represent the enamel plaques out of which many Byzantine crowns, such as that of Constantine Monomachus at Budapest, were constructed. It is clear, however, that a number of different crowns were available to an emperor, for the Book of Ceremonies refers to him wearing a white or a red one at his choice during the Easter services,[393] and the close correspondence between those which Constantine IX is shown as wearing on the Zoe panel and on Class III of his histamena[394] suggests an attempt at making the coin designs correspond to reality. In their general appearance these crowns resembled shallow pots, which probably explains the name of *modiolus* (μοδιόλος), i.e., "little pot," sometimes applied to them.[395]

An exception to the normal pattern of crowns is the *tufa* (τοῦφα), a crown surmounted by a fan-shaped plume of peacock feathers, which Theophilus is shown wearing on the new type of follis that he introduced in the 830's (Pls. XXIV–XXVI.15–17; Table 13, J). Virtually no "crown" is shown at all, since the fan, decorated with varying patterns of dots, springs directly from the curved line that would normally be taken as indicating the emperor's diadem but must here mark a cap fitting his head. Literary evidence shows

[393] *De ceremoniis*, i. 46 (ed. Vogt, I. 175). Blue or green crowns were worn during other ceremonies. The colors are presumably those of some kind of cloth lining, like the colored velvet inside modern crowns.

[394] Both have a square central ornament and two rows of gems, represented by pellets on the coin and white tesserae on the mosaic.

[395] Notably when in 813 the Empress Procopia, herself an emperor's daughter, opposed Michael I's intention of abdicating, saying that she could not bear the thought that her successor "should place on her head the *modiolus*." That it is not simply used as an empress' crown we know from allusions in the account of the coronation of Leo I. Cf. P. Charanis, "The Imperial Crown Modiolus and Its Constitutional Significance," *Byzantion*, 12 (1937), 189–95, the criticism of this by Dölger in *BZ*, 38 (1938), 240, and Charanis' reply, "The Crown Modiolus Once More," *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 377–83. Other explanations of *modiolus* have been proposed, but the one given seems to me the most likely. Cf. the fourteenth-century Flemish term *botdrager*, lit. "pot-bearer," for a coin having as type a heraldic lion wearing a large and conspicuous helmet.

the tufa to have been a form of headdress worn at imperial triumphs, as, for example, by Basil II at his celebrations of victory over the Bulgarians,[396] and its appearance is known from a fifteenth-century drawing of the equestrian statue of Justinian at Constantinople[397] and from an eleventh-century Byzantine silk tapestry at Bamberg showing one being offered to the emperor.[398] Exactly how it was constructed, and whether the object supporting the plume was a crown rather than a helmet, are not clear.

The crowns of empresses[399] differed from those of emperors in that they always had "pinnacles" and prependulia, but otherwise their representation on the coins was similar, apart from the frequent omission of a central cross, and evolved in much the same fashion. The only Augustae to appear on the coins under the Isaurians and Amorians were Irene, Theodora, and three of the daughters of Theophilus. The normal crown has basically the form of the diadem on the coins of emperors, but with either two or four triangular projections above and normally a central cross (Table 13, K, L). On Theodora's coins as regent, however, we find an attempt to represent the crown as it really was, instead of schematically: there is a curved band decorated with pellets and having two semicircular ornaments, instead of triangles, on either side of a central cross on a semicircle (Table 13, M). Constantine VII's mother Zoe has a similar representational crown on her gold and a schematic crown of the old style on her copper, but both have double prependulia terminating in a trefoil ornament (Table 13, N). The four eleventh-century empresses to appear on the coins—Zoe, Theodora, Eudocia Macrembolitissa, and Maria—all have elaborate crowns (Table 13, O, P), though the details differ and are usually obscure when the heads are small, as with standing figures and sometimes on tetartera. The prependulia tend to become single instead of double and to end with either two or three pellets; in this, as in a shortness which belies both their name and Anna Comnena's account of them, they have been assimilated to those on the crowns of emperors. On coins of Zoe and Theodora the pendilia have no terminal ornaments, but the space between them and the side of the face is filled with a pattern of lines and pellets, which looks like a kind of short veil (Table 13, O). It is perhaps a misunderstanding of the design of the Zoe panel, which shows the pendilia ending with three jewels but suspended from decorated bands instead of from the usual chains. The upper parts of the crowns are complicated to varying degrees, with the triangles being made to alternate with finials and the cross being omitted.

[396] Zonaras, xvii. 9.24 (Bonn ed., III. 566–7). Its use was not limited to triumphs, however, for it was an alternative to the crown for wear on Easter Monday (*De ceremoniis*, i. 46 [ed. Vogt, I. 176]).

[397] Cf. P. W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), 39–57, and the subsequent discussion by Cyril Mango and Mrs. Lehmann on pp. 351–8. It can be most easily seen in the Loeb edition of Procopius, where it forms the frontispiece to Vol. VII.

[398] A. Grabar, "La soie byzantine de l'évêque Gunther à la cathédrale de Bamberg," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*[3], 7 (1956), 7–26, esp. 14–15, 24–5 (reprinted in his *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* [Paris, 1968], I. 213–27).

[399] *DOC*, I. 82–4.

(b) *Globus Cruciger*[400]

The globus cruciger, symbolizing the orb of the world and the Cross by whose grace the emperor exercised dominion over it, was, at least on the coins, the most ubiquitous of Byzantine symbols of rule. It was purely notional in character: no such globus formed part of the imperial regalia, and none of our written sources allude to its presence in processions or other ceremonies. This may in part explain why its employment, though constant, seems to be governed by no rules at all. It is carried indifferently by senior or junior emperors, by empresses as well as their consorts, by rulers wearing either a loros or a chlamys, and in the right hand or the left. It had no superiority to other insignia; on solidi of Leo III and Constantine V it is held by both emperors, while on those of Nicephorus I and other early ninth-century emperors it is held by the junior one only. It can be grasped by the emperor or it can rest on his hand; it is usually held somewhere between the level of the waist and the shoulder but occasionally, as on tetartera of Constantine IX, it is lifted high to about the level of the ear (Pl. LVI.4). Its proportions vary greatly: usually the cross is about the same size as the globe or slightly smaller, but it can be larger and it can be tiny, as on the histamena of Constantine X (Pl. LXIII.1). It is normally solid, but in the eleventh century it is often made with five, four, or three pellets (⁝, ∴, ∴). It is often carelessly placed, so that it springs not from the top of the globe but from a little to one side.

There are four variants that require particular notice.

The first is the globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross instead of a plain one. Its existence, in view of the interchangeability of plain and patriarchal crosses in other contexts, was perhaps inevitable, and the numismatic evidence does not suggest that any particular significance or purpose can be assigned to it. In Vol. II it appeared only rarely, on coins of the second reign of Justinian II (Pl. XLIII.1 ff.) and of Theodosius III (Pl. XLVI.1 ff.). Under the Isaurians it went out of fashion, but it was reintroduced by Theophilus, like the patriarchal cross itself, and its occurrence on his and later coins was as follows:

Constantine, son of Theophilus. Solidus (Pl. XXII.2)
Theodora, regent for Michael III. Gold (Pl. XXVIII.1)
Michael III and Basil. Follis (Pl. XXIX.8)
Leo VI. Solidus (Pl. XXXIV.1)
Romanus I. Pattern miliaresion (Pl. XXXVI.11)
Constantine VII. Solidi (Pl. XXXVI.12–13)
Romanus III. Miliaresion (Pl. LVII.3)
Zoe and Constantine VIII. Pattern tetarteron (Pl. LVIII.2)
Constantine IX. Histamenon (Pl. LVIII.1a)

In most cases the sovereign holding it wears a loros, but there was no necessary connection

[400] See *DOC*, II. 84–6. The standard work of reference is P. E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958), esp. 24–8 for Byzantium. Schramm's comment on p. 25 that the globus cruciger is much more typical of imperial representations on coins and seals than in frescoes and mosaics is subject to the reservation that the latter are too rare for safe generalization.

between the two, for Leo VI, and Constantine VII on his pattern solidus, are each wearing a chlamys.

The second variant is much stranger, for the globus is surmounted by a trefoil ornament instead of by a cross. Its occurrence is limited to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the only examples known to me, on coins and related objects, are as follows:

Nicephorus II. Follis (Pl. XLI.7)
John Zimisces. Solidus (Pl. XLII.1a, 1b, 4b)
Zoe. Pattern histamenon (Pl. LVIII.1)
Theodora. Gold bulla[401]

The meaning of this symbol is unknown, and I have not come across any other examples in Byzantine art of the same period. There is, however, in the church of San Salvatore Maggiore, near Rieti, the remains of a fresco showing a nimbate, beardless figure, who holds a globus having on it a small circular object surmounted by a trefoil.[402] Since the church was consecrated in 974 and the abbey was in the territory of the Western Empire, Schramm proposed to identify the figure with Otto II and an ill-preserved one beside it with Otto's wife Theophano. Whether this be correct or not, the occurrence of a similar object on Byzantine coins of about the same date shows at least the source from which the symbol was derived.

The third variant, if that is the right word, is the curiously muddled design which appears on the solidi of Romanus II (Pl. XL.1–2). The emperor holds a globus in his left hand, while above it there appears a long cross scepter which, from the details of the cross, must be a "real" and not a notional object. The scepter is, however, held at an angle, as is usual with such objects, instead of standing vertically as would the cross of a globus cruciger, and on one die it springs not from the top of the globus but from well to the side. Basically, in fact, the globus and the cross scepter are separate objects, and although their shape would make it impossible for them to be held in one hand, the die-sinker failed to understand the model he was copying and conflated the two into one.

The fourth variant, known on a single histamenon of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.1b), has a crescent at the base of the cross on the globus cruciger. This combination is like that of the cross and crescent which form the reverse type of Class J of the Anonymous Folles. Since the scepter on the same histamenon is surmounted by a leaved cross like that of Class I of the Anonymous Folles, it seems likely that both represent some well-known ornament or decoration of the period, though we have no clue to its identity.[403]

There are a few examples of two imperial figures holding between them a globus from which springs a long shaft having at its top a simple or patriarchal cross. This may be

[401] Grierson, "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 20 (1966), No. 3 on pl. facing p. 254.

[402] P. E. Schramm, "Unbeachtete Bilder Kaiser Ottos II. und Seiner Gemahlin Theophanu in einem mittelitalienischen Kloster," *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, I (Barcelona, 1965), 619–23. Cf. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, p. 82 and fig. 60, for an eleventh-century reliquary in the Welfenschatz with St. Sigismund of Burgundy holding a globus surmounted by a large fleur-de-lis. This may, however, be a later addition.

[403] See further below, p. 141.

no more than a variant of the much commoner design of two figures holding directly the shaft of such a cross. But since it occurs in a tenth-century context one cannot exclude the possibility of its involving a truer appreciation of the symbolism involved, that of the emperors supporting the world together, as, for example, Valentinian I and Valens had been shown to do on solidi having their seated figures with a globe between them. Such representations are found on two pattern solidi of Constantine VII's reign, one showing Constantine and Zoe (Pl. XXXVI.1), the other Romanus I and Constantine (Pl. XXXVI.9), and on the follis of Constantine VII and Romanus II (Pl. XXXIX.27). In the first and third cases a patriarchal cross is involved, and in all three the cross is marked off from the long shaft on which it is placed. The design recurs on tetartera of Romanus IV and Eudocia Macrembolitissa, but with a simple cross (Pl. LXV.3).

On one group of coins of the eighth and ninth centuries the globus cruciger is apt to be confused with a different symbol. A cross potent on globus was by this time the regular mark of value for the semissis, and since, when a second emperor occupied the reverse of the gold coins, the mark of value was normally placed in his hand, it could easily happen that the figures on both sides of the coin were holding similar, but fundamentally different, objects. The two can be easily distinguished, however, for the mark of value has a cross potent instead of a plain cross and the globus cruciger is always held by the globus, from below, while the mark of value is grasped by the shaft of the cross. Confusion is possible only on eastern coins under Leo III and during the opening months of Constantine V's reign, after which the issue of fractional gold was discontinued, but in the West this possible source of error continues up to the end of Sicilian coinage in the late ninth century.

(c) *Akakia* (ἀκακία, ἀνεξικακία)[404]

By the beginning of the eighth century the transformation of the mappa into the akakia was complete, and only the latter appears thereafter on the coins. The change is evident in its form—it is now always a cylindrical bar with knobbed ends,[405] not a rolled-up piece of cloth with floppy ones—in the fact that it is no longer specifically associated with the loros, and in the fashion in which it is held, for it is no longer raised above the shoulder—this gesture last appears on coins of Leontius (*DOC*, I, Pl. XL.1)—but is held in front of the body or to the side. Its appearance as an actual object is most clearly shown in the mosaic of the Emperor Alexander in Saint Sophia, where it is held vertically in the emperor's right hand, in front of his body, and has the form of a dark, reddish cylinder ringed with horizontal bands of violet near each end and with rounded caps of gold tesserae.[406]

Under the Isaurians and Amorians the akakia was the most ubiquitous symbol of sovereignty. It appears in almost all reigns and is held indifferently by the senior or the

[404] *DOC*, I. 86–7.

[405] Whence Pegolotti's description of it in the fourteenth century as a "pestle," "una [figura] tiene uno pestello in mano" (Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans [Cambridge, Mass., 1936], 288). The Byzantines themselves sometimes called it a scroll (τόμος), which it certainly resembled (*De ceremoniis*, ii. 40 [Bonn ed., I. 638]).

[406] P. A. Underwood in *DOP*, 14 (1960), 214, and 15 (1961), 195–6, with color plate after p. 217.

junior emperor and in the right hand or the left, though always at an angle, not vertically as in the mosaic of Alexander. After 867 it becomes much less common, perhaps because of the Macedonian emperors' predilection for crosses or other objects held jointly by two emperors, which limited their choice of other insignia. It continues, however, to occur from time to time, e.g., under Leo VI (Pl. XXXV.8, folles) and Constantine VII (Pl. LVI.3–4, solidi). In the eleventh century its use remains occasional, occurring only on the histamena and tetartera of Constantine VIII (Pl. LVI.3–4), the tetartera of Michael VI (Pl. LXII.2) and Constantine X(Pl. LXIV.3), and the histamena of Eudocia (Pl. LXVI.1) and Romanus IV (Pl. LXIV.1–2). On the last two coins it is held by the junior emperors at waist level, instead of higher as had previously been customary, and this gesture was retained when as a symbol of imperial power it came back into favor under the Comnenids.

(d) *Labarum* (λαβαρόν)[407]

The term labarum is customarily applied to a standard or scepter, resembling in a general way the Constantinian standard of that name, which Byzantine emperors are sometimes shown holding, from the ninth century onward, on coins and other monuments.

The original labarum is described in detail by Eusebius.[408] After the apparition of the cross in the heavens, which was seen by Constantine's whole army as well as by the emperor himself, Constantine was encouraged by a vision to make a new imperial standard in which it would be embodied. The resulting object had the form of a gilded lance having near the top a transverse bar, so that it formed a cross. Above the bar was fixed a wreath made of gold and precious stones having in its center the *Chi-Rho* Christogram (☧). From the bar was suspended a square of purple cloth into which were woven a number of precious and semi-precious stones. The standard also exhibited busts of the emperor and his sons. Eusebius' account does not make it clear where the latter were placed, but from reproductions on fourth-century coins it seems that they took the form of large medallions fixed one above the other on the shaft of the standard, below the square. The coins, for reasons of space, often show the Christogram as being on the suspended banner and not in a wreath above it, which Eusebius makes clear was the original arrangement. The imperial medallions were in due course eliminated, till on many coins the labarum has the form of a square banner suspended from a lance, decorated with a Christogram and sometimes with a fringe beneath.

The labarum fell into complete desuetude, so far as the coinage was concerned, in the late fourth century, and apart from an unexplained appearance in the field of a Sicilian solidus of Constantine V (Pl. X.15f) it was revived only by Theophilus. At first

[407] See *Signa militaria* in Daremberg-Saglio, IV, ii. 1307–25, esp. 1321–2, and *Labarum* in *PW*, XII. 240–2, and *DACL*, VIII. i. 927–62, esp. 941–2.

[408] *Vita Constantini*, i. 30–1 (Migne, *PG*, 20. 944–8). The etymology and original meaning of labarum are disputed, but there is some reason to suppose that it was simply a Gaelic word for a standard. Eusebius describes it as "the standard resembling a cross which is now called labarum by the Romans." This is our earliest evidence for the term. A supposedly earlier one, in Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, c. 16, is an error, Lewis and Short having carelessly summarized a passage in Forcellini.

it seems to have been intended as a military standard, presumably five to six feet in height, but from the coinage of Romanus I onward it can also have the form of a scepter, with a shaft some three feet in length. When only the bust of an emperor is shown on a coin, the way in which the labarum is held shows which object is involved, for a labarum standard is held upright, with the emperor's hand just below the banner, while a labarum scepter is held at an angle by the lower part of the shaft. This distinction, however, is not absolute, for the Gunther tapestry at Bamberg shows the emperor holding, as a standard, a labarum with a short shaft,[409] while the standing figure of Constantine IX on the crown at Budapest has a long labarum held transversely as if it were a scepter.[410] When the emperor is shown standing, as is frequently the case with eleventh-century coins, the object is invariably a labarum standard, and often has a pellet at the lower tip. The pellet or X which is sometimes found on the shaft may be a mint control mark of some kind (see page 80), and does not properly form part of the design.

The changing designs of the labarum, as shown on the coinage from Theophilus to Nicephorus III, is set out in Table 14, which will be clearer than any description. The designs fall into roughly three periods. From Theophilus to early in the reign of Constantine VII there is on the banner a cross, either solid or made with pellets, or an X, while the fringe beneath it is shown as two suspended pellets. There follow a series of rather indeterminate designs, with the quincunx pattern of five pellets first appearing under Nicephorus II.[411] From Constantine VIII onward the overall design becomes extremely uniform: a square with pellets at the four corners, a quincunx as the central decoration, and a cross of pellets, evolving into a triangle of pellets, above. The four corner pellets are almost always carefully positioned, so that the two upper ones are on the same line as the top of the banner but outside it, indicating the cross-bar from which it was suspended, while the two lower ones continue the vertical lines at either side and replace the two suspended pellets—all that remained of the original fringe—of the older design. The quincunx may in some reigns have formed a control mark, like the closely related designs which are found in the nimbus of Christ or on the cover of the Gospel Book. The transition from ·:· through ·:· to ∴ above the banner was probably no more than a process

[409] The clearest reproduction of this is in A. Grabar, "La soie byzantine de l'évêque Gunther ... (above, p. 130, note 398), 10, fig. H. It is described as follows (p. 12): "Le labarum est orné d'un losange rose au milieu, de quatre pierres carrées et d'autres, rouges, autour. Une rangée de perles suit le bord du labarum, tandis qu'une aigrette de perles en décore le haut, d'autres sont suspendues le long du bord inférieur, et deux chaines de perles pendent le long des côtés latéraux. Soulignons que sur le tissu le labarum n'a jamais porté ni croix ni monogramme." Another very clear design, of the late ninth century, and with the hanging banner rectangular rather than square, can be seen in a miniature in B.N. MS grec 510, showing Basil I receiving a labarum from the prophet Elias (Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. XIX).

[410] K. Wessel, *Die byzantinische Emailkunst* (Recklinghausen, 1967), Pl. 32b. By this time the vela of the labara, as they appear on miniatures, enamels, and the like, were apparently thought of as solid and no longer made of cloth.

[411] As on the labara held by two archangels on the Limburg reliquary which was made for the *proedros* Basil, an illegitimate son of Romanus I, in 964/5 (Wessel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22a, but for the details see J. Rauch, Frhr. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, and J. M. Wilm, "Die Limburger Staurothek," *Das Münster*, 8 (1955), fig. 11.

TABLE 14

LABARUM DESIGNS

(A) THEOPHILUS TO CONSTANTINE VIII

Emperor and Denomination	General Form	Details of Decorations, and Comments
Theophilus Follis Half follis		Provincial issues
Michael III Solidus, Class III Semissis		Shaft and much of outline dotted, as if to represent a real object more faithfully. On semissis, pellet replaces cross
Basil I Bulla (4 solidi) Follis	(a) (b)	(a) On bulla and Class 1 of folles, with shaft on the latter dotted (b) On Classes 2 and 5 of folles
Leo VI Follis Half follis		The second design occurs on the half folles of rough fabric
Constantine VII Follis, Class 2		
Romanus I Solidus, Class VIII Follis, Class 4	(a) (b)	(a) On solidi of Class VIII, (b) on folles of Class 4. The shaft of the scepter on (b) sometimes continues upwards as a vertical line through the middle of the banner. Details are usually not clear
Nicephorus II Follis, Class 2		Details are usually obscure. There seems sometimes to be ∴ instead of the trefoil, and a single large pellet instead of
Basil II Tetarteron, Type A		The authenticity of this coin, with its very unusual design, is perhaps not certain.
Constantine VIII Histamenon Tetarteron		Sometimes ∴ instead of ⁘ above owing to crowding

TABLE 14

LABARUM DESIGNS

(B) MICHAEL IV TO NICEPHORUS III

Emperor and Denomination	General Form	Details of Decorations, and Comments
Michael IV Histamenon		
Zoe and Theodora Histamenon		
Constantine IX Histamenon Tetarteron		
Theodora		
Isaac I Histamenon		
Constantine X Histamenon		
Constantine X and Eudocia Follis		With cross-bar lower down on shaft, the whole standing on base and two steps
Romanus IV Histamenon		On scepter held by Michael (VII). It is very tiny, hence the extreme simplification of the design
Michael VII Histamenon Follis		on histamenon
Nicephorus III		

of simplification and unrelated to the triangle found in the same position on fourth-century coin designs. The latter had been intended to show the two wires by which the banner was suspended from the top of the shaft.

Theophilus' revival of the labarum was presumably intended to have military overtones, for although the inscription ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ ΑΥΓΟΥϹΤΕ ϹΥ ΝΙΚΑϹ on the reverse of the follis

was a phrase that he would have regularly heard in acclamations from his coronation onward, the use of the labarum on the same coin would inevitably have recalled the ἐν τούτῳ νίκα promise of the Constantinian vision. The military connection, however, must have been quite superficial, for the labarum does not figure in other artistic compositions where one might reasonably expect it, as in the Psalter miniature showing the triumph of Basil II,[412] and on coins it is sometimes borne by children (Constantine VII, Michael VII) or by women (Zoe and Theodora, Theodora). It became in fact, and as a tangible object, simply a form of scepter. Whether it was actually what the Byzantines called a labarum we do not know. The labara of the Book of Ceremonies are not imperial scepters, but insignia for court officials which were normally kept in the Church of Our Lord in the Great Palace so as to be available on appropriate occasions.[413] The Book of Ceremonies distinguishes them from "the Roman scepters which are called *vela*," but the term *velum* would apply very adequately to the standard of the miniature of Basil I or to that of the Bamberg tapestry, while one would expect a labarum to display, whether on a separate roundel or on the square of cloth itself, a monogram of Christ. A standard of this type could bear any kind of decoration or inscription, whether a pattern of precious stones or a *Trisagion* inscription,[414] but these are scarcely labara. The term labarum is too convenient to be dropped, but one must express a certain doubt as to whether the object shown on the coins and other works of art is exactly what was meant by the Byzantines when they used the word.

(e) *Scepters and Similar Objects*

Up to the Isaurian period scepters of any kind had been shown only sporadically on the coins,[415] and their subsequent history remained erratic. True scepters, in the sense of real objects actually held by rulers, are almost entirely confined to the tenth and eleventh centuries; indeed, if one excepts the labarum, they nearly all belong to the latter. The tendency in tenth-century coin design was to show two busts or standing figures holding between them some symbolic object, usually a simple or patriarchal cross on a long shaft. Before that we find a cross scepter, normally held in the left hand, or a cross potent held vertically in the right. The latter can certainly not have corresponded to anything in real life, and the cross potent as a symbol of authority has in any case to be distinguished from the cross potent held as a mark of value. A quite

[412] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. XI. Cf. above, p. 126.

[413] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 40 (Bonn ed., I. 641). There were five of them. The other insignia (scepters, *campiductoria*, etc.) are more often referred to in the Book of Ceremonies than the labara. For example, the latter objects figure in the Easter procession (*De ceremon.*, i. 1; p. 11) but are not mentioned, while most of the others are, at the reception of Arab ambassadors (*ibid.*, ii. 15; pp. 757, 585). Byzantine terminology on these matters seems very imprecise, perhaps because it has been insufficiently studied. Anna Comnena uses *skeptron* either for some kind of banner or in a general way as referring to Roman rule. When Nicaea offered to surrender to Alexius, he sent troops with standards and scepters garnished with silver nails to be displayed on the ramparts (*Alexiade*, vi. 11.1 [ed. Leib, II. 72]).

[414] As on those borne by two archangels on a mosaic formerly in the Church of the Assumption at Nicaea (Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, Pl. 76).

[415] *DOC*, I. 87–8.

exceptional coin design is that of the coins of Artavasdus, where the emperor and his son hold in front of them, as a symbol of protection and not as a scepter, a small patriarchal cross (Pl. VII.1–2, 4).

(1) Cross potent. The cross potent as a symbol of authority for senior emperors was introduced under Constantine V and last used by Basil I. It is always held vertically, by the shaft, in the emperor's right hand. There is at first a short base, but from the reign of Michael II onward this is omitted. It is normally held inwards, i.e., with the emperor's hand around the front of the shaft, so that only the back of the hand and the fingers, but not the thumb, are visible to the spectator. From Nicephorus I onward the forefinger is extended and points at the emperor's head in a curious and quite characteristic gesture which has already been discussed (above, p. 114).

(2) Patriarchal cross. In the ninth century this is held as a symbol of authority by only two rulers, Theophilus on some of his solidi and folles (Pls. XXII.2–3, 5; XXIII.13) and Thecla on solidi of Michael III (Pl. XXVIII.1). The way in which the cross is held, with the clumsy gesture of the pointing finger, shows that it has simply been substituted for the cross potent of Theophilus' predecessors and had no real existence. In the tenth century a patriarchal cross is quite commonly held by two figures, as will be seen below, and in the eleventh it reappears as a symbol held by a single emperor, a long one by Romanus III on his miliaresion (Pl. LVII.3) and a short one, held against his shoulder as a scepter, by Romanus IV on his one-third miliaresion (Pl. LXV.7). In the two last cases the treatment differs completely from that of the cross scepters held by other emperors of the period, so that, as under Theophilus and Theodora, the patriarchal cross must be regarded as notional in character.

(3) Early cross scepters. In the eighth and ninth centuries the use of the cross scepter extends from the reign of Irene to that of Basil I. It is always held in the ruler's left hand, resting against his left shoulder, and was particularly favored for empresses and junior colleagues, although not confined to them. Rulers holding it normally wear the loros. The cross scepter of this period is designed as a single object, not as a cross attached to a shaft, as it was to be in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Although such an object was a normal part of the imperial regalia, its form in the eighth and ninth centuries, at least on the coins, suggests that it was a symbol of authority and not intended as a tangible object. It occurs on coins of the following reigns:

Constantine VI, held by Irene. Solidus (Pls. XIII–XIV.1–3); follis (Pl. XIV.5–7)
Irene, held by herself. Solidus (Pl. XV.1); follis (Pl. XV.2)
Michael I, held by Theophylact. Solidus (Pl. XVII.1)
Michael II, held by himself. Solidus, on reverse (Pl. XX.1); follis, on obverse (Pl. XX.7)
Michael II, held by Theophilus. Solidus (Pl. XX.2)
Theophilus, held by himself. Solidus (Pl. XXII.1); tremissis (Pl. XXII.6)
Theophilus, held by Constantine. Solidus (Pl. XXII.2)
Theophilus, held by Michael (III). Solidus (Pl. XXII.5); tremissis (Pl. XXII.7)
Michael III, held by Theodora. Solidus (Pl. XXVIII.1)
Basil I, held by Eudocia. Solidus (Pl. XXX.3)

The cross is sometimes carelessly designed, with no shaft connecting the holder's hand and the point at which the upper part of the scepter touches his shoulder (e.g.,

Pl. XXII.1a, 2). Presumably the die-sinker did not wish to spoil the pattern of the loros which he had already completed, and was indifferent to the fact that the omission made nonsense of the design.

(4) Later scepters (tenth and eleventh centuries). The scepters shown on tenth- and eleventh-century coins, mainly solidi, are unquestionably intended to represent real objects, and in many cases have their parallels in mosaics and miniatures of the period. The types that occur are set out in Table 15.

The plain cross scepter (A) differs from its eighth- and ninth-century predecessors in that the cross is shown as an object distinct from the shaft, to the end of which it was fitted. The cross is normally slightly pattée, with a pellet just beyond the end of each arm representing a circular ornament which would be attached to it by wiring or soldering. The treasury of the Cathedral of Tournai possesses what is believed to be such a cross, though it is without terminal ornaments.[416] It is of gold, inset with large crystals and colored semi-precious stones en cabochon, and the edges are bordered with large pearls strung on wire and held in place by small rings set between them. There are additional, larger pearls at the corners of each arm and in the angles between the cross-pieces. At the bottom is a dowel for fixing it to a staff, but its rather small size—it is 14.4 cm. high and 11 cm. broad within the pearl border—makes an original use as a processional cross unlikely. It would, on the other hand, be exactly the right size for a scepter. Since it is certainly Byzantine in origin and because, from the richness and character of its decoration, it must be from an imperial workshop, I have little doubt that Mr. Ross is correct in regarding it as the head of a Byzantine imperial scepter which found its way to Flanders as part of the plunder of the Fourth Crusade. The object corresponds exactly to the description in the Book of Ceremonies of a stage in the Easter procession when the emperor and empress, "after putting on their loroi and being crowned by the praepositi, take in their right hands the akakia and in their left the golden crosses ornamented with precious stones and pearls."[417] Lipinsky assigned the cross to the seventh century, but Ross's dating of it to the tenth century seems more likely.

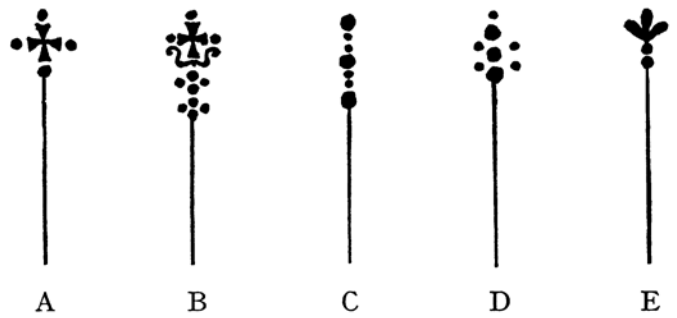
The cross scepter in these centuries is shown very clearly on Class 1 of the folles of Nicephorus II (Pl. XLI.7), on Class III of the histamena of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.3), and on Class I of the histamena of Nicephorus III (Pl. LXIX.1). A long cross of the same type is held by Michael VI on his tetartera (Pl. LXII.2) and by Constantine IX, Michael VII, and Nicephorus III on their miliaresia (Pls. LIX.7, LXVII.7, LXIX.7).

[416] M. C. Ross, "A Byzantine Imperial Scepter for Easter and a Pectoral Cross," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 9 (1960), 91–5. There are colored reproductions in C. de Linas, "Le reliquaire de la Sainte Croix de la cathédrale de Tournai," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 37 (1887), 419–25, and in *DACL*, III (2), plate facing cols. 3107–8. See also A. Lipinsky, "La stauroteca di Tournai," *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 12 (1958), 40–4.

[417] *De ceremoniis*, i. 1 (Bonn ed., I. 25). In two other descriptions of the same ceremony in i. 9 and i. 37 (pp. 62, 187), the crosses are described as σκηπίονα, i.e., *scipiones*, this being the old Roman term for a consular scepter which had by now lost all connection with its eagle-topped predecessor. In quoting the second of these passages in *DOC*, II. 88, note 180, I inadvertently made it refer to Pentecost instead of Easter, not realizing that the material in the chapter, which begins with the appropriate acclamations for Pentecost, had fallen into disorder. Cf. Vogt's edition, I. 180, note to 56.

TABLE 15

IMPERIAL SCEPTERS (TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES)



A more elaborate scepter, with a leaved cross (B), occurs only once on the coinage before 1081, on histamena of Class I of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.1), where it is affixed to the top of an elaborate knobbed scepter. Similar scepters are known from other monuments. A scepter of this type is held by Maria of Alania, wife of Michael VII, on the contemporary enamel showing their coronation which forms part of the Khakhuli triptych at Tbilisi.[418]

A plain knobbed scepter (C) occurs on the coinage only twice, in both cases being held by empresses. The knobs presumably represent large enamel decorations or precious stones. On Zoe's pattern tetarteron (Pl. LVIII.2) the empress holds in her left hand one having nine knobs, three large ones separated by two pairs of three smaller ones. Eudocia Macrembolitissa holds a similar one on her histamena of 1067 (Pl. LXV.1). Here there are only five knobs, all of equal size, but this may be a consequence of the tiny scale on which an object held by a standing figure must be depicted. Zoe and Theodora hold similar knobbed scepters—or rather, in this case, long staves with knobs spaced widely apart—on two of the enamels of the crown of Constantine Monomachus at Budapest.[419] A more elaborately knobbed scepter (D) is borne by Theodora on her tetartera (Pl. LXII.2).

Finally, a trifid scepter (E) occurs three times on the coins, on the pattern histamenon and miliaresion of Zoe (Pl. LVIII.1 and p. 728) and on one of Constantine IX's tetartera (Pl. LIX.5), but it is known from other monuments. Something very similar is borne by Eudocia Ingerina, wife of Basil I, in one of the miniatures in B.N. MS grec 510, folio B, though there the upper part is shown as an actual flower.[420] Trifid scepters with the three ends separate are borne by some of the archangels on the Limburg Reliquary,[421] and by the Doge Ordelaffo Falier on an enamel on the Pala d'Oro at San Marco.[422]

[418] K. Wessel, *Die byzantinische Emailkunst*, Pl. 38. The plain, narrow metal rod of her scepter contrasts with the thick, decorated, wooden or enamel one of the labarum held by her husband.

[419] *Ibid.*, Pl. 32a, c.

[420] Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. XVI.

[421] Wessel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22b.

[422] *Ibid.*, Pl. 46d.

(f) *Objects Held by Two Figures*

Two figures holding imperial insignia, whether they are half-length (busts), seated, or standing, had occurred fairly frequently on the coinage from the fifth century onward. Usually, before the ninth century, the insignia are held separately, whether they are the same (two akakias, two crosses potent) or different. Under the Macedonians and their successors the fashion changes, and we often find two figures holding jointly a long cross, a labarum, or some similar object, either one by his left hand and the other by his right, or, more rarely, with one figure stretching his hand across his body so that the same hand is employed by both.

While it is, broadly speaking, true to say that this type of design is characteristic of the Macedonian dynasty, a few earlier cases occur. They start in the sixth century, when the copper coins of Antioch show the seated figures of Justin II and Sophia holding between them a globus surmounted by a long cross (*DOC*, I, Pls. LVI–LVII). There is then a long gap to Justinian II and Tiberius (*DOC*, II, Pls. XLIII–XLIV), another to Leo III, whose folles and half folles of Class 3 show him and Constantine V holding a cross potent (Pl. IV.36–7), and yet another to Basil I, whose solidi of Class I show him and Constantine holding a patriarchal cross (Pl. XXX.2), while on the folles of Classes 1 and 2 the same two sovereigns support a labarum (Pls. XXX–XXXI.8–9). Thereafter the practice becomes normal. We find it under Leo VI, Constantine VII, Nicephorus II, Basil I, Michael IV (Thessalonican histamenon), Zoe and Theodora, Theodora, Constantine X, Romanus IV, and Michael VII, the second figure being usually that of the heir to the throne but sometimes the empress, or very rarely the Virgin or a saint. The objects held are normally a patriarchal cross, sometimes on a globus, or a labarum. A simple cross, either alone or on a globe, is very rare. There seems to have been no rule determining the choice of object, once the fashion had come into being, any more than there was one laying down by which hand an object should be held. Nor, despite opinion to the contrary, does the position of the two co-emperors' hands on the object seem to be of any consequence.[423]

(4) Portraiture[424]

There are few representations of emperors on coins of the eighth to the eleventh centuries which can be regarded as characterized portraits; the vast majority are conventional imperial effigies. Although the details of the face and even its shape alter somewhat over the centuries—the face of Nicephorus II could not be mistaken for that of Constantine V—we cannot assume that any of them was intended as a likeness of the person depicted. Differences in appearance are the result of changed iconographical conventions, and each sovereign is normally indistinguishable from his successor or predecessor. Even in a long reign no attempt is made to allow for the passage of time; there is nothing to compare with even the rough sequence of types that is found under

[423] Above, p. 113.

[424] See Wroth, lxxxvi–xcvii, and, on seventh-century coin portraiture, *DOC*, II. 88–94. There is a useful but now somewhat outdated collection of imperial "portraits" from sources other than coins in S. Lambros, Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1930).

Heraclius and Constans II. Basil II was eighteen years old in 976 and sixty-seven when he died in 1025, but he looks the same age on his earliest coins as on his latest ones. An exception to this immobility might be made when a sovereign came to the throne as a child, but even then there was no attempt made to depict his real age or likeness. Constantine V is shown on his father's coins first as an infant, with soft, rounded cheeks, then as a boy, and finally as a young man; on coins of his own reign he acquires a beard and mustache,[425] but in none of these changes is there the slightest element of characterization. The same is true of the passage from the small, standing figure of Constantine VII on some of his early solidi to the larger figure on his later ones.

The few examples of characterized coin portraiture that occur are limited to the Macedonian period. The Isaurian and Amorian coins, though neatly designed and carefully struck, are of almost unrelieved monotony, with modelling reduced to a minimum. Wroth suggested that some of the coins of Leo III might be likenesses, but the ones which he had in mind are those of Leontius, where some degree of characterized portraiture may be admitted. Faces are conventionally described as "beardless" or "bearded," according to whether they are those of a junior or a senior emperor, but the presence or absence of a short mustache is often a better guide to status, since the "beard" is usually no more than a thickening of the line around the lower part of the face. Changes in portrait style are so slight that coins of Leo III have long been assigned to Leo V, though the two emperors lived nearly a century apart. The hair in this period is normally combed straight down on either side of the head, ending in bunched-up curls at the level of the neck. On some Italian issues this curl is elongated sideways, giving the emperors a curiously cat-like appearance (e.g., Pl. VI.72). The designs of Italian and Sicilian issues are indeed both eccentric and highly stylized, evolving according to rhythms of their own and giving rise to portraits which must often have been far removed from true likenesses. Sometimes the hair on either side of Theophilus' head is thickened into a kind of mask-like frame (Pl. XXVI.25), while on other issues he and his two successors are represented with elongated, emaciated faces and sunken cheeks (Pls. XXVI.26, XXIX.9–13).

Characterized coin portraiture in the Macedonian period begins under Leo VI, continues sporadically down to the death of Romanus II, and revives after a fashion under Constantine VIII. It is one aspect of the attempt in the later ninth century, apparent also in some of the literature of the time, to see people as individuals and not as types.[426]

[425] Dr. Dikigoropoulos, in his notes on the coins at Dumbarton Oaks, suggested that the changes in Constantine V's age as shown on his early coinage might conform to the legal progress from *infantia* (1–7 years) through *pueritia* (7–14 years) and *pubertas* (14–17 years) to *iuventus* (17–25 years) and a fully adult status. The idea is worth putting on record, though I am sceptical of its applicability; see below, p. 228. On the sequence of "ages," see R. Guilland, "A propos d'un texte de Psellos," *Byzantinoslavica*, 21 (1960), 23–5.

[426] Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Classical Background of the *Scriptores post Theophanem*," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 13–15, and C. Mango's comment on how Photius tries to see even heretics as individuals and does not paint them wholly black (*The Homilies of Photius* [Cambridge, Mass., 1958], 239). This acceptance of personality is different from, but not wholly unrelated to, the greater competence at rendering the human figure that resulted from the copying of classical miniatures during the tenth-century literary revival (cf. K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, esp. p. 207).

But it was normally confined to the gold, and it was only under Constantine VIII that it was even extended to this as a whole; under earlier emperors it had been reserved for special issues or never got beyond the stage of specially prepared patterns, so that extraordinary discrepancies can exist within the coinage of a single emperor. The rare portrait solidi of Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.1) are followed by this emperor's quite conventional standing figure on the joint coinage of himself and Constantine VII (Pl. XXXIV.2), while the portrait coins of Constantine VII (Pl. XXXVI.12–13) are followed by an equally undistinguished coinage of himself in association with Romanus II (Pl. XXXVII.14–15). It is true that all the solidi of Romanus II's sole reign (Pl. XL.1–2) are true portrait coins, but they are themselves exceptional issues of the highest rarity. It is difficult to understand why these art-loving emperors of the tenth century did not attempt to give their portrait issues a wider circulation; a shortage of sufficiently skilled die-sinkers—or perhaps their use on other projects—may be the explanation. The creation of these coinages is evidently bound up with the novel profusion of coin patterns from this period,[427] for while not all of the patterns are of a "portrait" character they all in one way or another break away from the accepted conventions governing coin design.

The portrait coins of Leo the Wise show him as an elderly man—he cannot actually have been more than forty—with a long nose, widely staring eyes, almost straight hair falling on either side of his face to the level of his shoulders, and a short beard and drooping mustache.[428] Wroth doubted the "portrait" element, since he believed that the coin was struck at about the date of Leo's accession, i.e., when he was only about twenty years old, but it can well be up to twenty years later. Even so, it is a surprisingly old face for a person who was only forty-six when he died. Constantine VII's portrait is similar, though the costume is different: he wears a modified loros instead of a modified chlamys, and his crown has pendilia while that of Leo has not. This portrait is also surprisingly old, since Constantine must have been under forty when the coin was struck. That the two emperors resembled each other requires no comment, since they were father and son. Constantine VII's portrait strikingly resembles that of him on an ivory at Moscow.[429] Romanus II's coins also show him with a characterized portrait, still with a strong family likeness though with shorter hair and beard, as one would expect in a much younger man.

Romanus I shows the same diversity of portraiture as Constantine VII. On most of his coins (Pl. XXXVI.4ff.) he is quite characterless, and though his folles (Pl. XXXVIII.25) show a much heavier face, with broader chin, than the gold, so that one would be inclined to regard it as a portrait, some of his patterns give one pause. His pattern miliaresion (Pl. XXXVII.19) shows a square face, with small mouth, low forehead, and long bifurcate beard, a feature which appears also, though less clearly, on a pattern solidus at Berlin

[427] Above, p. 98.

[428] This portrait, and those of Constantine VII and Romanus II, are discussed by A. R. Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, 5. Three Imperial Portraits," *MN*, 13 (1967), 141–8. Cf. also below, p. 531.

[429] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. 96. This imperial portrait served as the model for an ivory of St. Constantine at Dumbarton Oaks and an icon with King Abgar of Edessa at Sinai.

(Pl. XXXVI.11). This is reproduced on a much larger seal effigy,[430] and seems to be a true likeness of the emperor. Romanus' bearded face on the copper is reproduced later by Nicephorus II (Pl. XLI.4ff.) and John I Zimisces (Pl. XLII.1ff.), and Wroth justly remarks that while each of their heads, taken separately, might well be deemed a characterized portrait, their repetition shows that we have to do with only a stereotype.

In the eleventh century we have a succession of bearded emperors, but beards were then in fashion—Archbishop Alfano of Salerno, returning in 1062 from a visit to the East, was recognized as having picked up his *grant barbe* at Constantinople[431]—and most of them are not portraits. One of the exceptions is Constantine VIII, whose beard resembles that which Psellus remembered as characterizing his brother Basil: one growing profusely on the cheeks and sides, so that it could be combed forward in such a way as to conceal the fact that there was no hair on the chin itself.[432] But while Constantine VIII's portraits are at once recognizable, and perhaps also those with the bust of the elderly Nicephorus III (Pl. LXIX.1), those of other emperors are not. The same is indeed true of the many other representations of individual rulers which have survived from this period—Constantine IX in a mosaic in Saint Sophia,[433] other emperors or empresses on crowns or enamels or manuscripts: Constantine IX, Zoe, and Theodora on a crown at Budapest,[434] Constantine IX and Zoe on the frontispiece to MS 364 of Sinai,[435] Nicephorus III in B.N. MS Coislin 79,[436] and so on. The meaninglessness of these "portraits" is brought out when we compare them with Psellus' brilliant pen pictures of the rulers of his day. Zoe and Theodora, on the coinage of their brief joint reign, are alike in size, costume, features, and every detail of their appearance; they lack any elements of characterization. In reality Zoe was shorter than her sister, more heavily built, fair-haired, with good eyebrows, an aquiline nose, and a complexion that aroused admiration even in middle age. Theodora, on the other hand, was tall, thin, quiet in manner, but harder and more ruthless than her sister; it was she who gave the order for Michael V and his uncle Constantine to be blinded, and who subsequently sought out John the Orphanotrophos in his cloister and inflicted the same cruel punishment on him. None of this could be deduced from the portraits of the two empresses on their coins.

[430] V. Laurent, "Un portrait inédit de Romain Ier Lécapène," *Festschrift W. Sas-Zaloziecky zum 60. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1956), 102–8.

[431] Amato di Monte Cassino, *Storia de'Normanni*, iv. 39 (ed. V. de Bartholomaeis [Rome, 1935], 211): "se merveilla que vint o grant barbe, comme s'il fust de Costentinoble."

[432] Psellus, *Chron.*, i. 36 (ed. Renauld, I. 23). The same portrait appears on the pattern tetarteron of Zoe (Pl. LVIII.2).

[433] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. XIII. The portraiture originally represented Zoe's first husband Romanus III, but the inscription, and apparently the face, were subsequently altered.

[434] *Ibid.*, fig. 134. Fullest account, with many illustrations, in M. Bárány-Oberschall, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos*, Archaeologica Hungarica, XIII (Budapest, 1937).

[435] Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Pl. XIX.2.

[436] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXII.1.

C. REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRIST

The cross was the main religious element in coin types of the late sixth and throughout the seventh centuries. Under the Isaurians and Amorians its importance was somewhat reduced, being in most reigns confined to the silver, but under Michael III religious types were restored in favor of a bust of Christ, and representations of the Savior became normal from that time onward. In the period that concerns us representations of the Virgin are much less numerous, and those of other saints very few indeed. The great days of St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Demetrius were still in the future.

The two earliest representations of Christ on Byzantine coins had been of an incidental character. When a ceremonial solidus was issued under Theodosius II to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Licinia Eudoxia with Valentinian III, the bride and groom were shown standing with the figure of Theodosius between them, blessing their union. When similar solidi were struck to celebrate the marriage of Pulcheria to Marcian and of Ariadne to Anastasius I there was no senior emperor available, and a standing figure of Christ, which had normally filled this role in marriage ornaments, was substituted for it. In neither case does the figure of Christ form the main type, and the scene in which he is represented is on the reverse of the coin. A bust of Christ as main type was introduced by Justinian II, first as a majestic and venerable bearded face with long hair, subsequently the young and slightly bearded face of what is now commonly called the Syrian type of Christ. Justinian II's immediate successors returned to the customary varieties of the cross as the reverse types of their gold, and with the coming of Iconoclasm in the 720's any representation of the Savior on the coins was definitely excluded.

The first success of the Iconodules in 787 had no effect on coin types, but after their final victory in 843 Theodora revived the type struck under Justinian I, with a bust of the bearded Christ. Basil I replaced this by a seated image, which in various forms dominated the gold coinage for the next eighty years and caused the solidi to be called *senzata*, from σέσσος, σένζος, "throne."[437] Constantine VII in 945 abandoned the figure of the enthroned Christ in favor of a facing bust, differing in a number of respects from that of Justinian II and Basil I. This type dominated the gold coinage till 1028, after which a seated Christ and a bust of Christ are equally common. The standing Christ is rare, no doubt because a single standing figure is not well suited to the shape of a coin.

The background to these representations of Christ must be sought in the decoration or redecoration of the churches and other buildings of the capital in the years that followed the end of Iconoclasm. This was, it is clear, a fairly slow process. Few of the actual mosaics or frescoes of this period have survived, and we know of them, and that in a very sketchy and incomplete fashion, from literary sources that for the most part do not describe in much detail what was done.[438]

[437] Above, p. 46.

[438] Much of the documentary material on the artistic activity under Michael III and the first Macedonian emperors is translated by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), and his writings are the best guide to the dating and content of the new decorations of the churches and the Imperial Palace. See particularly his translation of *The Homilies of Photius*, 177–83, 282–5; *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C.,

Our evidence for Michael III's reign is fragmentary. The mosaic of the standing Christ in the Chalkê, the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace, is known from an inscription to have been completed before 847;[439] the seated Christ and other figures in the Chrysotriclinos belong to the decade 856/66;[440] the completion of the decoration of the Church of Our Lady of the Pharos in the Palace, with a figure of the Virgin *orans* in the apse and one of Christ in the summit of the dome, was celebrated by the Patriarch Photius in 864;[441] and the great image of the Virgin in the apse of Saint Sophia, which still exists in a relatively complete state, was inaugurated in 867.[442] The *Vita Basilii* gives a long list of works carried out under Basil I: repairs to Saint Sophia, with another image of the Virgin between the Apostles Peter and Paul; repairs to a dozen other churches in the city and the building of new ones; endless further edifices and adornments in the Palace, with mosaics of the Emperor and his family,[443] and including the construction of yet another church, appropriately known as the Nea.[444] From Leo VI we have somewhat obscure descriptions of the decorations of further buildings, notably those of a church in the monastery founded by the Patriarch Anthony II Kauleas (ob. 901)[445] and another built by Leo's father-in-law Stylianus Zaoutzes,[446] while Constantine VII was in due course to occupy himself with the redecoration of the throne room and the dining room of the Palace and with the provision of liturgical vessels and hangings for Saint Sophia.[447]

1962), 90–8; *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), 128–31, and R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP*, 9/10 (1956), 131–40. There are discussions by A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 183ff., and S. Der Nersessian, "Le décor des églises au IXe siècle," *Actes du VIe Congrès international des études byzantines, Paris, 1948*, II (Paris, 1952), 315–20, and there are valuable references in the articles "Christusbild" in the *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, I (1966), 966ff., and in the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I (1968), 355ff.

[439] Below, p. 161.

[440] Below, pp. 154–5.

[441] Photius, *Homilies*, x. 6 (trans. Mango, 187–8; also in his *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 186): "On the very ceiling is painted in colored mosaic cubes a man-like figure bearing the traits of Christ. Thou mightest say he is overseeing the earth, and devising its orderly arrangement and government ... The apse which rises over the sanctuary glistens with the image of the Virgin, stretching out her stainless arms on our behalf." This passage was till recently thought to refer to the Nea; see the discussion in Mango, and in the article of Jenkins and Mango cited above, note 438.

[442] *Homilies*, xvii (trans. Mango, 279–86; extract in his *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 187–90). The existing mosaic, however, may not be ninth century, or at least not entirely so.

[443] Above, p. 115.

[444] Theoph. Cont., v. 78–94 (Bonn ed., 321–41; extracts trans. by Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192–9).

[445] Leo VI, Sermon 28 (ed. Akakios, Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ πανηγυρικοὶ λόγοι [Athens, 1868], 243–8). In the center of the dome there was "an image of Him to whom the craftsman had dedicated the church. You might think you were beholding not a work of art, but the Overseer and Governor of the universe Himself who appeared in human form" (p. 245; trans. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 202). On the decorations in general see A. Frolow, "Deux églises byzantines d'après des sermons peu connus de Leon VI le Sage," *Etudes byzantines*, 3 (1945), 43–91.

[446] Leo VI, Sermon 34 (ed. Akakios, 274–80). Here we are told that "in the center, i.e., in the segment of a sphere that rises at the summit, is an image [of Christ] that lacks the lower part of the body" (p. 275; trans. Mango, 203). Leo goes on to provide a mystical explanation for such an incomplete image.

[447] Theoph. Cont., vi. 15–28 (Bonn ed., 447–52, 456; excerpts trans. Mango, 207–9).

Artists of the mid-ninth century were faced with the problem of finding appropriate models for religious themes. In a few cases the pre-Iconoclastic icons had not been destroyed but whitewashed or plastered over, so that cleaning and repair would be all that was required. The use of icons in earlier times, however, had been somewhat limited, and it is likely that the inspiration for the new decorations required by churches, officials, and private persons would normally have had to come from miniatures, ivories, and smaller works of art. In the cases of Christ and the Virgin there was little uncertainty as to how they should be represented, and the evidence of coins is on such points as relevant as, and usually better dated than, that of other forms of art.

On coin representations of Christ in this period the head is directly facing but the hair is slightly asymmetrical, being longer on Christ's left side and flowing down to the shoulders. There is often a stray lock of hair in the center of the forehead. The mustache and beard are normally short, but on one type the beard is longer and pointed, reaching the level of the upper hem of the tunic. There is normally a cross nimbus, the arms of the cross being at first narrow and sometimes decorated with one, two, or three pellets, but from the reign of Basil II onward they are usually broad and decorated with a great variety of designs which were partly ornaments and partly privy marks. Occasionally the nimbus is absent and a simple cross is shown behind the head, as it had been on the bust of Christ on solidi of Justinian II. The usual costume, most easily seen where Christ is shown seated with his right arm raised, consists of a tunic or colobium with short, wide sleeves, and a long, loose cloak over the shoulders (himation, ἱμάτιον, also called pallium), which is pulled across the body at the waist. When represented in color in mosaics and wall-paintings, the himation is usually blue and the tunic either blue or purple. When Christ holds a book this is, on the coins, invariably shown as closed,[448] and the cover is decorated, originally with nine or twelve pellets but later with such designs as a central pellet and four pellets in the corners, a central pellet in a circle and pear-shaped objects in the corners, etc. On coins with the Pantocrator bust the book has always a border of small pellets that is not usually found in the other designs.

A classification into types must take account primarily of the way in which Christ is depicted and secondarily of the position of his hands, one making a gesture of speech or benediction and the other holding a Gospel Book or more rarely a scroll. The basic division depends on whether there is a bust or a full-length figure, and in the latter case whether it is shown standing or seated, and, if seated, whether on a backless or a lyre-backed throne. Christ's right hand may be (a) stretched out to his right, free of the folds of his cloak and above the level of his shoulder, (b) held to his right in what is usually termed the "sling" of his cloak, or (c) raised in front of his body, and in each of these positions several different gestures are possible. The book may be (a) clasped against the body with the open hand, the thumb and forefinger usually separated from the other fingers, (b) held by the hand at the top or by the spine, or (c) supported from beneath, usually with the hand concealed in a fold of the cloak. These features might theoretically be

[448] There has been some doubt as to whether the book represents the Gospels or the Book of Life, but where it is shown open, as at Cefalù and Monreale, it is usually at the text "I am the Light of the World" (John 8:12).

combined in a great variety of ways, but at first, owing to natural connections between some of them and the influence of a few icons of exceptional renown, the types actually found are fairly limited in number. They tend to become more numerous with the passage of time, as the original meaning of some gestures was forgotten and types originally devised for particular monumental or iconographic settings were used in different contexts.

The fashion in which some of these features are interrelated can be illustrated from the ways in which the Gospel Book is held. The broad classification into busts of Christ, seated figures, and standing figures does not take account of the fact that notionally a bust must represent the upper half of a complete figure, which in theory might be either standing or seated. On seated figures, however, where the Gospel Book is balanced on Christ's left knee, it has to be steadied rather than supported, so that where the hand is shown at all it grasps the book by its upper edge or its spine.[449] Since the book is never held in this manner in *clipeata*,[450] one can assume that the models for these were never envisaged as seated figures. A standing figure always holds the book from beneath, often with the hand concealed under the cloak, so that the book simply rests upon a fold of it. Such designs, sometimes showing the hand and sometimes not, are common on *clipeata*, which in such cases must have been thought of as representing the upper parts of standing figures. But where the Gospel Book is clasped to the breast with an outspread hand covering most of its surface, it can be argued that no more than a bust was ever envisaged.

We have here to do, in fact, with the so-called "Pantocrator" image, devised in the post-Iconoclastic era to fill the summit of the dome[451] and forming in this position one of the most characteristic features of Byzantine churches (e.g., the Holy Apostles at Thessalonica, Daphni, Arta, the Kariye Camii and Fetiye Camii at Istanbul), though sometimes placed in the apse where a dome is absent (Cefalù, Monreale). This image was thought of as representing Christ leaning forward—the "clasping" gesture would thus be wholly appropriate—so that he could look down into the church, which with its decorations and congregation symbolized the cosmos which he had created and over which he exercised rule.[452] The occasion for the first use of such an image at Con-

[449] This is not entirely true of other forms of art, since where the book has to be held open it may be held from below, as, e.g., by the seated Christ in the fifth-century mosaic in Santa Pudenziana in Rome and in one of the frescoes at Bawit (G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* [Utrecht-Antwerp, 1961], Pl. 31a). In such cases the book is usually held above the knee, not actually on it. The same is true of another fresco at Bawit, where the book is held by its lower edge high on Christ's breast as if he were standing, though in fact the figure is seated (*ibid.*, Pl. 31b).

[450] On the earlier history of this type of representation see W. Bolten, *Die Imago clipeata. Ein Beitrag zur Porträt- und Typengeschichte* (Paderborn, 1937), and the comments of A. Grabar, "*L'imago clipeata* chrétienne," in his *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, I. 213–27.

[451] On the problem of filling this space see O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (Boston, 1955), 17–20.

[452] In addition to the passages cited above see those for later periods collected by Frolow, *art. cit.*, 61–3. On the concept of Christ as All-Ruler, there is much of value in C. Capuzzi, Παντοκράτωρ. *Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica* (Rome, 1964), though it extends the term unwarrantably to a great

stantinople[453] is disputed, for Mango has pointed out[454] that, although images of Christ are known to have filled the upper part of the domes of the churches of the Pharos and the Kauleas monastery, the first case in which we are expressly told of one being "without the lower part of the body," and so a bust or a half-length figure, is that of the church of Stylianos Zaoutzes. There was in a dome in the South Gallery at Saint Sophia[455] what may be a transitional type, one in which Christ clasps the book with his left hand but without the thumb and fingers being widely separated, as in the later stylized gesture, and holds his right hand in front of his body and not to his side in the sling of his cloak. Mango would date this to the late ninth or early tenth century, and there is certainly no numismatic evidence for the existence before the 940's of the full Pantocrator type, with the stylized gesture of the left hand and the right hand extended in the sling of the cloak to fill more of the space of the dome. The typical Pantocrator bust would in fact have come about as the result of a series of adaptations, intended to bring out more clearly the concepts of overseeing and rule, instead of having been a novel creation of the mid-ninth century.

The right hand, however placed, is customarily described as making a gesture of benediction, but whether this was in all cases intended may be doubted. The gesture of blessing derived from what in classical times was simply one of speech,[456] and one recent scholar has preferred to retain this term even when describing busts or standing figures of Christ on seals of the ninth century.[457] I have followed the traditional practice, but with considerable hesitation, for other activities distinct from simple speech or blessing—rulership, teaching, exhortation, meditation—may sometimes have been intended.[458] Where the hand can be clearly enough seen the first and second fingers are normally slightly bent and the third finger crosses the palm to touch or approach the thumb, as in what was to become the Orthodox gesture of benediction. The Roman form never occurs on the coins.

variety of iconographic types and its system of references is not easy to use. On the concept of the Pantocrator in ancient and Christian thought see H. Hommel, "Pantokrator," *Theologia Viatorum*, 5 (Berlin, 1953–4), 322–73 and excursus.

[453] A bust of Christ occupying the summit of a dome had formed part of the decoration of the chapel of San Zeno in the church of Santa Prassede in Rome, carried out by Pope Paschal I (817–24). See M. Van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IVe au Xe siècle* (Geneva, 1924), 236, fig. 300. The concept behind it is quite different, however, for here it is a bust of Christ, holding a scroll, in a roundel supported by four archangels.

[454] Jenkins and Mango, *art. cit.* (above, note 438), 132–3, and elsewhere.

[455] Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, 29–35 and Pls. 22–24.

[456] Cf. the article "Bénir (Manière de)" in *DACL*, II. i (1910), 746–58, which is useful but often confused. Christ is described as "bénissant" in one illustration where his gesture is that of power, a subject studied subsequently by H. P. L'Orange. In col. 854 it is argued that the gesture usually described as benediction was still primarily one of speech as late as the seventh century, since on one of the plaques of the throne of Maximian it is used by Gabriel in addressing the Virgin.

[457] V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, V. i (Paris, 1963), 6: "le Christ de face . . . esquissant de la main droite la geste d'allocution," on two seals of the Patriarch Ignatius (847–58 and 867–77).

[458] There is no satisfactory literature. For antiquity see K. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), but it does not cover the later period. R. Brilliant's *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven, 1963) is valuable, but mainly concerned with gesture as denoting status.

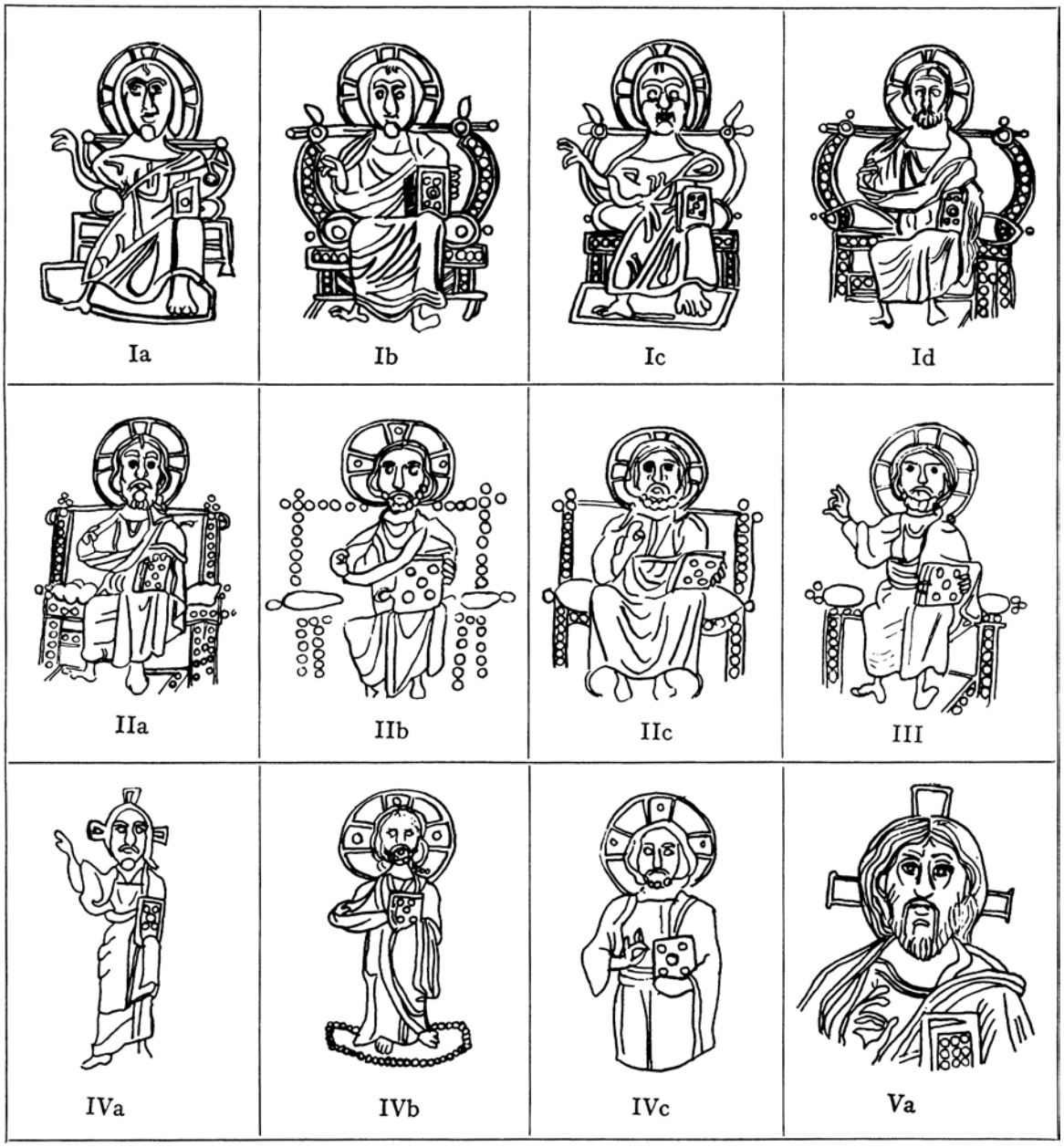
Coin inscriptions of the eleventh century prove that at least two types were modeled on famous icons, the Christ Antiphonetes and the Virgin Blachernitissa, and identifications of others of the same period can be made with varying degrees of certainty. That similar connections go back to the ninth century cannot be demonstrated from the written evidence, but it is highly probable that they did, and indeed that they persisted into a later period. It would be natural that the artists who produced the sketches from which the die-sinkers worked should base these on either old and venerated icons or newly completed ones for which the sovereign was responsible or which he was known to venerate. The die-sinkers would presumably have been free to improve on their models in such matters as the design of the nimbus crosses and the cover of the Gospel Book, but gestures and the arrangement of the body would have been less susceptible to variation at the artists' whims. There is a good deal of stylistic change between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. If one compares the facing busts on the solidi of Michael III (Pl. XXVIII.2–3), Constantine VII (Pl. XXXVII.13), and Constantine IX (Pl. LIX.4), occurring at one hundred year intervals, one can see how different artistic canons affected the treatment of very similar designs. Even over short periods a die-sinker might be influenced by what he had done before. The seated Christ of Alexander (Table 16, Type Ic) is a revival of that of Basil I (Type Ia) but still retains some elements of that of Leo VI (Type Ib), which had come between them. Since coin types are for the most part datable within fairly narrow limits, their careful study should throw much light on the chronology of other works of art.

Coin representations of Christ can most conveniently be treated as forming nine types, Nos. I–III being those showing a seated Christ, No. IV a standing Christ, and Nos. V–IX busts of Christ; they are set out in Table 16. This arrangement is based on obvious external features and does not take account of the crisscrossing of individual features between types. It might appear simpler to have numbered the main types separately as I–III and treated everything further as sub-divisions of these, but this would have involved a complicated pattern of sub-headings. Since the scheme includes only coin types used prior to 1081, not taking account of later coins or of other forms of art, there seems little objection to an arrangement valid only within a particular context. The main features of the types can be set out summarily as follows:

I. Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne
II. Christ seated on a square-backed throne
III. Christ seated on a backless throne
IV. Christ standing or three-quarter length
V. Bust of Christ, book held from beneath, hand in front turned toward book
V/VIII. Bust of Christ, hand in front turned toward book, book clasped to body
VI. Bust of Christ, book held from beneath, hand horizontal and turned inward toward body
VII. Bust of Christ, book held from beneath, hand in sling of cloak
VIII. Bust of Christ, book clasped to breast
IX. Bust of Christ holding scroll

TABLE 16

EFFIGIES OF CHRIST



Ia. Basil I. Ⱥ
Ib. Leo VI. Ⱥ
Ic. Alexander. Ⱥ
Id. Constantine VII. Ⱥ
IIa. Romanus III. Ⱥ
IIb. Anonymous Folles, Class D. Æ
IIc. Eudocia. Ⱥ
III. Michael IV. Ⱥ
IVa. Romanus I. Ⱥ
IVb. Theodora. Ⱥ
IVc. Constantine X. Æ
Va. Justinian II. Ⱥ

TABLE 16 (cont.)

EFFIGIES OF CHRIST

Vb. Justinian II. Æ
Vc. Michael III. Æ
Vd. Romanus I. Pattern Æ
Ve. Michael VII. Æ
Vf. Theodora. Æ
VI. Romanus II. Æ
VIIa. Alexander. Pattern Æ
VIIb. Constantine IX. Æ
VIIIa. Constantine VII. Æ
VIIIb. Nicephorus II. Æ
VIIIc. Michael VI. Æ
IXa. Anonymous Folles, Class G. Æ

I. *Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne*

(Table 16, Ia–Id)

This forms the dominant early type, appearing in both a very primitive and a highly sophisticated form, with transitional ones in between. The first variety is used under Basil I and Constantine VII, the second by Leo VI, the third by Alexander, and the fourth under Romanus I and Constantine VII. In 945 seated types were discarded altogether in favor of busts, but in 1042 Type Id was revived for Class I of Constantine IX's histamena. It was continued on those of his Class II, and used again for Class II of those of Constantine X.

(a) Right arm extended, throne simple. Table 16, Ia
Basil I. Solidus, Classes I and II (Pl. xxx.1–2)
Constantine VII. Solidus, Classes II–IV, VII (Pl. xxxvi.2–4, 7)

This form of the seated Christ was introduced on the first solidus type of Basil I, i.e., in or soon after 867. Leo VI replaced it by variety (b), and when Alexander abandoned Leo's type it was in favor of one closely related to (a) but not identical with it. Variety (a) was reestablished in 914 for the solidi of Constantine and Zoe, and then retained, with no more than a break for the "Chalkê" type of Romanus' coronation issue and for the first appearance of Type Ib, till 931. It then disappears for good.

Variety (a) is crude and unprepossessing in appearance. The throne is square in section and both it and the small lyre-shaped back are virtually without decoration. Like most later seated types it is not intended to be completely frontal, but to be seen as from Christ's left; this explains why the two sides of the throne do not match each other and why Christ's right foot is shown more or less in profile, while his left foot is seen from the front. Christ's head is much too large in proportion to his body, his left leg is thrust forward like a thick, upright pillar, and his right leg is stretched out and covered with badly designed folds of tunic; his right hand is raised outward in a curiously clumsy gesture of benediction; the Gospel Book on his left knee has a sloping instead of a square top, and the hand holding it is not shown. The inscription accompanying the type is +IhS XPS REX REϹNANTIЧM followed by a star.

This particular version of the seated Christ can best be identified with the great mosaic which decorated the conch of the apse above the imperial throne in the Chrysotriclinos, the "golden pavilion" which in the ninth and tenth centuries formed the heart of the Great Palace and in which many of its most impressive ceremonies took place.[459] The original mosaic had been destroyed by the Iconoclasts and was restored by Michael III. The date of the redecoration of the Chrysotriclinos is given by a commemorative epigram preserved in the Palatine Anthology, and since it mentions Michael only, and neither his mother Theodora nor his co-ruler Basil I, it can be assumed that the work was completed between 856 and 866.[460] The epigram refers to "the image of Christ, set up again

[459] J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), 77ff.

[460] *Anthologia Palatina*, i. 106–7 (ed. P. Waltz, *Anthologie grecque*, I [Paris, 1928], 41–2; trans. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 184). Cf. also P. Waltz, "Notes sur les épigrammes chrétiennes de l'Anthologie Grecque," *Byzantion*, 2 (1925), 320–3, and, for a possible dating to *c.* 859, H. Grégoire,

in all its splendor above the imperial throne," and speaks of the room as now containing "the throne of Christ, our Lord." The Book of Ceremonies also refers to it several times as showing Christ enthroned.[461] The emperor was accustomed to stand briefly before it in prayer when about to leave the Palace and after returning on the occasion of solemn processions, and always the seated emperor below it would seem to represent the great enthroned representation of the heavenly ruler above his head. Beyond this we know nothing definite, though since the emperor's throne had a lyre-shaped back it is reasonable to suppose that that of Christ would have been similar in form.

There are several grounds for identifying the coin type with the icon. Bellinger, who first suggested it, pointed out that the remarkable uniformity of the coin type, and its retention even after a much superior design for a seated Christ had been introduced under Leo VI, can best be explained on the supposition that an especially important icon was involved.[462] The coin design was introduced at a date just after the completion of the mosaic and at a time when relatively few of the great religious monuments of the capital can have been restored and become available as models.[463] The close association of the mosaic with the imperial office would render it particularly suitable as a coin type, and its artistic inferiority, as compared with subsequent representations of a seated Christ, is explicable on the ground that it was the earliest to be made. It is also possible that the clumsy gesture of Christ's right hand, his abnormally large head, and the sloping top to the Gospel Book resulted from the die-sinker's difficulty in transferring to a plane surface the details and proportions of an image depicted on a curved one,[464] though other explanations of the gesture are possible.[465] The disappearance of the image from the coins in the 930's might be due to Constantine VII's redecoration of the Chrysotriclinos[466]

"Inscriptions historiques byzantines," *Byzantion*, 4 (1927–8), 447–9. On the symbolism implied by the decoration of the Chrysotriclinos see S. Der Nersessian, "Le décor des églises au IXe siècle," *Actes du VIe Congrès international des études byzantines*, II (Paris, 1952), 315–20.

[461] *De ceremoniis*, i. 1, ii. 2 (Bonn ed., I. 7, 22, 519).

[462] Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, 6. The Coins of Constantine Porphyrogennetus and His Associates," *MN*, 13 (1967), 152–3, and earlier in J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), 56, note 47.

[463] Above, pp. 146–8.

[464] Cf. the way in which the arms of the cross in the church of Saint Irene at Istanbul were made to curve downward, so that when seen from below they give the impression of being straight lines (P. A. Underwood in *DOP*, 13 [1959], 239).

[465] E.g., the presence to the left, on a side wall, of another figure toward whom the blessing is directed. There seems, in fact, to have been a figure of the Virgin close to that of Christ in the Chrysotriclinos (Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 269). The BN manuscript of St. Gregory of Nazianzus' sermons which was prepared for Basil I includes a miniature in which St. Helena makes an identical gesture toward a group of persons standing beside the lyre-backed throne on which she is seated (Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. LIX).

[466] Theoph. Cont., vi. 33 (Bonn ed., p. 456). But this account speaks only of figured tiles, floral designs, and so forth, without any suggestion of the major mosaics being affected. The redecoration would have taken place late in the reign, i.e., after the introduction of Type Id of the seated Christ, for according to Liutprand's *Antapodosis*, v. 21 (ed. J. Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, 3rd ed. [Hanover-Leipzig, 1915], 142), Romanus reserved for his own use that part of the Palace containing the Chrysotriclinos.

having modified the appearance of the icon. These, however, are speculations; the main issue is the identity of the coin type with the icon of the Chrysotriclinos, and this seems to me in the highest degree likely.

(b) Right arm in sling of cloak, hand outward, throne decorated. Table 16, Ib
Leo VI. Solidus, Class II (Pl. XXXIV.2)

This design marks a great improvement over Type Ia. Though the head is still too large, the perspective of the legs and the folds of the clothing are carefully worked out, the throne is decorated with finials at the upper corners and with pellets on the sides, seat, and legs, the cushion is furnished with terminal buttons, the fingers of Christ's left hand are shown as they hold the book by its spine, and the gesture of Christ's right hand, though still odd, is at least less so than with (a). The design clearly reproduces a different icon, presumably one completed in Leo VI's own reign.

It is natural to compare the design of the coin with that of the mosaic in the narthex of Saint Sophia, showing Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne with a bearded figure, generally believed to represent Leo VI, crouching at his feet.[467] The throne of the mosaic and that of Leo's coin are in fact much alike, with the same finials at the upper corners, but the pose of Christ is too different for the identity to be admitted. The Christ of the mosaic is fully facing, instead of being half-facing as on the coin, so that the arrangement of the legs and of the folds of the clothing in front are quite different. A die-sinker could not have made the adaptations that such a change implies. Further, while Christ's left hand holds the book in the same way in both designs, his right hand in the mosaic is held in front of his body and turned toward the spectator in the customary gesture of benediction. The resemblance between the thrones proves nothing, for the pattern of such an object would be more or less common property; it is the pose and gesture of Christ that prevent us from identifying the two designs.[468]

I am myself very doubtful whether the throne of the narthex mosaic could date from the same period as that of Basil's coins. Further, while the throne would be acceptable for Leo VI's reign, the figure of Christ corresponds much better to that of Type (d) below than to that of Type (b). This would imply that the kneeling emperor in the mosaic is Constantine VII. Such an identification would be acceptable on grounds of likeness, but

[467] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. 93. The basic publication is that of T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of the Narthex* (Oxford, 1933), to which must be added E. J. W. Hawkins, "Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 21 (1968), 151–66. Against Whittemore's identification of the emperor with Leo VI, A. M. Schneider advanced the claims of Basil I ("Der Kaiser des Mosaikbildes über dem Haupteingang der Sophienkirche zu Konstantinopel," *Oriens Christianus*, 3 [1935], 75–9). Mango holds that there is no decisive evidence either way (*Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, 96–7).

[468] The theory of A. Veglery ("The Date of the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia in Istanbul," *N. Circ.*, 79 [1971], 100–2) that the seated Christ of Basil I's coin reproduces that of the mosaic and that the kneeling emperor is consequently Basil, seems to me quite untenable. The thrones and the seated figures are unlike in almost every respect. Even more extraordinary is M. D. O'Hara's comparison of the type with that of the mosaic in the church of St. Sophia—*not* St. George—at Thessalonica showing Christ seated on a rainbow, and the deductions drawn therefrom ("The Seated Christ of Basil I," D. J. Crowther's *Coin List*, 1967, No. 4).

Professor Mango has pointed out to me that it runs up against the difficulty that one would expect so conspicuous a mosaic to represent a major benefactor of the church, and Constantine VII is not recorded as having contributed on the required scale to its decoration. It can also be quite fairly objected that coins are not necessarily typical of the best art of any period, and that the circumstances of the immediate post-Iconoclastic era must have involved the use of workmen differing greatly in their abilities. If indeed the much more sophisticated seated Christ in the southwest room in Saint Sophia[469] is really of the late ninth century, as seems possible, the impediments to making the narthex mosaic contemporary with Basil I's coins would vanish, though the iconographic objections to identifying the two images would still remain.

(c) Right arm extended, throne decorated. Table 16, Ic
Alexander. Solidus (Pl. XXXV.2)

This design, confined to the rare solidi of Alexander, probably corresponds to no particular icon at all. It is, to all intents and purposes, a reversion to Type Ia of Basil's reign, but the die-cutter retained some of the decorations (finials and pellets on the throne, buttons on the cushion) which he had been accustomed to putting on his dies under Leo. The cause of the reversion to the earlier type was presumably Alexander's general wish to undo anything that his brother had done, even if it meant reintroducing a thoroughly unsatisfactory design on the coins.

(d) Right arm in sling of cloak, hand inward. Table 16, Id
Romanus I or Constantine VII. Solidus, Classes VIII (Romanus I), X, XIV (Pls. XXXVI.8, 10; XXXVII.14)
Constantine IX. Histamenon, Classes I, II (Pl. LVIII.1–2)
Constantine X. Histamenon, Class II (Pl. LXIV.2)

This is by far the best representation of a Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne. The Savior's head is for the first time properly proportioned, with short beard and expressive eyes, and the details of the throne, body, and clothing are carefully delineated. The whole impression is one of delicacy and refinement. It could conceivably represent an artist's redrawing of the Leo VI design, but the different gesture of the right hand, coupled with the fact that the design could be so exactly reproduced on the coins of two other Constantines over a hundred years later, suggests that it represents an icon completed in the 920's and still known in the eleventh century. The details of the face and the general proportions are very close to those of the narthex mosaic, and the bearded emperor is not unlike the representation of Constantine VII on his portrait coins. But the position of Christ's knees and feet are different, as is the gesture of his right hand, which makes

[469] This mosaic, which is in poor condition, is virtually unpublished, but see P. A. Underwood, "A Preliminary Report on Some Unpublished Mosaics in Hagia Sophia: Season of 1950 of the Byzantine Institute," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55 (1951), 367–70. I have been able to consult detailed photographs at Dumbarton Oaks. The ninth-century dating rests on the fact that the mosaic forms part of a decorative scheme strongly anti-Iconoclast in character which is unlikely to have inspired interest at a later period.

it improbable that there is any direct relationship between the two. It is worth noting, however, that this variety of coin design is the only one that the narthex mosaic at all resembles.

II. *Christ seated on a square-backed throne, hands variously placed*

(Table 16, IIa–IIc)

This form of a seated Christ appears on a number of eleventh-century coin series, which represent several different designs.

(a) Christ turned slightly to right, right hand in sling of cloak, book held by upper edge. Table 16, IIa

Romanus III. Histamenon (Pl. LVI.1)
Constantine X. Histamenon, Class I (Pl. LXIII.1)

These show slightly different figures, with minor variations in the shape of the face, the finials and other decorations of the throne, etc. I am inclined to think that different models were involved.

(b) Similar, but the book is held by the spine. Table 16, IIb

Anonymous Folles, Class D (Pl. LX)
Michael VII. Histamenon, Class I (Pl. LXVI.1)
Nicephorus III. Histamenon, Class II (Pl. LXIX.2)

These differ most noticeably from the preceding group in the way in which the book is held, and the throne is differently designed. The histamenon of Nicephorus III and the Anonymous Follis, which is that shown as IIb in the table, have a simpler design than the histamenon of Michael VII, the throne having a dotted instead of a linear top and only lines of dots to mark its sides. The basic design in all three cases seems to be the same.

(c) Christ fully facing, right hand in front of body and turned toward the book, which is held by spine. Table 16, IIc

Eudocia. Histamenon (Pl. LXV.1)

A fully facing seated Christ is unusual on the coins. The tunic falls almost symmetrically over the knees, the left knee and leg not being drawn back in the usual way, and the feet, which rest on a cushion with rounded edges instead of on a footstool, are both shown facing.

(d) Christ apparently fully facing, throne broader and lower (? without cushion), right hand in sling of cloak, details of book obscure

Anonymous Folles, Class M (Pl. LXVIII.M.1)

This design differs from that of the three others in its general appearance, but none of the very poorly preserved specimens of Class M with square-backed throne that I have seen, nor the slightly better one illustrated by Sabatier (Pl. LIX.1), shows the details clearly.

III. *Christ seated on backless throne* (*Hyperagathos*)

(Table 16, III)

Six mid eleventh-century issues of coin, close together in date, show a third variety of the seated Christ. They are as follows:

(1) Michael IV. Histamenon of Thessalonica (Pl. LVIII.2)
(2, 3) Isaac I. Histamenon, Classes I and II (Pl. LXIII.1–2)
(4) Anonymous Folles, Class F (Pl. LXI)
(5) Michael VII. One-third miliaresion (Pl. LXVII.11)
(6) Nicephorus III. Histamenon, Class III (Pl. LXIX.3)

They are very uniform in their details. All of them show Christ seated upon a cushion on a low, backless throne, his right arm extended to the side in a gesture of speech or blessing, with two fingers raised, the middle one touching the thumb, and the hand facing outward as if directed toward a figure on the left. A Gospel Book with decorated cover, held by its spine, rests on his knee. The details of the tunic and cloak, the loose sleeve of the former sagging below the upper arm and the latter pulled across the waist and hanging over Christ's left arm, are very clear. The coins of Michael IV and Isaac have the traditional inscription +IhS XPS REX REϹNANTIЧM; the silver and copper coins and the histamena of Nicephorus III have IC XC without anything further.

A mosaic showing Christ seated on a backless throne between Zoe and Constantine IX—it was originally Romanus III—was uncovered by Whittemore in the south gallery of Saint Sophia.[470] Despite the close coincidence of date between its construction and the first appearance on a coin of Christ seated on such a throne, the coin design cannot have been directly copied from the mosaic, since this shows Christ's hand in front of his body, upright and turned toward the spectator, with the third finger crossing over and touching the thumb in the traditional gesture of blessing. The design of a seated Christ with raised hand, as on the coin, goes back to classical representations of a seated philosopher in the midst of his pupils.[471] An early fourteenth-century mosaic, labeled Ἰ[ησοῦς] Χ[ριστὸς] ὁ ὑπεραγάθος, in the apse of the chapel of Michael Glabas in the church of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fetiye Camii) at Istanbul, shows precisely this design. The details are identical in almost every respect, the only difference being that in the mosaic Christ grasps the Gospel Book by the top edge instead of by the spine.[472] It is convenient to call the type *hyperagathos*, though this epithet does not seem to be otherwise attested. The coins make it clear that the type goes back as far as the mid-eleventh century, and since it starts quite suddenly under Michael IV and then recurs several times in an identical form it seems likely that its model was a recently completed mosaic. This may perhaps have been in the great church which Michael built in honor of the *Anargyroi*, the "money-

[470] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. XIII.

[471] Cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Socrates and Christ," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 60 (1951), 205–33, and, on the gesture of teaching, H. P. L'Orange, *Keiseren på Himmeltronen* (Oslo, 1949), 160, with illustrations.

[472] P. A. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954," *DOP*, 9/10 (1953/54), 298 and fig. 113.

less" physician-saints Cosmas and Damian, who worked without fee. It was one of the chief Constantinopolitan constructions of the 1030's, and it was in it that Michael IV put off the cares of the world and became a monk just before his death.[473] Our meager sources, however, give no information regarding the mosaics of the church.

IV. *Christ Standing*

(Table 16, IVa–IVc)

Three distinct representations of a standing Christ[474] occur, one in the early tenth century and the other two in the middle of the eleventh. On all three the Gospel Book is supported from beneath, Christ's left hand being concealed beneath his cloak. The first, which has a plain cross behind the head and no nimbus, shows Christ crowning the Emperor Romanus I, and I believe it to be an adaptation of the Christ of Chalkê. The second shows Christ's right hand, which is turned inward toward the book, in the sling of his cloak. The third, a three-quarter length instead of a full-length figure, has Christ's right hand held in front of the body, upright, in a gesture of benediction, with the palm turned toward the spectator but only the third finger bent across to touch the thumb. It represents an icon known by the title of Antiphonetes.

(a) Christ of Chalke (?). Table 16, IVa

This figure, found only on rare solidi of Romanus I struck on the occasion of his coronation (Pl. XXXVI.5–6) differs from the two later ones in several respects. In the first place, it can scarcely represent with exactness another work of art, since it has had to be adapted to both the purpose of a crowning and the flan of the coin. The right hand is raised to touch the crown on Romanus' head, giving it a position that it is unlikely to have had in its model, and the left foot and lower part of the cloak have had to be drawn back because of the edge of the coin. There is a cross behind Christ's head, without a nimbus. The size of the head in relation to the body and the clumsy rendering of the folds of drapery on both sides of the body, especially where it hangs down in columnar fashion below the hand supporting the book, show that it must represent one of the early images of Christ made soon after the end of Iconoclasm. The face and head, in fact, resemble very closely that of Type Ia of the seated Christ, as does the treatment of the drapery.

A case can be made for identifying it with the standing Christ in the Chalkê, despite the fact that later images labelled Ο ΧΑΛΚΗΤΗϹ are closer to Type IVb. The Christ in the Chalkê, one of the most venerated icons in the city, had as a result of its position in the vestibule of the Palace a very close "imperial" connection. Its history, and what

[473] Psellus, *Chron.*, iv. 31, 52–5 (ed. Renauld, I. 71–2, 83–5). Cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, Part I. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, Vol. III. *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 296–300.

[474] On this type in general, and its relationship to ancient "standing orator" statues, there are useful observations by A. M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, 5 (1927), 122–3.

can be discovered regarding its appearance, have been worked out by Mango.[475] The pre-Iconoclastic image, destroyed in 726/7 or 730, was replaced under Irene by a detachable icon, in turn removed by Leo V in 814 after stones had been thrown at it by soldiers, allegedly at imperial instigation. The new image was a mosaic showing a standing figure, accompanied by a long poem composed by the Patriarch Methodius. The text of this, preserved in two twelfth-century manuscripts, allows us to date the icon between 843, the year when images were restored, and 847, that of Methodius' death. The icon has of course long since disappeared, but the epithet Ο ΧΑΛΚΗΤΗϹ is found accompanying standing figures of Christ in a number of late Byzantine illustrations: a thirteenth-century medallion formerly in the Photiadès Pacha collection and now in the Hermitage, some coins and seals of John III Vatatzes, a seal of John Pantechnes at Dumbarton Oaks, the Deesis mosaic in the narthex of the Kariye Camii.[476] These concur in showing a nimbate figure standing on a souppedion, and all but the Deesis mosaic show a book held in Christ's left hand. The gestures of the right hand, however, vary: two of the Vatatzes coins and seals show the hand drawn out to Christ's right side in the sling of the cloak, the medallion and the seal of John Pantechnes show it raised in front of the body in a gesture of benediction,[477] and the Deesis mosaic shows it also in front of the body but held horizontally and turned inward in a different fashion. The implication would seem to be that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the epithet Chalkites had come to be applied to any standing figure of Christ, however variable the details might be.

These later representations all differ from the image of Christ on Romanus I's solidi in their showing Christ with a full nimbus, instead of a cross behind his head, as well as in the gesture of the right hand. The last detail is irrelevant, since it has clearly been modified on the coin, and the importance of the former may be queried. The general appearance of the representations labelled *Chalkites* have more in common with that on eleventh-century coins described as Type IVb below than they have with Type IVa. But the "cross behind head" feature is also that of the bust of Christ on the solidi of Michael III, which are early in date, and the large head and columnar drapery link up with similar elements on the coins of Basil I and point to the Romanus I image as representing an early icon. The identification with the Chalkê icon seems to me at least very probable, though in the present state of our knowledge obviously incapable of proof.[478]

[475] C. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 108–42, 170–4. See also A. Frolow, "Le Christ de la Chalcé," *Byzantion*, 33 (1963), 107–20.

[476] These are reproduced by Mango, *op. cit.*, 132–9, but for the coins see now Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, Pls. 32.7 (Christ crowning the emperor), 33.9, and 36.9, and for the Deesis P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), I. 45–8 and II, Pls. 36–41.

[477] This is a very early type, since it seems to be that used on a seal of the Patriarch Ignatius (847–58, 867–77), which cannot be later than the 870's and may be earlier. It is illustrated, not very clearly, in N. Likhachev, "Le sceau du patriarche Ignace," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, 3 (1935), 303–10.

[478] It is perhaps favored by the opening words of Methodius' *ekphrasis*, which speak of the icon as having Christ's cross "clearly displayed." Such a phrase seems more suited to a cross behind the head than to a relatively inconspicuous cross in a nimbus.

(b) Christ with right hand in sling of cloak. Table 16, IVb
Theodora. Histamenon (Pl. LXII.1)
Constantine X and Eudocia. Follis, Class 2 (Pl. LXIV.8)

The design on these two coins is identical, but on the follis the head is rather larger and more prominent than it is on the histamenon. Christ is shown standing on a square souppedion, his feet apart and the left one slightly to the rear, so that the figure is not vertical but leans slightly to its left, both to support the weight of the book and to balance the right arm, which is extended outward in the sling of the cloak. The right hand is curled inward, but the details of the fingers are not shown. The face looks directly at the spectator, and the beard, which is short, is shown as a series of curls close to the face. The Gospel Book is ornamented with a simple quincunx (∴), and there is a single pellet in each arm of the nimbus cross. The histamenon has the traditional inscription +IhS XPS REX REϹNANTIЧM, the letters being very small and badly formed. The follis has ЄMMA NOVHΛ, with IC XC in the field.

The identity of the two images, typically mid-eleventh century in style and occurring on coins of different metals in different reigns so close together, makes it probable that they represent some recently completed standing figure of Christ, but I have no suggestion to make regarding its identity. It corresponds very closely to some of those later labelled as *Chalkites*.

(c) Christ Antiphonetes. Table 16, IVc
Zoe. Pattern histamenon (Pl. LVIII.1)
Anonymous Follies, Class C (Pl. LX)
Nicephorus III. Follis (Pl. LXX.9)

A standing figure of Christ which is notably different from the others occurs on these three mid eleventh-century coins.

The figure is shown three-quarter length, down to the knee, and the elbows are held close to the sides. The most striking feature is the form taken by the gesture of benediction. The right hand emerges from the fold of the cloak, which hangs down from the forearm, and is held upright, the palm turned toward the spectator, with the third finger bent across the palm to touch the thumb, leaving the first, second, and fourth fingers upright. This contrasts with the gesture normally found at this period, where the fourth as well as the third finger is bent toward the thumb even when it does not actually touch it. The Gospel Book rests on Christ's left arm and is held by its lower, inner corner, the hand which grasps it emerging from the fold of the cloak. The details of the book vary; on the pattern histamenon and the Anonymous Follis they are ▦, on the folles of Nicephorus III they are ∴. The figure on the model histamenon is placed between IC and XC and accompanied by the inscription, on either side, O ‖ AN ‖ T ‖ I — Φ ‖ Ω ‖ NH ‖ T ‖. On the folles of Class C there is once again IC XC, but this time it is accompanied by +ЄMMANOVHΛ. Coins of Nicephorus III have IC XC, no inscription, and two stars in the field.

The identity of this representation raises no problem. It is the Christ Ἀντιφωνητής in the church of the Virgin in the Chalcoprateia, an icon which received its title

("guarantee") from a legend about how it was used as surety for a loan by a merchant in the time of Heraclius.[479] Its detailed appearance is known to us from an eleventh-century mosaic, now destroyed, on one of the eastern piers in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea.[480] It was labelled in the same way as Zoe's coin pattern, and likewise showed Christ's arm close to his side, the palm facing the spectator, the book held by its lower foredge, and almost identical folds of the cloak. The icon in the Chalcoprateia was an object of particular devotion for the Empress Zoe, who had a copy of it made that allowed her to foretell the future,[481] and who founded a church in its honor where she was subsequently buried.[482] The copy at Nicaea probably dated from the late 1060's or early 1070's. The church of the Dormition was seriously damaged in 1065 by an earthquake, and the mosaics in the narthex were restored, as we know from an inscription, by the patrician and grand hetairiarch Nicephorus, who had received the church from the Emperor Constantine X.[483]

The use of this type on the Anonymous Folles of Class C is important both for the dating of this class and for providing an undeniable connection between one of the types and an icon favored by a particular individual. Miss Thompson had already assigned Class C to the reign of Michael IV, or rather, since she gave Class D to Constantine IX, to the group of reigns—Michael IV (1034–41), Michael V (1041–2), Zoe and Theodora (1042)—spanned by the effective career of Zoe. This attribution is confirmed by the identification of the type of Christ with that of the icon specially venerated by that empress. Whether its use started in 1034 is of course impossible to say. Coins of Class C are too common to be dated simply to 1041–2, and we cannot even be sure if the pattern nomisma should be assigned to Zoe's reign with Michael V (1041–2) or to the brief weeks of that with Theodora (1042). It is in any case likely that the use of the type on the folles antedated that on the pattern histamenon.

There is no obvious explanation for the revival of this rare type on the folles of Nicephorus III. The Nicephorus responsible for the mosaics in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea presumably had a special veneration for the icon, since he chose this relatively

[479] For what follows see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 142–8. He was unaware of the coin representations.

[480] T. Schmit, *Die Koimesis Kirche von Nikaia. Das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), Pl. XXVII. It is reproduced by Mango, 147. Even before 1922, when it was completely destroyed, it was in a somewhat injured condition, the face having been obliterated and the lower part of the body damaged. It seems to have been a full-length figure, not, as on all the coin representations, a three-quarter length one, but this may have been the case only for the copy at Nicaea.

[481] Psellus, *Chron.*, vi. 66 (ed. Renauld, I. 149). Good or bad fortune was foretold by slight changes in the color of the complexion of the icon.

[482] Sathas, *Bibl. grec. med. aevi*, VII. 163; cf. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, III (Paris, 1905), 667.

[483] C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *DOP*, 13 (1959), 245–52. These mosaics had customarily been dated half a century earlier, on the assumption that the Emperor Constantine of the inscription was Constantine VIII. The type of brickwork, coupled with the fact that the grand hetairiarch in the short reign of Constantine VIII was Eustathius, not Nicephorus, shows that this cannot be correct. Strictly speaking, as Mango points out (p. 252), his demonstration that the narthex mosaics are *post*-1065 does not cover the Antiphonetes mosaic, but he agrees with Lazarev that the two groups give the appearance of being contemporary.

unimportant design for a prominent position. Nicephorus was too common a name for one to lay much emphasis on this alone, but if Nicephorus Botaniates had a family connection with Nicaea it would explain how the same icon type came to be used both in the church and on his coinage and why the city was the first place of importance that he occupied in his rise to power.

V. *Bust of Christ, book held from beneath, right hand in front turned toward book*

(Table 16, Va–Vf)

This is the earliest type of bust to appear on the coins, and varieties of it continued to be used down to the eleventh century, though by that time it was tending to be replaced by the Pantocrator series. The common features of the type are the gesture of the right hand and the way of holding the book. Otherwise it covers a wide variety of styles and clearly involves a number of separate models of very different dates.

(a) "Classical" type. Table 16, Va
Justinian II. Coins of first reign (*DOC*, II, Pls. XXXVI–XXXVIII)

Although the busts on Justinian's coins do not fall within the chronological framework of this volume, it is as well to include them for the sake of completeness. The "classical" features of the first type have been discussed by Breckenridge and Kitzinger, and there is no need to go over the ground again.[484] I believe, however, that while the features of the heavily bearded Christ may go back ultimately to the Phidian Zeus at Olympia, the way in which the book is held shows that Breckenridge went astray in trying to relate it to the seated Christ in the Chrysotriclinos. The book differs in its details from one coin to another, notably in the number of pellets crowded onto the cover, but there is never any trace, on coins of Justinian II, of a hand holding it. The reason must be that it was thought of as being supported from below in the fold of the cloak. It follows from this that the figure of which it was envisaged as forming the upper part must have been standing and not seated, and so cannot have been the Christ of the Chrysotriclinos.

(b) "Syrian" type. Table 16, Vb
Justinian II. Coins of second reign, (*DOC*, II. Pl. XLIII.1–7)

This youthful bust of Christ, of the so-called "Syrian" type, has the gesture of the right hand and the way of holding the book in common with (a), but has curly hair and

[484] See *DOC*, II. 569; J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, NNM, No. 144 (New York, 1959), 46ff.; E. Kitzinger, "Some Reflections on Portraiture in Byzantine Art," *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, (Belgrade, 1963), 190–3. There is an admirable analysis of the features of this type by M. Chatzidakis, "An Encaustic Icon of Christ at Sinai," *Art Bulletin*, 49 (1967), 197–208, though his view of it as a "Pantocrator" type, albeit "closed"—i.e., with Christ's hand in front of his body instead of extended to his side in the sling of his cloak—seems to me unjustified.

is almost beardless.[485] Since it does not appear again on the coins, it need not be discussed further here.

(c) Revived "classical" type. Table 16, Vc
Michael III. Solidus, Classes II–III; Semissis, Class III (Pl. XXVIII.2–4)

This requires no comment, as it is simply a copy of (a), apparently made directly from a coin of Justinian II used as a model. The departure from the "classical" features of the prototype is very marked. The change which was to take place over the next half century can be seen by comparing this with the much more refined bust of the same type on a seal, illustrated by Grabar,[486] of the early part of the reign of Constantine VII.

(d) Head with short beard, cross projecting beyond nimbus. Table 16, Vd
Romanus I and Constantine VII. Pattern solidus, Class IX (Pl. XXXVI.9)

The only specimen known of this coin is in such poor condition that few details can be made out. There are traces of a nimbus close to the head, however, which justify its being made into a distinct class.

(e) Head with curly beard, cross behind head. Table 16, Ve
Michael VII. Follis (Pl. LXVII.14–15)

The poor condition of most specimens makes it difficult to make out the details of the design, but it is characterized by a short, curly beard and very long and narrow cross-arms reaching to the very edge of the coin. The gesture of the hand in front of the body is clear. The book is usually decorated with ※, the outer pear-shaped ornaments sometimes joining the outer edges of the book. The book is supported from beneath, no hand being shown.

(f) Head with long beard. Table 16, No. Vf
(1) Theodora. Tetarteron (Pl. LXII.2)
(2) Constantine X. Follis, Class 2 (Pl. LXIV.9)
(3) Michael VII. Histamenon, Class II (Pl. LXVI.2)
(4) ? Anonymous Folles, Class L (Pl. LXVIII.L)
(5) ? Anonymous Folles, Class N (Pl. LXX.N)

This bust of Christ, with long, pointed beard, is quite distinct from all the others, and since the gesture of the hand that accompanies it is the same on Nos. 1–3, it seems likely that a definite icon was intended. The designs of the nimbus cross and the book cover vary, but these trivial differences do not outweigh the similarities, which include the fact that the fold of the robe around the hand supporting the book is shown. The mosaics in

[485] *DOC*, II. 644–5; Breckenridge, *op. cit.*, 59ff. The same portrait was used in a fresco in S. Maria Antiqua at Rome, which combines a Crucifixion with the theme of the Adoration of the Lamb and was executed for Pope John VII between 705 and 707, i.e., during the same years as the use of this type at Constantinople. See P. J. Nordhagen, "John VII's *Adoration of the Cross* in S. Maria Antiqua," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 388–90.

[486] *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, Pl. 51, where it is ascribed, though doubtfully, to Constantine VI. The shape of the crown, the lines of which meet at an angle above instead of forming a single curve, shows that it must be Constantine VII.

Saint Sophia at Kiev, which date from the middle of the eleventh century, include a bust of Christ having a long beard almost identical with this, but there is a cross behind his head instead of a nimbus and the gesture of the right hand is that of Christ Antiphonetes.[487]

It is probable that No. 4 belongs to this group, for the gesture of the right hand and apparently the length of beard correspond to those of Nos. 1–3 on the only specimen I have been able to examine, but since neither the design of the book nor the way it is held is clear one cannot be sure. The attribution is less certain for No. 5, of which only one badly preserved specimen has been available for study. The gesture of the right hand and the position of the book are what one would expect, but the book is abnormally small and Christ's beard seems to be short, not long. Class N may well represent a badly designed version of Type Vf, spoiled by provincial workmanship.

V/VIII. *Bust of Christ with long beard, book clasped to body*

Michael IV. Histamenon (Pl. LVII.1)

This unusual variety combines the characteristic elements of two types that are otherwise distinct, the portraiture and the gesture of Christ's right hand being that of Type V, the design of the book cover and the way in which the book is held being borrowed from Type VIII. The design may well represent a specific icon, but we have no clue to its identity.

VI. *Bust of Christ, hand turned toward body*

(Table 16, VI)

Romanus II. Solidus, Class II (Pl. XL.2)

This bust shows Christ with short, straight beard, holding the book from beneath with his left hand wrapped in a fold of his robe, and having his right hand horizontal and turned inward toward his body, with the second and third fingers curled over to touch his thumb. This is the only occurrence of such a gesture on the coins. Although in other forms of art it is common for saints, it is fairly rare for Christ, though it does occur, e.g., on the mosaic bust of Christ above the entrance to the narthex at Hosios Lucas.[488] The gesture on the coin is so distinctive that it seems likely to have behind it some particular icon. Unfortunately the local tradition that Romanus II was the founder of Hosios Lucas seems to be a myth,[489] and in any case the mosaics there date from the eleventh century.

[487] V. N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi* (Moscow, 1960), Pl. 23.

[488] E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), fig. 12. An eleventh-century roundel in the Church of the Koimesis at Nicaea shows Christ making a similar gesture of benediction, but holding a scroll instead of a book in his left hand (*ibid.*, fig. 111). There is a good description of the Hosios Lucas mosaic in C. Diehl, *L'église et les mosaïques du couvent de Saint-Luc en Phocide* (Paris, 1889), 44–5. The gesture of Christ in the Deesis mosaic in the Kariye Camii referred to above (p. 161 and note 476) is similar, but not identical.

[489] Diehl, *op. cit.*, 5–12, though it has been accepted by some later scholars. The most recent opinion dates the monastery from the reign of Constantine IX (E. G. Stikas, Τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν Χρονικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ Φωκίδος, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 65 [Athens, 1970], 13).

VII. *Bust of Christ, book held from beneath, hand in sling of cloak*

These types are related only in their gestures. The second, which forms one of the major Christ-types of the late tenth and eleventh centuries, clearly represents a different icon from the first.

(a) No nimbus, hand protrudes from sling
Alexander. Pattern solidus (Pl. XXXV.1)

This variety occurs only once, and the corroded surface of the only known specimen makes it impossible to say whether Christ wears a short beard, as one would expect, or whether he is beardless, as he seems to be on the coin. The clumsy rendering of the book links it with the seated Christ types of the same period (Ia–Ic) and the standing Christ of Romanus I (Type IVa).

(b) Usual nimbus cross, hand within sling or slightly protruding from it
(1)–(3) Anonymous Folles, Classes A, B, E (Pls. XLVIII–LV, LXI, LXVIII)
(4) Constantine IX. Histamenon, Class IVb; Tetarteron, Classes I, II (Pl. LIX.4–6)
(5) Romanus IV. Two-thirds miliaresion (Pl. LXV.6)
(6) Michael VII. One-third miliaresion, Class II (Pl. LXVII.13)
(7) Nicephorus III. Histamenon, Class I; Tetarteron, Classes I, II (Pl. LXIX.1, 4, 5)

This group is characterized by the curly beard of Christ and by the sling of the cloak, which is stretched unusually far out, so that it makes a series of horizontal lines across the body. On smaller coins the fold of clothing beneath the book is not always present. The fingers of the right hand are shown on some coins as projecting above the edge of the cloak and on others as bent inward so as to follow it, but the model seems to have been the same in all cases. There is great variety in the ornaments of the cross and the book, but this is largely a consequence of their use as privy marks and has nothing to do with the basic design. The bust on Romanus IV's folles (Pl. LXV. 8), without nimbus, is a variety of this class.

VIII. *Bust of Christ Pantocrator, book clasped to breast*

Five varieties of this type occur on the coins. They may be characterized as follows:

(a) Beard straight, no pellets on center of book cover
Constantine VII alone. Solidus, Classes XI (pattern), XII, XIII (Pl. XXXVI.11–13)
Constantine VII and Romanus II. Solidus, Class XV (Pl. XXXVII.15)
Romanus II. Solidus, Class I (Pl. XL.1)

(b) Beard curly, normally no pellet on center of book cover
Nicephorus II. Solidus, all classes (Pl. XLI.1–5)
John Zimisces. Solidus, all classes (Pl. XLII.1–6)

(c) Beard curly, normally one pellet on center of book cover
Basil II. Solidus, all classes (Pls. XLIII–XLV.1–15)

(d) Beard curly, one or two pellets on center of book cover
Constantine VIII. Histamenon and tetarteron, all classes (Pl. LVI.1–4)
Constantine IX. Histamenon, Classes III, IVa; Tetarteron, Class I (Pls. LVIII–LIX.3, 4a, 5)

Michael VI. Histamenon (Pl. LXII.1)
Isaac I. Tetarteron; Two-thirds miliaresion (Pl. LXIII.3–4)
(e) Beard curly, cross without nimbus behind head
Anonymous Folles, Class J (Pl. LXVIII.J)

Varieties (a)–(c) are very close to each other stylistically, the main change being the redesigning of Christ's beard under Nicephorus II. Varieties (d) and (e), in addition to differing from the earlier coins in the design of the book cover, are notable for the great fluidity in the lines of the costume and the way in which these are emphasized by the treatment of the hand. Variety (e), with ornamented cross and no nimbus behind Christ's head, really forms a separate type, but since the book is held in the typical gesture of Type VIII it is most conveniently placed here. The same gesture is linked with features otherwise associated with Type V on the coin described above as forming Type V/VIII.

This is the so-called "Pantocrator" type, one of the best known and most characteristic representations of Christ in Byzantine art. Its origins have already been discussed.[490] The fundamental gestures are always the same: the right hand stretched out to Christ's right in the sling of the cloak[491] and turned back toward the center—almost toward the book—in a gesture of benediction; the left hand spread across the lower part of the book with the thumb pointing upward or even backward and the first and second fingers wide apart. Within the general formula there are many variations possible. Christ starts with a straight beard and later acquires a curly one; the position of the hand moves back from the foredge of the book toward the center of the cover, which acquires as its central decoration one or often two pellets, separated by the forefinger; the lines become fluid and decorative, emphasizing horizontal and flowing elements in the design. Basically, however, the type is the same, and it is difficult to say whether the changes in the coin designs result from the copying of a different icon or whether they are merely different artists' ways of interpreting the same one.

The peculiarities of the design, and notably the distortion of the fingers, have been explained in various ways. Probably the most generally held opinion is that of the late Paul Underwood, who believed that the gestures were intended to emphasize the closeness of the connection between Christ and the Gospel, the left hand clasping the book closely to his body and the right hand apparently directing its benediction toward it. A more fanciful explanation is that of P. Stephanou, who argued that its purpose was to suggest the Godhead, with the fingers symbolizing the Unity and Trinity combined.[492] A more likely explanation is that already suggested, which would cover both the outward thrust of the right hand in the fold of the cloak and the way in which the book is held. Just as

[490] Above, pp. 149–50. On the type in general, see K. Wessel, "Das Bild des Pantokrator," *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 521–35, and his article, "Christusbild," in the *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, I, 1014–19.

[491] This gesture is often exaggerated, accentuating the folds of the stretched cloak into a series of horizontal lines which have sometimes been interpreted as representing Christ's forearm, and misled scholars into supposing that the Gospel Book was held by both hands (e.g., Wroth, 511, descr. of No. 1).

[492] "La main gauche du Pantocrator à Daphni, un symbole trinitaire," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 26 (1960), 413–14.

the placing of the hand in standing and seated figures was related to their general position, so with a figure initially conceived of as bending forward in order to oversee the world it would be natural that the book should be firmly clasped to the breast.[493]

IX. *Bust of Christ holding scroll, right hand in sling of cloak*

(Table 16, IXa)

(a) Right hand inside sling of cloak
Anonymous Folles, Class G (Pl. LXI.G)
(b) Right hand projecting above cloak
Nicephorus Bryennius. Follis (Pl. LXX.2)

The two varieties in which this type occurs are close to each other in date. Both have a bust with curly beard, but differ in the shape of the face—it is longer in variety (a) than in variety (b)—and in the gestures of the right hand. On Class G of the Anonymous Folles the hand remains within the edge of the cloak, its back following its outline, and at least three fingers turn inward and touch the thumb. Many of the coins of Nicephorus Bryennius are in poor condition and indistinct, but on one D.O. specimen the hand protrudes well above the cloak, and one can see the first and second fingers erect and the third and fourth bent over to touch the thumb. The identical gesture, also on a bust holding a scroll, occurs on an ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum which has been ascribed, though doubtfully, to the ninth century.[494] The two varieties are therefore best treated as distinct.

D. OTHER RELIGIOUS TYPES

Representations of the Virgin proliferate on the coinage from the fourth decade of the eleventh century onward, and testify to the great expansion of her cult at this period.[495] So far as court and coinage were concerned this was probably influenced by the gradual abandonment of the Great Palace as the main imperial residence, for the move to Blachernae antedated the building of the palace there by Alexius Comnenus and brought the emperor into close contact with the main cult of the Virgin in the city. A prominent

[493] It is worth noting that the Goldschmidt-Weitzmann corpus of Byzantine ivories includes *no* example of Christ holding the Gospel Book in this fashion. The absence of this gesture from objects which would normally stand vertically emphasizes the fact that the icon was intended to be seen from below.

[494] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. 92.

[495] Cf. Wroth, pp. lix, note 1, and xciv, note 3. The two fundamental collections of material are N. P. Likhachev, *Izobrazhenie Bogomateri* (St. Petersburg, 1911), and Vol. II of N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografiya Bogomateri* (Petrograd, 1915), with abundant illustrations of coins, seals, icons, and related objects. There is a valuable study by G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos* (above, p. 149, note 449), though it is mainly concerned with an earlier period. Also useful is M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la Mère de Dieu dans l'art byzantin," *Maria: Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge*, II (Paris, 1952), 403–43.

role, however, was played by Romanus III, before whose time images of the Virgin had been used only five times on the coinage:[496] under Leo VI (Virgin *orans*), Constantine VII (pattern solidus with the Virgin Nikopoios), Nicephorus II and John (a bust of the Virgin side by side with that of the emperor), and Basil II (Virgin Nikopoios). Romanus III was the founder of the church and monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos and the discoverer of an old icon of the Virgin in the church of Blachernae. Said to have been found at Capernaum and brought to Constantinople in the reign of Leo I, it was kept in the monastery of Blachernae and revered as one of the chief treasures of the city.[497]

Romanus' coins show various aspects of his devotion: on the solidi, the standing Virgin crowning him, without any intervention of a *Manus Dei*; on the tetartera, the bust of the Virgin Nikopoios holding a medallion of Christ; on his silver coins, the standing figure of the Virgin Hodegetria with the Infant Christ on her arm. Succeeding reigns saw the proliferation of such types and the appearance of many varieties: the Virgin *orans* may be shown standing, the Virgin with the bust of Christ sometimes has a nimbus and sometimes not, the Virgin standing beside the emperor may crown him or may hold a cross or labarum, and so on. The image known as the Chalcoprateia or Hagiosoritissa, with the Virgin turning half right and raising her hands in prayer, does not appear on coins till the twelfth century. A surprising feature is the total absence, in coins prior to the twelfth century, of a seated Virgin, so common in other forms of art.

The costume of the Virgin is always the same: a long-sleeved tunic and a cloak known as a maphorion (μαφόριον) or veil, which covered her head and fell to the level of her ankles. On forehead and shoulders the maphorion is decorated with a group of four pellets in the form of a cross (∴). Their use went back to very early times, and in the later Middle Ages they were sometimes replaced by stars to which a variety of mystical meanings were attached.[498]

The representations of the Virgin form six groups: (a) bust of the Virgin *orans* with her hands raised in the classical gesture of prayer (Blachernitissa); (b) the same, but a standing figure; (c) bust of the Virgin *orans* with a medallion of Christ on her breast (Episkepsis); (d) bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ (Nikopoios); (e) standing figure of the Virgin holding the Infant Jesus (Hodegetria); and (f) the Virgin with the emperor, either two busts or two standing figures. The coins in general exhibit a certain hierarchy, for while images of Christ were apparently regarded as suitable for the full solidus or histamenon, those of the Virgin tend to be characteristic of either the tetarteron or the silver. The only exceptions to this rule are the solidi of Leo VI and of Zoe and Theodora with busts of the Virgin, the first explicable on the supposition that the rule

[496] The supposed follis of Theophano with the Virgin *orans* is probably a recut eleventh-century coin (below, p. 579).

[497] Cf. J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance: recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1921), 44–53, and N. H. Baynes, "The Finding of the Virgin's Robe," in his *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), 240–7.

[498] C. Konstantinides, "Le sens théologique du signe 'croix-étoile' sur le front des images byzantines," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München, 1958* (Munich, 1960), 254–66; G. Galavaris, "The Stars of the Virgin. An Ekphrasis of an Ikon of the Mother of God," *Eastern Churches Review*, 1 (1966/7), 364–9.

had not yet had time to become established, the second by the coin being one of two empresses. Otherwise histamena on which the Virgin is represented show her only in relation to the emperor, the obverse of such coins being occupied by representations of Christ. On copper coins likewise she occupies a position inferior to Christ and does not appear independently. Even within the silver coinage there is an element of hierarchical arrangement, for her standing figure normally occurs only on full miliaresia and her bust on its fractions. The inscription is rarely anything more than MP ΘV (Μήτηρ Θεοῦ).

The various types occur as follows:

(a) *Bust of the Virgin orans* (*Blachernitissa*). On a solidus of Leo VI (Pl. XXXIV.1), on the pattern miliaresion of Zoe (p. 728), on tetartera of Michael VI (Pl. LXII.2) and Constantine X (Pl. LXIV.3), on fractions of miliaresia of Constantine IX (Pl. LIX.8), Theodora (Pl. LXII.3), Michael VI (Pl. LXII.3), Constantine X (Pl. LXIV.7), Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.7), Michael VII (Pl. LXVII.12), Nicephorus III (Pl. LXIX.8), and Nicephorus Melissenus (Pl. LXX.1), and on Anonymous Folles of Class G (Pl. LXI). Inscriptions are MARIA on the coin of Leo VI and HRΛAXEP NITICA (i.e., ἡ Βλαχερνίτισσα) on the silver coins of Constantine IX, Theodora, and Michael VI.

(b) *Standing figure of the Virgin orans*. On miliaresia or fractions of Constantine IX (Pl. LIX.7), Constantine X (Pl. LXIV.5–6), Michael VII (Pl. LXVII.7), and Nicephorus III (Pl. LXIX.7), and a half-length figure on Class K of the Anonymous Folles (Pl. LXVIII).

(c) *Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion of Christ* (*Episkepsis*). Occurs only once, on the histamenon of Zoe and Theodora (Pl. LVIII.1).

(d) *Bust of the Virgin Nikopoios, holding medallion of Christ*. On the pattern solidus of Constantine VII (Pl. XXXVI.1), the anonymous miliaresion ascribed to Basil II (Pl. XLVII.19), on tetartera of Romanus III (Pl. LVII.2), Eudocia (Pl. LXV.2), Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.3), and Michael VII (Pl. LXVI.3–5), and on fractional silver of Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.5) and Michael VII (Pl. LXVII.8–9).

(e) *Standing Virgin Hodegetria, holding the Infant Jesus*. Only once, on the miliaresion of Romanus III (Pl. LVII.3).

Two of these "iconic" types, as they may be called, since they show the Virgin apart from the emperor as a figure in her own right, raise no problems of identification. The others require discussion.

The identity of Type (d) is known from its representation on a seal of the tenth or eleventh century, where it is accompanied by the legend H NIKOΠOIOC, ἡ Νικοποιός, "the Maker of Victory"; a rather later seal gives the alternative H KYPIΩTICCA, ἡ Κυριώτισσα.[499] The icon itself was kept in a chapel in the Palace[500] and like the Blachernitissa it sometimes accompanied the emperors on their campaigns.[501] The attributes of the two icons were somewhat different, for while the Blachernitissa was the

[499] Likhachev, *op. cit.*, 78, 73, figs. 165, 149; the latter is reproduced (with the reverse) by Kondakov, *op. cit.*, II. 130, No. 51.

[500] This is alluded to only once, by Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.*, viii. 5.2 (Bonn ed., I. 304): εὐκτήριον τῆς Νικοποιοῦ Θεοτόκου. Cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (above, p. 160, note 473), 207.

[501] See below, note 503.

guardian that watched over the army, as over the city, in time of peril,[502] the Nikopoios, as its name implies, had a more positive function as "Maker of Victory" for the emperor. Since it was apparently the icon which Basil II bore into battle against Bardas Phocas in 989[503] it must have been quite small in size. Nothing is known of its later history or fate, but Basil's commemorative coin gives a very clear representation of its appearance.

The identity of Type (e), the Hodegetria (Ὁδηγήτρια), is also certain. This icon, believed to have been painted by St. Luke, was kept in the church of that name, between Saint Sophia and Seraglio Point, and was reckoned one of the palladia of the city.[504] It was destroyed in the sack of Constantinople of 1453, but its appearance is known to us from copies, sometimes expressly labelled as such.[505] As early as the ninth century it seems to have been the custom for a general, before leaving on a campaign, to visit it and pray for success.[506] On the miliaresion of Romanus III it balances the standing figure of the emperor on the other face of the coin. It was presumably struck as he was leaving for his unlucky Syrian campaign of 1030, and the sentiment of the legend expresses his hopes for its happy outcome.[507]

The remaining representations of the Virgin are more of a problem. It is reasonable to suppose that Types (a) and (b) represent the same icon, the die-sinker's choice between bust or standing figure depending mainly on the space available for its reproduction.[508] This icon was evidently quite different from Type (c), with its medallion of Christ on the Virgin's breast not held there, as in Type (d), but intended to be understood symbolically

[502] This aspect of its attributes is very clearly expressed by Attaleiates, *Historia* (Bonn ed., 153).

[503] Cf. below, p. 611. We are not expressly told that the icon was the Nikopoios, but the Blachernitissa was too large to be handled in this fashion, though it did sometimes accompany the emperor on campaigns, occasionally at considerable risk. Cf. Psellus, *Chron.*, "Romanus III," c. 10–11 (ed. Renauld, I. 39), not specifying which icon; Attaleiates, *loc. cit.* (Blachernitissa taken on campaigns); Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, xiii. 1–2 (ed. Leib, III. 87), showing that Alexius I did not take the Blachernitissa. It may be that the custom was dropped after Manzikert in view of the danger incurred.

[504] On the appearance of the Hodegetria, see Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, IV. 89–92 (in his *Historia Byzantina* [Paris, 1680]); Kondakov, *op. cit.*, II. 152ff.; J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople: Recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), 68–70; and R. L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 319–28. The last of these makes a number of essential corrections to the received account.

[505] The issue is confused, however, by the proliferation of derivative types, for as the Virgin seated with the Infant Christ in her arms it became one of the main themes of Christian art (Kondakov, *loc. cit.*, and V. Lazarev, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bulletin*, 20 [1938], 46–65). That the form of the original icon was a standing figure seems certain; it is borne out by the coin of Romanus III.

[506] As the Caesar Bardas did in 866 (Theoph. Cont., iv. 4; Bonn ed., p. 204). The sources describing this visit refer to the church, not the icon, but this existed at least as early as 717 (Janin, *op. cit.*, 209).

[507] Below, p. 713.

[508] For illustrations of this particular representation of the Virgin, with special reference to the coins, see Kondakov, *op. cit.*, II. 55ff. It seems to me likely that the Blachernitissa may have been a bust, and that the standing figure on the coins of the same type may have been copied from that in the apse of the church erected by Michael III in the Great Palace, which we know from the sermon preached at its inauguration (864) consisted of an "image of the Virgin, stretching out her stainless hands on our behalf and winning for the emperor safety and exploits against the foes" (Mango, *The Homilies of Photius*, No. X, p. 188).

as typifying the Incarnation, with Christ in the Virgin's womb.[509] On coins of three consecutive reigns a bust of the Virgin *orans* is labelled *Blachernitissa*, and in view of the official character of the coinage and the circumstances in which these coins were issued—the years 1055–57 would more or less correspond to the six-hundredth anniversary of the dedication of Blachernae[510]—it is difficult to believe that it does not represent the great icon of the church, one of the chief palladia of the city.[511] This is reinforced by the fact that an eleventh- or twelfth-century seal in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul has a representation of Type (c), though with a standing figure, accompanied by the inscription Η ΕΠΙϹΚΕΨΙϹ, ἡ Επίσκεψις, "the Visit."[512] The earliest dated example of this type, so far as I am aware, is the histamenon of Zoe and Theodora of 1042,[513] but the icon existed at Blachernae as early as the tenth century, for the second part of the Book of Ceremonies describes the emperor's devotions before it.[514]

The natural interpretation of this evidence is that, as Ebersolt believed,[515] there were two icons of the Virgin at Blachernae of particular note, and that, although they may have been sometimes confused, and the name of one or the other casually applied to icons of different types, they were basically of the *orans* and the Episkepsis types, and that the former should properly be termed the Blachernitissa. This position has been violently contested by Janin and Grumel, Janin identifying the Blachernitissa with the Episkepsis type and Grumel doubting whether the evidence is adequate for identifying it at all.[516] The matter has been greatly complicated by irrelevancies and questions to

[509] See Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 254–5, and his comments in *Cahiers archéologiques*, 8 (1956), 259–61, reviewing Cecchelli's *Mater Christi*. For many illustrations of this type of icon see Kondakov, *op. cit.*, II. 102–33. The icon was presumably composite in origin, a Nikopoios type superimposed on an *orans* one; the symbolical explanation would have been supplied later.

[510] The church had been begun by the Empress Pulcheria early in the reign of Marcian (450–7) and completed by the latter after her death in 453 (Janin, *op. cit.*, 169, and authorities there cited).

[511] On icons as palladia, see E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 109–12, and, for the specific role of those of the Virgin in relation to Constantinople, N. H. Baynes, "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1949), 171–77, and S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 71–4.

[512] J. Ebersolt, "Sceaux byzantins du Musée de Constantinople," *RN*[4], 18 (1914), 209, No. 124, Pl. VIII.9. The rather puzzling epithet apparently comes from the fact that in the eleventh century the icon was the scene of a weekly "miracle," the raising of the veil that partly covered it, and Psellus tells us that when the miracle occurred the face of the icon seemed to light up as if it received a "visit" from the Virgin herself.

[513] Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 253–4, dates the first appearance of the type to the late ninth century, after the Iconodule triumph, but cites no evidence for so early a date. For its spread to Germany see above, pp. 103–4.

[514] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 12 (Bonn ed., I. 553). On the church of Blachernae and its icons, see J. B. Papadopoulos, *Les Palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Saloniki, 1928); Ebersolt, *Constantinople* (above, p. 172, note 504), 44–53; and Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 208–16.

[515] *Constantinople*, 50–1.

[516] Janin, *op. cit.*, 174, citing an article, which I have not been able to consult, by D. Lathoud, "La Vierge orante 'Episkepsis' des Blachernes," *Union des Eglises*, 2 (Paris, 1923), 166–8; V. Grumel, "Sur l'*Episkepsis* des Blachernes," *Echos d'Orient*, 29 (1930), 334–6, and "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople," *ibid.*, 30 (1931), 129–46.

which no certain answer can be given—what was the icon of the Virgin and Child before which the mother of St. Stephen the Younger prayed in the early eighth century?[517] what was the icon discovered by Romanus III during restoration work in 1031?[518]—but in my view the numismatic evidence for the Blachernitissa being an icon of the *orans* type is decisive, and the sphragistic evidence is, if not decisive, at least strongly in favor of calling the other type the Episkepsis.

There remain, of representations of the Virgin, those in which she is associated with the emperor. These are quite varied in their general aspect: two busts holding a patriarchal cross (Nicephorus II, Pl. XLI.4–5), two standing figures holding a labarum (Theodora, Pl. LXII.1), a bust of the Virgin crowning the emperor, with a *Manus Dei* above (John I, Pl. XLII.1–6), a standing figure crowning the emperor (Romanus III, Pl. LVI.1; Constantine X, Pl. LXIV.2), a three-quarter length figure crowning the emperor (Michael VI, Pl. LXII.1). The details, however, are extremely uniform, and despite the stylistic variation of the histamena of Romanus III it seems unlikely that any actual icon of the Virgin is intended.

Only two saints, apart from the Virgin, appear on the coins during this period. One is St. Alexander, a fourth-century bishop of Constantinople, who is shown crowning the Emperor Alexander on the latter's solidi (Pl. XXXV.2). The saint is represented as an elderly bearded figure, wearing a long tunic and a cloak fastened in front with a circular brooch. The other is St. Michael on the rare Thessalonican histamenon of Michael IV (Pl. LVIII.2). The archangel is winged, bareheaded, and wears a long-sleeved tunic covered with a chlamys fastened at his right shoulder.

A *Manus Dei* makes an unexpected appearance on a Rome solidus of Constantine V and Leo IV (Pl. XI.27), and is thereafter limited to the coins of three emperors, John I, Basil II, and Michael IV in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. It was introduced by John Zimisces as an adjunct to the bust of the Virgin crowning him on his solidi (Pl. XLII.1–6), in such a way that while she touches the emperor's crown with her right hand, to indicate that it is through her agency that the crown is conferred, the *Manus Dei* above the emperor's head reminds the spectator that it is on God that his office ultimately depends. A variant of this theme occurs on all the later solidi of Basil II's reign (Classes III–VI; Pls. XLIV–XLV), when a suspended crown (without *Manus Dei*) is shown above the emperor's head. The miniature in his Psalter,[519] in which a similar crown is held above his head by the outstretched hand of a small figure of Christ in the heavens, shows it to be intended as a crown of victory celebrating the emperor's successes in the Bulgarian wars. In the eleventh century, finally, a *Manus Dei* crowns Michael IV on both his

[517] *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, in Migne, *PG*, c. 1076.

[518] Cedrenus, A.M. 6539 (Bonn ed., II. 497). Cedrenus says that it showed the Virgin *holding* Christ in her bosom, a description incompatible with the raised hands of both the Virgin *orans* and the Episkepsis. It may have been an icon of the Hodegetria type or one showing the Virgin suckling the Infant Jesus, for Lazarev has shown that this type, though rare in Byzantium and never used on coins, was not unknown. Cf. Lazarev, *art. cit.*, 27–36.

[519] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. XI. This theme had not appeared on the coinage since the early fifth century, when it had been much favored for empresses (Flaccilla, Eudoxia, Pulcheria, etc.), although sometimes used for junior emperors also (e.g., Arcadius).

Constantinopolitan and his Thessalonican histamena (Pls. LVII–LVIII.1–2). The symbol then disappears until the reign of Alexius I.

The cross, as a main type and not as an element in crowns, scepters, and other insignia, plays a very minor role except on the silver coinage, which it dominates, and on the last issues of folles. On Eastern gold coins the regular use of the cross potent as reverse type ended in 720. It was briefly revived by Artavasdus (Pl. VII.1, 4) and Nicephorus I (Pl. XV.1) for their sole reigns, and a patriarchal cross on steps was used under similar circumstances by Theophilus (Pl. XXII.1, 6). By the ninth century the old practice of differentiating between denominations by placing the cross on steps, globus, or base had been forgotten, so that the coins of Nicephorus and Theophilus have steps beneath the cross on all denominations. On Italian coins the use of the cross ended in the mid-eighth century (Pl. XI.25–9, 45–9, 52).

The reverence of the Iconoclasts for the cross as such is shown by their silver coinage, where a cross potent on steps was introduced by Leo III as its main type.[520] It was carried on with no more than slight changes in the proportions of shaft, arms, and cross-ends for almost two centuries, through the reign of Leo VI. Alexander introduced a medallion of Christ at the intersection of the arms (Pl. XXXV.3), and under Romanus I, Nicephorus II, and John I a medallion with the imperial bust occupied the same position. Wroth followed Schlumberger in comparing this design to a reliquary cross, but Deér holds that as used by Alexander it is better regarded as representing the crucified figure of Christ on the cross.[521] Constantine VII replaced the cross potent on the miliaresia of his later years by what in western heraldry would be termed a cross crosslet, i.e., a cross on which each of the three upper arms was itself a cross, and added a further cross (saltire) at the intersection. Whether the latter should be regarded as mere ornament, or whether it was intended to represent the initial of X(PICTOC) is impossible to say. Under Basil II further decoration of the cross became usual: a crescent beneath a globule is regularly placed on the shaft, and on Class IV several varieties of floral ornament appear on the base.

In the eleventh century the cross ceased to be the normal type of the silver coinage, but from Class B of the Anonymous Folles onward it became important on the copper, at first with letters and later with symbols in the field. On Class B (Pl. LV) the reverse type is a plain cross on steps with IS XS bAS IL€ bAS IL€ in the field. On Class C (Pl. LX) it is a cross with equal arms, jeweled and ornamented with globules on the ends, with IC XC NI KA in the angles. Under Romanus IV (Pl. LXV.8) the cross is like the last but no longer jeweled and with an X at the intersection; the letters in the angles are C R P Δ. On Class H (Pl. LXVIII) there is a patriarchal cross with globules at the ends on a leaved base, on Class I (Pl. LXVIII) a plain cross with intersecting X and globules and pellets at the ends of the arms, again on a leaved base, and with crescents in the upper quarters.

[520] The Iconoclasts regularly used the cross as a replacement for the images they removed, and we have written testimony to their regarding it as a sign of victory. Cf. G. Millet, "Les Iconoclastes et la Croix," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 34 (1910), 96–109, and Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 170.

[521] Wroth, p. 472, note 2; J. Deér, "Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte*, 13 (1955), 48–112, esp. 67–9.

Under Nicephorus III (Pl. LXX) the cross is equal-armed and has terminal globules, but with a star in a large circle at the intersection and C Φ N Δ in the angles. The designs on the folles of Nicephorus Bryennius (Pl. LXX) are variable, being either a patriarchal cross with terminal pellets on a plain base and steps or a patriarchal cross on a jeweled base with X at the intersection and terminal pellets to the arms, in either case having C B N B in the angles. Class J (Pl. LXVIII) has an equal-armed cross with terminal globules and pellets above a large crescent; there are four ornaments, each consisting of a large globule and eight pellets, in the quarters. On Class L (Pl. LXVIII) there is a small equal-armed cross with IC XC NI KA at the ends of the arms, on Class M (Pl. LXVIII) a jeweled cross with terminal pellets and a crescent beneath, and on Class N (Pl. LXX) a plain patriarchal cross with IC XC NI KA in the angles.

The profusion of these designs, which so far as the coinage is concerned are for the most part new, is difficult to explain, for the veneration of the cross was not more evident than it had been at other periods. Presumably people were wearying of inscriptions in the field—they were to disappear almost entirely in the next century—and wished for something else. The cross on leaved base symbolized the living "tree" on which Christ died, a motif well known in medieval art and literature.[522] It is often found on Byzantine ivories and metal-work, a particularly beautiful example being that on the gold cover of a tenth-century reliquary in the Cathedral Treasury at Limburg an der Lahn.[523] The crescent on Type J is perhaps related to that on the shaft of the cross of Basil II's miliaresia, which recurs on later silver coins of the same type and even on tetartera (e.g., Pl. LXVI.5, of Michael VII), but no satisfactory explanation for it has yet been found.[524] Its occurrence on a rare variety of globus cruciger on a histamenon of Constantine IX (Pl. LVIII.1b), on which the emperor's scepter ends with a leaved cross, suggests that there may be some connection between the two.[525] The globules at the ends of the arms play a considerable part in their iconography; decorated rosettes in this position are common on all smaller works of art, and the "round apples" at the ends of the arms on the great cross in the Forum at Constantinople are alluded to by writers of the time.[526]

E. INSCRIPTIONS

It is difficult to characterize briefly the coin inscriptions of the three and a half centuries between 717 and 1081. Those on the gold changed very little in their general arrangement. They continued to follow the circumference of the coins and the lettering remained small, becoming very small indeed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in sharp contrast to the very large lettering of the contemporary penny coinages of the West. Inscriptions running in several lines across the field became common on the silver and copper, replacing the more traditional types. Columnar inscriptions consisting of only a few letters in the

[522] Millet, *art. cit.*, 104–6; D. Talbot Rice, "The Leaved Cross," *Byzantinoslavica*, 11 (1950), 72–81.

[523] Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, Pl. 126.

[524] Cf. below, p. 637. It has nothing to do with the crescent which later became the symbol of the Ottomans.

[525] Above, p. 132.

[526] Cf. Millet, *art. cit.*, 106–7.

field—usually the emperor's name and title, both abbreviated—were introduced in Sicily under the Isaurians, but lasted only into the early ninth century and were then dropped, to be revived later under the Comnenids. The contents of the inscriptions were almost exclusively imperial and religious, the precatory element being in both cases much to the fore.

The traditional late Roman formula for imperial inscriptions, the emperor's name preceded by DN and followed by PPAVC (or variant), lasted unchanged till almost the end of the seventh century. In the early eighth century these elements disappeared. DN, DNO, or simply D were still used by Leo III, Artavasdus, and Constantine V, but after that they do not occur save in belated references to Leo III. PP AVC (i.e., *Perpetuus Augustus*) had been replaced by the acclamation MVLTVS AN (i.e., *Multos Annos*) on the coinage of Justinian II's second reign. The acclamation was common form, but its adoption on the coinage at this particular moment was not unrelated to the circumstances of the emperor's restoration. Leo III used PAMVL to fill out the inscription accompanying his father's bust, but employed no similar formula himself, and his successors saw no reason to revive one. But for an accident in the mid-ninth century this might well have meant the end of imperial Latin inscriptions on Byzantine coinage. The rare folles of 866–7, however, issued in the name of Michael III and Basil, have the inscription MIhAEL IMPERAT(or) and bASILIYS REX, intended to demonstrate that a knowledge of Latin still existed in the capital.[527] Thereafter AYS in some form or another was used on much of the gold coinage for nearly a century, from the reign of Basil I to that of Nicephorus II, and the occasional spelling *August* and the use of the plural AYSS' suggests that it was the Latin *Augustus* rather than the Greek Αὔγουστος that the coin designers had in mind.

DN as a preliminary formula had no replacement. From the eighth century onward inscriptions begin with the emperor's name except when some precatory formula (e.g., "O Lord, preserve the Despot Romanus") is involved. Sometimes this was all; the emperor's name was sufficient. More usually some substitute for *Augustus* was employed: *basileus* (either alone or as *basileus Romaion*), *despotes*, *autocrator*.[528] Sabatier described a coin of Nicephorus III with the title *sebastos*, but it is more probably a seal.[529]

The most important of these titles was βασιλεύς. It had been the regular way of referring to the emperor, in literary usage and ordinary speech, from the later Roman Empire onward. It was formally incorporated in the imperial style by Heraclius, probably on his return from the Persian War in 629, for it first appears in a novel of that year, having not been employed in earlier official documents of the reign. A hundred years later it first appears on the coins, characteristically on the new miliaresia of Leo III, where the

[527] Below, p. 456.

[528] On these titles see L. Bréhier, "L'origine des titres impériaux à Byzance: βασιλεύς et δεσπότης," *BZ*, 15 (1906), 161–78, and his *Le monde byzantin*, II. *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949), 48–52; G. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator i Samodržac. Prilog za istorju vladalačke titulature u Vizantiji i u južnih Slovena," *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija Glas*², 84 (1935), 95–187, esp. 97–121; and F. Dölger's review, in *BZ*, 33 (1933), 136–44, of E. Kornemann's *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum*.

[529] Below, p. 822.

emperor and his son are described as bASILIS, i.e., βασιλεῖς. The bA on the reverse of Leo IV's copper had presumably the same significance, and Constantine VI introduced it in a shortened form (bAS') on his gold. Thereafter it was normal, being found either abbreviated or in full on all denominations and applied both to the actual reigning emperor, the μέγας βασιλεύς, and to his junior colleague. The fuller "Emperor of the Romans," βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, first appears on the miliaresion of Michael I (811–13), applied to himself and his son Theophylact, and thenceforward becomes a regular feature of this denomination. Though the title was not invented on this occasion—it can be traced back to the seventh century, even in official documents—there can be no doubt that the abrupt change in style on the coins was the consequence of Michael's decision (812) to recognize the imperial title of Charlemagne. It was Michael who came to terms with the Frankish embassy sent to Nicephorus in 811 and it was his ambassadors who in 812 saluted Charlemagne, in Greek and according to the custom of Constantinople, as *imperator* and *basileus* in the imperial chapel at Aachen.[530] The Frankish emperor might have to be accepted as *basileus*—so, after all, had Sassanian sovereigns been in earlier times—but the conspicuous change in the formula used on the miliaresion was intended to make it clear that only the Eastern emperor could claim to be *basileus Romaion*.

The word despot (δεσπότης) had not the same significance as *basileus*, since although in the later centuries of the Middle Ages it became a formal title of the heir to the throne and was assumed by various foreign princes under Byzantine influence, it is used in this period as a mark of respect rather than a title.[531] Essentially, like κύριος, it was a Greek equivalent of *dominus*, lord or master, with *servus* (δοῦλος) as its antithesis, and it could be applied to persons of rank other than the emperor. In the seventh century, for example, in the official account of the coronation of Heraclonas in 638, Heraclius' younger son David is described as despot before his elevation to the rank of Caesar.[532] The word first appears on the coinage under Leo III, whose Sicilian folles give the title to both the reigning emperor and his colleague, the future Constantine V; ΛΕΟΝ ΔΕCΠ(ότης) KWNC(ταντῖνος) ΔΕCΠ(ότης). When Nicephorus I struck coins jointly with his son Stauracius (803) he used for himself the title bASILE(ύς), for his son the title ƊΕSPO(της), and Michael I, Leo V, and Michael II did the same. This arrangement did not imply that despot was the formal title of the junior co-emperor, for on solidi of Leo V alone the imperial effigy on the obverse is accompanied by the title *basileus* and the same effigy on the reverse by that of despot. After Theophilus the title went out of use on the

[530] *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 812 (ed. F. Kurze [Hanover, 1895], 136): *more suo, id est Greca lingua, laudes ei dixerunt, imperatorem eum et basileum appellantes*. There is a considerable literature on the subject; see the references in Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1956), 176, note 3, especially the articles of Laurent there cited. Stein's view that Michael was the first to use the title is certainly wrong, but the sphragistic evidence is less clear than Ostrogorsky suggests, since seals of Leo III cannot be distinguished with much confidence from those of Leo V.

[531] To the works already cited there should be added R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le despote, ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ," *REB*, 17 (1959), 52–89 (reprinted in his *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* [Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967], I. 1–24), and G. Ostrogorsky, "Urum-Despotes. Die Anfänge der Despotenwürde in Byzanz," *BZ*, 44 (1951), 448–60.

[532] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 27 (Bonn ed., I. 628).

coins for over a century, the junior emperor being regularly termed *basileus*, but Nicephorus II and John I, while using titles such as *autocrator*, *augustus*, or *basileus* when appearing alone or in association with co-emperors, preferred to call themselves despot when invoking the help of the Virgin (ΘΕΟΤΟC' b'ΘH' ΠIChF' ƆΕSP' or IΩ ΔΕCP'). In the eleventh century it seems to have been treated as completely interchangeable with the more formal titles, being used even as a convenient way of differentiating between emperors of the same name, so that Michael IV is termed *basileus Romaion*, or *despotes* at Thessalonica, and Michael VI *autocrator*.

The title *autocrator* (αὐτοκράτωρ) is relatively rare on the coinage. It was in normal usage applied more especially to the senior emperor, implying that the reality of power was in his hands alone. It is used in this sense of the accession of Heraclonas to supreme office in 641 and of Michael III's overthrow of his mother in 856 and his decision to rule himself.[533] It is not surprising that Alexander, who assumed it on his miliaresion, should have been the first of Byzantine emperors to do so; he had had to wait long enough for the reality of power without making the pretense of sharing it with Constantine VII. But it never became common. It was used by Nicephorus II and John Zimisces, both of whom had a natural desire to underline the significance of their occupancy of the imperial throne, and by Michael VI, who needed an alternative title to *basileus* and *despotes*, but otherwise it does not occur in the period covered by this volume.

Any of these titles, or the names of the emperors themselves, might be qualified in various ways, although there was no attempt to revive the practice of the early Empire in alluding to imperial triumphs (*Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, etc.). Supplementary epithets first appear on coins of the eighth and ninth centuries, although a few begin later. While many of them only repeat terms already customary in the language of the court and in official inscriptions, their use on coins had often a propagandist purpose directed toward the neighbors of the Empire. They are particularly characteristic of the miliaresia, partly because the inscriptions on these were longer and more legible than those on the gold, partly perhaps because they were more likely to circulate beyond the imperial frontiers in regions where the propagandist element in their inscriptions would have greater impact.

The earliest of them was the "in God" (ἐκ Θεοῦ, later ἐν Θεῷ), introduced by Leo III on his miliaresion (720), and later, from Leo VI to John I, "in Christ" (ἐν Χριστῷ). Such phrases occur only occasionally on the gold, but are quite characteristic of the silver. This points to a connection with the dirhem, whose inscription consists almost entirely of religious phrases, and was to be reflected later in the West, where the Carolingians, unlike their predecessors, were kings "by the grace of God" and who under Charles the Bald introduced the phrase *gratia Dei rex* on their coins.

The major innovations occurred in the ninth century. Theophilus on one of his types of miliaresion terms himself ƆYLOS XPISƆY S PISƆOS EΠ AYƆO bASILEY POMAIOΠ, i.e., δοῦλος Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστὸς ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, "Servant of God and faithful, in Him emperor of the Romans." Δοῦλος Χριστοῦ had a remote predecessor in the *servus Dei* of Justinian II's solidi and was to be used only sporadically, but πιστός remained

[533] Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 29 (αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς βασιλείας ἀναγορεύεται Ἡράκλειος); the Logothete in *Georgius Monachus*, Bonn ed., p. 823 (μόνος αὐτοκρατορεῖ).

customary, especially on the silver. Leo VI added "pious" (εὐσεβής), which continued in common if not invariable use throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries; it has an odd parallel in the *pius* on silver deniers of Louis the Child (899–911) and perhaps provided its inspiration. It has been suggested that a Carolingian connection of a different kind lay behind the appellation of μέγας βασιλεύς which occurs on miliaresia of Michael III, but it was more probably intended to differentiate his status from that of Basil.[534] A combination of piety and foreign policy lies behind the title ὀρθοδόξος, assumed on his silver coins by Michael VI and continued by Isaac I, which stoutly affirmed Byzantine orthodoxy in the face of Roman pretensions in the circumstances of the schism of 1054.[535] Three sovereigns in this period termed themselves *Porphyrogenitus:* Constantine VII, on his last issue of miliaresia, after having disposed of his unwanted colleagues of the Lecapenus family; Basil II, from an intelligible desire to emphasize his legitimacy and that of his brother Constantine after the virtual usurpations of Nicephorus II and John Zimisces; and finally the Empress Theodora, the last surviving representative of the Macedonian dynasty.

A novelty introduced in the eleventh century, which continued to the end of the Byzantine Empire, is the use of family names on the coins. Their introduction was in part due to the need for distinguishing between different emperors of the same name, but it also reflects the new position achieved by the territorial aristocracy. The series begins with Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–55) and is thereafter almost continuous: Isaac I Comnenus (1057–9), Constantine X Ducas (1059–67), Romanus IV Diogenes (1067–71), Michael VII Ducas (1071–8), Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–81), and even the pretender Nicephorus Melissenus (1080–1). The only gap is Michael VI (1056–7), whom Byzantine chroniclers always characterize by his nickname (*Stratioticus*) and whose family name (*Bringas*) was scarcely distinguished enough to appear in the same company with the others. Constantine IX and Isaac I had used their family names only on the silver, but under their successors they appeared on the gold as well, though there was never any attempt to make their use obligatory and many issues bear the emperors' personal names only. At a much earlier date family relationships had been emphasized by the Isaurians, in using ancestral effigies as coin types. Under Leo V the relationships between the persons involved were spelled out in detail. He had also been called Λέων ὁ νέος on coins on which he had been associated with his father, and on solidi of Constantine VI Irene is given the title of μήτηρ αὔγούστη.

The emperor's name is normally in the nominative case, and where several emperors are involved the usual practice is for the senior's name to precede that of his junior colleague, the two being linked by the conjunction "and" (καὶ, written usually as S, C, or CЄ; see below, p. 189). Where the mutual status of colleagues was not clear, as was sometimes the case under the Macedonian dynasty, the political overtones implied by the order of names were deliberately exploited. This was notably the case with the many permutations of formal relationship between Constantine VII and the members of the Lecapenus family,[536] but there are other examples: Nicephorus II took precedence over

[534] Below, p. 455.
[535] Below, p. 755.
[536] Below, p. 526 ff.

Basil II and ignored the very existence of Constantine VIII (ΠICHF' CЄ bASIL' AVϹϹ'). A sovereign was always free to omit the name of his colleague if he saw fit, as Leo VI ignored Alexander and Alexander in turn ignored Constantine VII. Where a number of imperial effigies are shown on the coins the names are sometimes arranged as labels above them, so that the order of precedence seems ot be changed: thus on the "family" solidus of Theophilus the figures of Thecla, Theophilus, and Theodora have above them respectively ΘЄK' — ΘЄOΦ — ΘЄ', and on coins of Eudocia (1067) her standing figure and those of her two sons are likewise identified (ΜIX — ЄVΔK — KΩNS).

Case endings other than the nominative occur when they are appropriate. The acclamation *Multos Annos* on coins of the early eighth century required the dative, which explains the DNO (for *Domino Nostro*) on solidi of Leo III, but that the implication was no longer understood is shown by such inscriptions as Ꝺ ARTAYASꝺOS MYLT and Ꝺ ΠICHFOROS MYLTY'. The earliest inscriptions on the miliaresia are in the vocative case (e.g., LЄOΠ S COΠSTAΠTIΠЄ, ΜIXAHL S ΘЄOFYLACTЄ instead of Κωνσταντῖνος, Θεοφύλακτος), since the coins were originally intended for ceremonial distributions and the inscriptions thought of in conjunction with some acclamation like the traditional "Thou conquerest," which indeed appears at length on the folles of Theophilus (ΘЄOFILЄ AVϹOVSTЄ SV ΠICAS). The practice was not consistently followed, however, since on the miliaresia of Artavasdus and Nicephorus the names are in the nominative, and after Theophilus the practice was dropped, for by that date the ceremonial element in the coins had disappeared. Later, from the reign of Nicephorus Phocas onward, the imperial name is often preceded by a pious invocation alluding to the coin type ("O Mother of God, aid Nicephorus the Emperor," "O Lord, aid Romanus the Emperor"), the appropriate case ending being used.

The titles employed for empresses are *Augusta* (Αὐγοῦστα), *Despoina* (δέσποινα), or *Basilissa* (βασιλίσση). The last of these is rare, but was used by Irene during her sole reign (797–802), by Zoe and Theodora on their joint coinage, and by Eudocia Macrembolitissa on silver coins during the reign of Romanus IV (1067–71), when she was anxious to emphasize her authority as against that of her second husband. *Augusta* was the normal title; it was used by Irene as regent for Constantine VI, by Theodora when ruling in her own right (1055–6), and by Eudocia Macrembolitissa as wife of Constantine X. *Despoina*, the least precise title of the three, was used by Theodora as regent for Michael III. Some empresses, though their effigies appear on the coins, have no accompanying title at all, such as Zoe, the regent of Constantine VII, and Maria, the wife of Nicephorus III.

Bréhier, among other scholars, was struck by the long delay between the introduction of such titles as *basileus* and *autocrator* in official usage and their first appearance on coins, and suggested that it was not simply a consequence of official conservatism but rather a desire to maintain a feature which was familiar outside the existing frontiers of the Empire. "Le gouvernement impérial a dû comprendre que sa monnaie pouvait être en Occident un instrument permanent de propagande. Il lui était donc impossible d'abandonner ces légendes traditionelles, sans avoir l'air de renoncer aux yeux des barbares d'Occident, à l'héritage qu'il prétendait tenir dés Cesars de l'ancienne Rome." It was consequently the Iconoclasts, compelled by circumstance to abandon imperial interests in the West and concentrate on the East, who took the first decisive steps in the changeover from Latin to Greek. "Encore est-il bon d'observer que cette rupture fut progressive;

la réforme s'appliqua d'abord aux monnaies de bronze ou de cuivre; le mot βασιλεύς ne parut sur les monnaies d'or que sous Constantin VI et les dernières monnaies à légendes latines ne disparurent qu'au XIe siècle."[537] This is to oversimplify the situation and in some measure to misunderstand it. The immobilization of types has often had commercial reasons behind it, more rarely political ones, and where coin inscriptions are concerned it is usually a matter of learned tradition, like that which kept Latin in general use on European coins up to the nineteenth century and in a few countries causes it to persist today. I doubt that in the case of Byzantium we are justified in looking for any other reason for the retention of Latin and of Roman titles into the eighth century. The practice of the mint was part of the conservative tradition of most governments, and we have no need to look for any subtle political reason behind it. Compare the persistence at Byzantium of the Latin acclamation τούμβηκας, *tu vincas*, with the Norman-French phrase *Le roi le veult*, by which assent is given to a bill in the British Parliament today.

Religious inscriptions, apart from the *Ihsus Xristus Nica* formula on the miliaresion and identifications of Christ and the Virgin, are few. Those like ἐκ Θεοῦ, which are parts of the imperial style, have been dealt with already. The others may be classed as follows:

(1) Christ is sometimes identified simply as IC̄ XC̄ (or IS̄ XS̄), or IhSYS XRISTOS (Michael III), but the formula IhS XPS REX REϹNANTIYM was introduced for the seated Christ under Basil I and thereafter accompanies most representations of Christ on the gold coinage down to the eleventh century and beyond. In its Greek form IhSYS XRISTYS bASILEY bASILE (βασιλεὺς βασιλέων) it is characteristic of Class A of the Anonymous Folles. On Classes B–F it is contracted to IS̄ XS̄ bASILE bASIL.

EMMANOVHΛ, which is later particularly characteristic of representations of the Infant Christ, the so-called Christ Emmanuel type, accompanies the bust of an adult Christ on Classes A–C of the Anonymous Folles and the folles of Constantine X and Eudocia. Only one icon of Christ is positively identified as such, the Antiphonetes (O ANTIΦΩNHT').

The formula IhSYS XRISTYS NICA, which in its Latin dress (*Christus vincit*) was to become one of the most important forms of liturgical acclamation,[538] was introduced on the miliaresion when this coin was created by Leo III, and remained in use, with few variants, down to the eleventh century. It can to some extent be regarded as a replacement of the old *Victoria Augustorum* (or *AVGG*) formula so characteristic of the coinage between the fifth and the seventh centuries. It is used exceptionally on the gold of the sole reigns of Artavasdus and of Nicephorus I to accompany a cross on steps, presumably because they saw no reason to revive the *Victoria Augg* inscription traditionally associated with this but which had gone out of use (save in the West) in 720, and the wording of the new inscription was appropriate to a cross. Abbreviated as IC̄ XC̄ NI KA it appears on Classes C, L, and N of the Anonymous Folles.[539]

[537] "L'origine des titres impériaux" (above, p. 177, note 528), 175.

[538] E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1946).

[539] Cf. A. Frolow, "IC XC NIKA," *Byzantinoslavica*, 17 (1956), 98–113, for the history of this formula.

When the aid of God was invoked the phrase used normally takes the form "O Lord, aid . . .," as under Theophilus (CVRIЄ bOHΘH ƧO SO ƆOVLO), Isaac I, Romanus IV, and Michael VII (KЄ ROHΘ . . ., or KЄ RΘ . . .), but Romanus I uses the formula "Christ aid . . ." (XЄ bOHΘЄI . . .).

(2) The Virgin's name appears as MARIA on the solidus of Leo VI, but subsequently she is always Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, abbreviated to $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ or M $\overline{\text{Θ}}$. One icon, the Blachernitissa, is mentioned by name on fractional miliaresia of Constantine IX, Theodora, and Michael VI. It may have been suggested by the specific reference to the Antiphonetes on the pattern histamenon of Zoe.

When the aid of the Virgin is invoked, the usual formula is "O Mother of God, aid . . .," Θεοτόκε βοήθει being abbreviated to ΘKЄ ROHΘЄI (or ROHΘ or RΘ; the spelling ΘCЄ occurs only on the anonymous miliaresion attributed to Basil II and Constantine VIII). In the eleventh century such invocations occur under almost every emperor from Romanus III onward. Details can be found in the Index of Inscriptions.

Unusual and elaborate forms of invocation are limited to the pattern solidus of Constantine VII and Zoe, with VΠЄPAΓIA ΘЄOTOKЄ R′ (Ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκε βοήθει), and to the ceremonial miliaresia of Basil II and Constantine VIII with Μήτερ Θεοῦ δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει and of Romanus III with Παρθένε σοι πολύαινε ὅς ἥλιτικε πάντα κατορθοῖ, the emperors involved not being named in either of the last two cases.

(3) Invocations of the Cross can involve the Constantinian formula ἐν τούτῳ νίκα, which on the normal miliaresia of Basil II's reign was associated with the emperors' names (Ἐν τούτῳ νικᾶτε Βασίλειος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος). The same formula was used when the type and inscription were revived by Constantine X (for himself and Eudocia, KΩN S ЄVΔOKIA) and by Michael VII (for himself and Maria of Alania, MIXAHΛ KAI MAPIA). On folles of three eleventh-century emperors, Romanus IV, Nicephorus III, and Nicephorus Bryennius, the cross (Σταυρός) is invoked by its initial (C = Σταυρέ).

F. EPIGRAPHY[540]

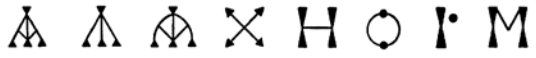
Three main changes took place in the epigraphy of the coins in the period covered by this volume. The first, the disappearance of specifically Latin letters and their replacement by Greek ones (Φ for F, Λ for L, P for R, etc.), was an incidental and rather belated consequence of the gradual substitution of Greek for Latin words in inscriptions. The second was the variation in size of the actual letters, which on the gold coins tended to

[540] There is no satisfactory study. A. R. Bellinger's "Epigraphy of the Byzantine Coinage," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (London, 1967), 335–8, consists of no more than a few notes. The pages in Wroth, I. cv–cix, are useful, and I have had the advantage of reading a valuable paper, prepared by Mr. Roger Dalton for the Summer Seminar of the American Numismatic Society in 1970, on the transition from Greek to Latin in Byzantine coin inscriptions. See also *DOC*, II. 103–6. The standard works by E. Maunde Thompson on Greek and Latin palaeography (1912) and B. A. Van Groningen on Greek palaeography (3rd ed., 1967), and by T. W. Allen and M. Avi-Yonah on abbreviations in Greek MSS (1889, reprinted 1967) and inscriptions (1940) are helpful, but the methods of cutting and sinking letters on dies differ from those used in inscribing them on papyrus, parchment, and stone, and these differences affect their forms.

become minute and formless and on the copper, where inscriptions were to a large extent substituted for types, became much larger and coarser than they had formerly been. The third was the growing use of punches instead of graving tools for making the letters.

The replacement of Latin by Greek letter forms is a phenomenon spread irregularly over the whole of the period, but most evident in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The initial tendency was that even when the words were Greek, they were spelled with Latin characters (NICA for NIKA, CVRIЄ for KVPIЄ) or with a mixture of the two (PATHR for ΠATЄP, PICTV for ΠICTV). Sicily was often in advance of Constantinople in the use of Greek, with KΩNS and ΔЄCΠ appearing on folles of Syracuse by the mid-eighth century. The transition from one alphabet to the other can be most strikingly seen in the reign of Nicephorus II, when the inscription NICHFOP' CЄ bASIL' AЧ٩٩'b'R' on Class I of his solidi was replaced by NIKH+OP' KAI RACIΛ' AVΓ'R'P' on his Class II. Zacos and Veglery have studied the transition in the eleventh century, with C consistently being used for the Greek *kappa* in the first half of the century and for *sigma* in its second.[541]

The forms of the letters were greatly affected by the techniques used in die-cutting. The traditional method had been to rely mainly on gravers, but the ends of letter-strokes were often marked by a dot made with a circular punch, enlarged if necessary by a drill. In the seventh century circular punches had tended to be replaced by triangular-headed ones, the pits made by them in the die being then joined by depressions cut by gravers or sometimes made by long-headed punches, so that the ends of the letter-strokes were left as serifs. In later centuries the use of these punches was greatly extended, though they were never used in the completely tasteless manner of the die-sinkers of western Europe, where letters and indeed much of the design could be completely produced by a very few triangular, straight, and curved punch-heads.[542] Even in Byzantium the use of punches greatly affected the form of the letters. An A, for example, could be constructed by making three triangular punch marks below, an inverted one above the central one, and then joining these up in one of several possible ways so that the resulting letter might be A, Λ, Λ, or Λ. An M could be formed by four triangular punch marks linked by two lightly cut lines, a P from two triangular punch marks linked by a curved line. There seems to have been little use, however, of the curved punches, which played a great role in the die-cutting practices of western Europe, and there was no use of punches to form entire letters. A few designs will show the methods by which letters were sometimes formed in the tenth century.



A further factor affecting letter-forms was the extraordinary contraction in the size of these in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the seventh century the letters of the

[541] G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "C for Σ on Coins of the Eleventh Century," *N. Circ.*, 68 (1960), 154–7.

[542] The best account, in the context of twelfth-century England, is that given by S. Fox, "Die Making in the Twelfth Century," *British Numismatic Journal*, 6 (1906), 191–6, but the results, at a much inferior level, can be best studied in the plates of eleventh- and twelfth-century letter-forms given in A. Dieudonné, *Catalogue des monnaies françaises de la Bibliothèque nationale. Les monnaies capétiennes*, I (Paris, 1923).

obverse inscriptions on the gold had tended to be much smaller than those of the reverse; on solidi of Constans II, for example, they are almost half their size. This situation changed under the Isaurians, when the substitution of a bust for a cross on steps as reverse type resulted in their virtual equalization in size. This equalization was maintained through the ninth and the first decades of the tenth centuries, and although the letters were nearly always rather small, they were clearly formed save where the inscriptions were overcrowded, as was the case under Leo IV. Under Constantine VII the lettering on both obverses and reverses began to contract in size, and from the middle of his reign the use of tiny letters on the gold, and to a lesser extent on the silver, became the normal practice and continued for the remainder of the tenth and through the eleventh centuries.[543] The punches with which they were made were so small that the resulting letters were almost completely formless, since it was impossible to combine the punch marks satisfactorily or to link or expand them with gravers. Their size made it difficult for a curve to be added to part of an upright, so that the letters P or b tended to become vertical strokes slightly thickened above or below, sometimes with a pellet added in the appropriate position, to the right of the stroke, as a substitute for the missing loop. The S could no longer be made with two curves but only with one, so that it became a J or a Ɔ, and connecting strokes had to be omitted, so that an N or Ո became II and an unbarred A a *lambda*. Since X was often represented by a wavy stroke having two triangles in the angles, like the Hebrew *aleph*, the initial XPS on obverse inscriptions on the gold is apt to read ΩΨ IƆ. The lettering on coins of these centuries can in consequence be only very approximately rendered in print.

It is difficult to make any distinction between the Latin and Greek alphabets, since so many letters are common to both and their use is to some extent independent of the languages employed.

I. Latin Inscriptions

A

The usual form is A, but A is normal in ANNO. A with horizontal bar is rare, but occurs at Rome and Ravenna. Sometimes there is no cross-bar at all.

B

By this time it is usually b, but B sometimes occurs.

D

The forms of this are very variable. D is usually limited to Italian mints, while at Constantinople one has ȣ, ȣ, Ꝺ, and ϭ. The change from ȣ to ϭ late in Leo III's reign is important in the dating of his coins (cf. p. 230).

E

Usually Є.

[543] The practice is found earlier on Sicilian gold of the eighth and early ninth centuries, where the letters are sometimes so badly formed that even the names of the emperors cannot be read with certainty.

F

Used instead of Φ on Sicilian coins of Theophilus, but the die-sinkers were uncertain of the correct placing of the horizontal strokes and the letter has frequently the form ⊏ or ⊢.

G

Very variable, with ϹϹ or ϹϹ preferred to G or C. The ϹϹ form often becomes S or even J.

H

Usual form h.

M

Usually ⋔ (later ⋔), but often M in stereotyped Latin words even on late coins (RЄϹNANTIЧM) or words intended specifically to appear as Latin (IMPЄRAT on Æ of Michael III).

N

N or И at first, but usually ⋂ from the late eighth century onward. The forms И and ⋂ are sometimes indistinguishable owing to the diagonal starting halfway up the left-hand vertical.

O

Usually O, but in the late seventh and early eighth centuries it has sometimes the form D (cf. p. 229).

P

This sometimes assumes the form of an I thickened at the top.

S

Often badly formed, becoming ϽϽ, J, or Ɔ.

T

Usually T (sometimes reversed as ⊥), but T also occurs. At Rome, in the eighth century, the horizontal bar was greatly exaggerated (⊤). The form ⊤ occurs under Leo VI (CRIS⊤O).

V

Ч is the usual form. It is sometimes reversed as Ч, and in the word *Regnantium* it is often upside down (RЄϹNANTIhM).

II. Greek Inscriptions

A

Usually A, but in some contexts A (e.g., ⋂ICA). The form A occurs on some eighth-century coins of Rome (and perhaps Naples). Under Nicephorus II and his successors the form A is common, and in the early classes of the Anonymous Folles the variety of forms already alluded to occurs owing to carelessness in linking up the basic elements of the letter (A, A, A).

B

Usually b, but B as an initial (e.g., for Basil), usually with the lobes separated. Under John I it assumes the form R, which is thenceforward widely used (ROHΘH for BOHΘH, RACIΛЄЧS PΩM). The form ß, with the letter resting on a horizontal bar, is used as a control letter under Constantine V, and reappears later under Basil I. Ševčenko at one time regarded it as characteristically ninth-century, describing it as "the tell-tale 'modern' B," but has since published a very similar example in a sixth-century inscription.[544]

Γ

This occurs only rarely, but one finds AVΓ or AVΓЧSƬЧ (Irene). It can have the form S, which in ЄSSON (Leo IV) long impeded the correct interpretation of this word (ἔγγονος).

Δ

The form Δ is unusual—when used, the base usually projects slightly on either side—and some variety of ∂ is usually preferred. One finds d under Alexander (ALЄXANdROS).

E

Normally Є, but a square E occurs under Leo VI (EN CRISƬO). Since the words are often spelled as they were pronounced the letter is frequently omitted (BASILIS for βασιλεῖς; IRINH in Constantine VI's reign, but ЄIRINH in her own). Є frequently does duty for αι (ROMЄON, CЄ for καὶ).

H

Normally h, but H does occur. There is considerable confusion between *eta* and *iota*; thus we find hISЧS for IhSЧS (Leo III), HRHNI for IRINH.

Θ

The ⊕ used as a control mark in the early ninth century appears to be a variety of Θ.

K

The Latin letter C, representing the sound of *kappa*, is normal up to the mid-eleventh century (CVRIЄ, CONSƬANƬINOS; CЄ = KЄ = καὶ, ЄC ΘЧ). It is then replaced by K.

Λ

Usually Λ, but even in Greek words can be replaced by Latin L (∂OVLO).

M

The interior strokes usually reach the level of the base of the vertical ones, sometimes by means of another vertical stroke (M). M or M are common.

N

Usually N.

[544] I. Ševčenko, "Inscription Commemorating Sisinnios, 'Curator' of Tzurulon (A.D. 813)," *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 564–74, esp. 566–7, and "The Inscription of Justin II's Time on the Mevlevihane (Rhesion) Gate at Istanbul," *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines*, 12 (1970), 1–8.

Ξ

This has the form ⌑ on coins of Alexander, but I in the word ΟΡΘΟΔΟΙΩ (miliaresion of Isaac I).

Ο

Often omitted (ΔΥLΥ for ΔΟΥLΟΥ, ΘΕΥ for ΘΕΟΥ), and frequently does duty for *omega* (ΡΟΜΕΟΝ).

Π

Usually the Latin P is preferred. When Π is used, the horizontal bar normally projects slightly on either side.

Ρ

The Latin R is preferred down to the mid-eleventh century, though P is sometimes used.

Σ

The Latin S is usual down to the mid-eleventh century, when it tends to be replaced by C. This had sometimes occurred earlier, e.g., CIK′ in the eighth century in Sicily.

Υ

The forms are indifferently Υ (sometimes reversed as Ρ) or V. It is frequently used as a substitute for οι, e.g., ΔΕSΠVΝΑ, ΠICTV.

Φ

The Latin F tends to be preferred up to the late tenth century, though Φ is used as a control mark in the eighth century and one finds ΘΕΟΦVL (for Theophylact) on Sicilian Æ of the early ninth century. The letter has the form + under Nicephorus II.

Ω

In earlier times *omicron* is commonly used for *omega*. This, where used, is normally Ω, having a form not far removed from the modern W, but in the tenth and eleventh centuries it often becomes Ψ.

Abbreviations assume various forms, and for the most part are very unsystematically applied:

Contraction. Common, and normally indicated by a superscript bar. This is usual in the *nomina sacra* $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (later $\overline{\text{IS}}$ $\overline{\text{XS}}$), $\overline{\text{MP}}$ (often ligatured) $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$, $\overline{\text{KE}}$ (for Κύριε), and is occasionally contracted to a superscript dot (I$\dot{\text{C}}$ X$\dot{\text{C}}$, as on Pl. XLII.6b). Sometimes it is omitted where one would expect it (VS for υἱός on solidi of Leo IV) or, more disconcertingly, inserted where it is not required, as over $\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$ (by contamination with $\overline{\text{IS}}$ $\overline{\text{XS}}$) on some Anonymous Folles (e.g., Pl. LX.C2). When it occurs above the top line of a multilinear inscription, as on eleventh-century silver, it is distinguished from accompanying ornaments by being of uniform thickness (¯) instead of being slightly pear-shaped (➖ ➖).

Suspension. The omission of letters at the end of a word is usually indicated by a short, oblique stroke (′), which can assume the form of a wavy line having various forms (ς, ʃ, ~, even ᶜ) or be contracted to a dot (•). It is sometimes linked with the last letter or letters (ᴌ or more rarely ᴇᴌ under Theophilus). On tenth- and eleventh-century silver coins, with inscriptions across the field, the oblique stroke is frequently placed below (ΠORFVROς,) instead of above.

Superposition. The placing of one letter above another is rare, except for the ligatured ȣ for OV. In the eleventh century this has the form ᴣ (in ΔᴣKA). The only other cases are ᴨ̊ (for πόλις) on some coins of Cherson and ᴍ with a subscript cedilla (ᴍ̧) as an abbreviation for ᴍᴇ (in ROᴍᴇOᴎ) on solidi of Leo VI.

Ligature. Rare save in formal monograms, though one finds ᴎC in the eighth century and ᴍᴨ frequently from the tenth century onward. Only in the twelfth century do ligatured letters become common. The curious ᴀ̊ on some coins of Cherson (pp. 505–6) is an amalgam of ᴀ̊ and Δ.

The Greek καὶ usually replaces the Latin *et*, but only occasionally in full (e.g., Nicephorus II). Often it is S (e.g., LᴇOᴎ S CON, Leo III and Constantine V), representing the tachygraphic sign ⸗ used in MSS, but later Cᴇ (phonetically καὶ) or C are more usual.

G. MONOGRAMS AND ACCESSORY SYMBOLS

Monograms of personal names play only a minor role in the coinage of the period covered by this volume. In earlier times[545] they had been widely used as a substitute for the emperor's full name, either because the flans of the coins were small, with consequent limitations of space, or for some other reason. In the eighth century small denominations disappeared, as for the most part did the marks of value, into the spaces of which monograms had sometimes been fitted. There is only a single survivor of the old system, the monogram of Leo III on the first issues of his Sicilian folles (Pl. v.52–3), and these ended in 720. Sicilian copper of the mid-eighth century, when of small flan, were identified by some letters of the emperor's name disposed vertically in the field (KωNS, ΛᴇωN, etc.). Similarly, when small silver coins reappeared at Constantinople in the eleventh century, they were identified by the first letters of an emperor's name (KωN, RωᴍN), not by his monogram.

An exception to these generalizations is the coinage of Cherson between *c.*865 and 989, though even here there is a tendency for one or two letters to be employed instead of a monogram. The varieties used are set out in Table 17, the attributions being those of the catalogue. When monograms are used, they contrast in several ways with those of the earlier period. They are less systematically formed, earlier monograms having tended to be built around a central letter or a cross, and many of them have a curiously fluid appearance as a result of the use of Greek letters or letter-forms instead of Latin ones (ᴍ for M, ω, P). The latest group is remarkable for the attempt at comprehensiveness it displays, since all the letters of the emperor's name rather than just a few are included, and sometimes a monogram for the emperor's title is provided as well.

[545] *DOC*, II. 107–11.

Non-imperial monograms are virtually nonexistent. The traditional Christogram (☧ or ☩) disappears almost entirely; it is used only once, as the decoration on the emperor's shield on an early follis of Leo III (below, p. 254, note to No. 26). Part of the explanation is presumably the fact that the actual image of Christ, usually identified by IC̄ XC̄, is now frequent. Figures of the Virgin are similarly identified by M̄P̄ Θ̄V̄, the MP being often ligatured as ΜΗΡ or ΜΡ. There are no monograms of mints.

Accessory symbols are likewise few. Remnants of dates (NNN XXX, etc.) continued on copper coins of the eighth and early ninth centuries in a purely decorative capacity. In the same two centuries marginal inscriptions are often preceded or followed by a star or rosette, and those in the field of miliaresia and folles are usually preceded by a cross. The variety of letters after CONOB or the inscription, or in the field, that had been common on seventh-century solidi of Constantinople disappears after 720. In mainland Italy letters or symbols in the field persisted; a table of those on coins of Rome will be found on p. 88. Others, whether isolated letters or the strange labarum in the field of a Sicilian solidus of Constantine V (Pl. x.15f), are for the most part unexplained.

In the late tenth century accessory symbols came back into fashion, though only on the silver and copper. Tables of the decorations on the obverses and reverses of nomismata of Basil II, and on Class A2 of the Anonymous Folles, will be found on pp. 604–5 and 645. On the fractional silver of the eleventh century similar decorations occur, sometimes on both sides of the Virgin's head, sometimes above and below the inscription. Details will be found under each reign. The large letters in the arms of the cross which often decorate eleventh-century folles are discussed under the heading of inscriptions.

TABLE 17

CHERSON MONOGRAMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Ruler	Monogram, etc.	Reference	
		Page/No.	Plate
Autonomous (or later)	Π (Π̊) X	469/14	XXIX
Michael III (and Basil) (866–7)	MB Π̊X	469/15	XXIX
Basil I	B+ Π̊+	504/17	XXXIII
with Constantine	BA KωT	504/18	XXXIII
Leo VI	ΛЄ	521/9	XXXV
with Alexander	ΛЄ ΛA	522/11	XXXV
Alexander	A Π̊X	525/4	XXXV
Romanus I (920–44)		570–3/30–36	XL
with Christopher	PO KP	571/31	XL
Constantine VII	Kω	570/29, 573/37	XL
with Romanus II		573/38	XL
Romanus II		577/3	XL
Nicephorus II		588/9	XLI
John I		598/8	XLII
Basil II		632/21	XLVII

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BNC	*Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, by C. Morrisson, 2 vols. (Paris, 1970)
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CNI	*Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
Daremberg-Saglio	Daremberg, C. V. and Saglio, E. *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 5 vols. in 9 (Paris, 1877–1919)
DOC	*Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.* I. *From Anastasius I to Maurice (491–602)*, by A. R. Bellinger (Washington, D.C., 1966); II. *From Phocas to Theodosius III (602–717)*, by P. Grierson (1968)
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
HBN	*Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JIAN	*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
Mansi, *Concilia*	Mansi, J. D. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. in 58 (Paris-Leipzig, 1901–27, reprint)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Migne, *PG*	Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris, 1857–66)
MN	*Museum Notes* (American Numismatic Society)
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
N.Circ.	Spink's *Numismatic Circular*
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs (American Numismatic Society)
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift*
PW	Pauly, A. F. von. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart, 1893ff.)
R.	Ratto, R. *Monnaies byzantines* (Sale Catalogue)
RBN	*Revue belge de numismatique*
RIN	*Rivista italiana di numismatica*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
Sabatier	Sabatier, J. *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862)
SCN	*Studii şi cercetări de numismatică*
T.	Tolstoi, J. *Monnaies byzantines* (St. Petersburg, 1912–14)
VV	*Vizantiiskii Vermennik*
W.	Wroth, W. *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908)
ZfN	*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*

SALE CATALOGUES

The following sale catalogues are referred to by the name of the collector only; for further particulars, see *DOC*, I. xix–xxii.

Apostolo Zeno II	Dorotheum 8 June 1956
Bement	Naville VIII, 25 June 1924
Cantacuzene, Prince	*see* "Foreign Prince"
Colonna I	Canessa 3 March 1909
Consul Weber II	Hirsch XXIV, 10 May 1909
"Foreign Ambassador"	Glendining 7 March 1957
"Foreign Prince"	Glendining 8 December 1922
Fürstenberg	Cahn 75, 30 May 1932
Godart	Florange et Ciani, 14 June 1923
Grantley	Glendining 25 July 1944
Hall II	Glendining 16 November 1950
Horsky	Hess 30 April 1917
Larizza	Santamaria 18 June 1928
Lockett VIII	Glendining 26 May 1959
Montagu	Rollin et Feuardent 19 April 1896
Photiadès Pacha	Hoffmann 23 May 1890
Ponton d'Amécourt	Rollin et Feuardent 24 April 1887
Rohde	Hess 24 May 1880
"Russian Nobleman"	Sotheby 2 June 1924
Sambon-Giliberti	Canessa 10 December 1921
Vogel	Hess 194, 25 March 1929
Weber	*see* Consul Weber II

CATALOGUE OF COINS

Explanatory Note

THE arrangement of the coins follows the same pattern as in Vol. II, the sequence of issues being explained, and set out in tabular form where required, in the general Introduction or in the introductions to each reign. References to these classifications will be found in the text. Roman numerals have been used for the classes of gold and silver coins, Arabic ones for those of copper.

Each type has a separate number within each reign. Lowercase letters are used for varieties of the type, the specimens of the same type or the same variety being shown by numerals after a dot. Thus Theophilus 1b.2 is the second specimen of variety (b) of the particular group of coins of Theophilus which is numbered "1" in the catalogue and which in fact forms Class I of this emperor's solidi. The specimens are listed in descending order of weight, unless some other consideration intervenes. Numerals in parentheses in the left-hand column refer to specimens not in the collection but catalogued in a standard work of reference or specialized study. The source of each coin in this collection is given in a footnote bearing the same number as the entry in the catalogue. Each type or variety has a reference to Wroth, Tolstoi (down to the reign of Basil I), and Ratto (W., T., R.), and any relevant monograph where one exists.

Weights are given to the nearest centigram, determined on electric scales. The state of preservation of the coins is noted only where it is unusually bad, or where a coin is pierced or otherwise damaged. This necessarily reduces the value of the weights for scientific purposes, especially where the copper is concerned, but estimates of wear are so subjective that neither Mr. Bellinger nor I have felt justified in including them. The die axis is that of the reverse, the obverse being assumed to be ↑. It is probable that the coins were normally intended to be oriented either ↓ or ↑, but they are generally somewhat out of the vertical and it is difficult to indicate these deviations without exaggerating them. Diameters are given in millimeters and are only approximate, since the coins are never perfectly circular. The specimens illustrated are marked with asterisks, and they bear the same numbers on the plates as they do in the catalogue. The usual abbreviations are used: *N*, El., *Æ*, B, and Æ for gold, electrum, silver, billon, and copper; l. and r. for left and right; obv. and rev. for obverse and reverse. Additional abbreviations are acq. for acquired, ex. for exergue, gl. cr. for globus cruciger, and inscr. for inscription.

Byzantine coins are in general ornamented with a border. This may take various forms: a simple linear border, a broad ring in high relief, one or more circles of dots or pellets, a sequence of reels or rings strung together (reel border), or a circle of closely hatched V's which form a kind of pseudo-wreath, distinguished from a true wreath by the fact that the V's do not spread outward on either side from the bottom of the coin

and meet at the top but instead follow its circumference in the same direction the whole way round. Since these various forms are more easily illustrated than described and are usually clear from the plates, Mr. Bellinger and I have followed the precedent of Wroth and noted the borders only when they characterize a mint or when there is something unusual about them. Mme Morrisson, in her catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale, prefers in her measurements to give the distances between the borders rather than the total diameter of the coins, since in some series (e.g., early sixth-century folles) this is helpful in distinguishing between issues, but I am not persuaded of its superiority in the period covered by this volume.

LEO III the Isaurian (Syrian)

25 March 717 – 18 June 741

Colleague: Constantine V (from 25 March 720)

Background and Chronology

The reign of Leo III is one of the most important in Byzantine history. It brought to an end the succession of short reigns and recurrent military revolts that had characterized the two decades since the deposition of Justinian II in 695. Like Heraclius a century earlier, Leo was fortunate enough to found a dynasty, giving to the Empire the political and constitutional stability it normally possessed only when members of a single family occupied the throne for several generations. Leo had risen to power as general of the Anatolic theme, and his military and administrative abilities were apparent in many aspects of his subsequent government. His administrative and legal reforms, and in particular his publication of the *Ecloga*, were almost as important as his defense of Constantinople in the great siege of 717–18 and his later campaigns against the Saracens. Although his nickname, "the Saracen-minded" (σαρακηνόφρων), reflected mainly the prejudices of those who detested his attitude toward images, the story of his early life shows him in constant diplomatic contact with the caliph or his representatives, and his introduction of the silver miliaresion, copied from the Arabic dirhem, is not the only evidence of his readiness to profit by imitating Saracen models. Since the history of the time was written by clerics, we have the impression that his reign was almost entirely dominated by the Iconoclastic controversy and the disturbances that followed his edict of 730 against images. This was in reality only one aspect of the policy of a great ruler whose energy and sound judgment were responsible for the restoration of the Byzantine State.

The dates of the reign are given differently in the sources and are not quite certain. According to Theophanes the emperor died on 18 June A.M. 6232, during the ninth indiction,[1] i.e., 18 June 741, and this date seems preferable to 18 July, which is given in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*[2] but which may be a slip arising from the fact that the text has two "July" entries immediately following each other. Theophanes gives the length of the reign as 24 years 2 months 25 days, from his accession on 25 March of the fifth indiction, i.e., 717,[3] and these dates are accepted by most modern scholars. The *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus, however, gives 25 years 3 months 14 days,[4] which

[1] Theophanes, A.M. 6232 (ed. C. de Boor, I. 412).

[2] Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 53.

[3] Theophanes, *loc. cit.*

[4] In *Nicephori Opuscula Historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 100.

would place his accession on 4 March 716, and one is a little suspicious of the date 25 March, since it was also that of Constantine's coronation and Theophanes might have made a mistake in his calculations. Neither 4 March nor 25 March agrees with the statement of the *Catalogus* that Theodosius III abdicated on 24 July, though they could be reconciled on the assumption that Leo's proclamation by his troops occurred in March and that his reign was calculated from that date and not, as was the usual practice, from the imperial coronation in Constantinople. In view of the uncertainty, I give the currently accepted dates for the reign, without venturing to decide whether or not they are correct. Constantine V's dates are happily more secure. He was born in the autumn of 718 and baptized on Christmas Day, his mother Maria being given the rank of Augusta at the same time.[5] The child was created co-Augustus by his father on Easter Day, 25 March 720,[6] when less than two years old.

Coinage: Main Features

Leo's coinage presents a number of problems, some as yet unsolved. The fundamental one is that of actually identifying the coins struck during his reign, a matter on which the standard reference works are all seriously astray.

The reign falls into two distinct periods, the three years 717–20 when Leo ruled alone and the two decades 720–41 when he ruled in nominal association with his son. The coinage of the first period has traditionally been augmented by the attribution to it of the whole of the coinage of the usurper Leontius (695–8). The attribution was due to the fact that Leontius used on his coins the name *Leon*, never his full name Leontius, but the attribution was nonetheless made in defiance of common sense, since the two series, the coins of Leontius and those really struck by Leo III, have entirely different imperial portraits. The mistake was corrected by Laffranchi in a masterly article published thirty years ago.[7] The difficulties for the coinage of the period 720–41 arise in part from Constantine V's association of his deceased father with him on his own early coinage, so that one has sometimes difficulty in deciding which coins were struck just before and which just after 741, and in part from the fact that the combination of a senior emperor named Leo with a junior emperor named Constantine was to occur three times in the course of a century: Leo III and Constantine V (720–41), Leo IV and Constantine VI (775–80), and Leo V and Constantine (813–20). Sometimes the distinction between the coinages of the three reigns presents no problem. Only Leo IV could strike solidi with the effigies of several ancestors, and miliaresia giving the co-emperors the title of *basileis Romaion* must belong to Leo V, since this phrase was only introduced on the coinage by Leo V's predecessor Michael I. But in many cases the separation is far from easy. Stylistic criteria and even the portraiture of individual emperors are of little help, for the Isaurian and Amorian periods were ones of exceptional stylistic uniformity and almost

[5] Theophanes, A.M. 6211 (pp. 399–400), amending 25 October to 25 December, as in the Latin version of Anastasius. Baptisms normally took place on one of the great festivals of the Church. Theophanes mentions the ὑπατεία which the newly crowned empress threw to the crowd while returning in procession from Saint Sophia to the Imperial Palace.

[6] Theophanes, A.M. 6212 (p. 401).

[7] "La numismatica di Leonzio II," *Numismatica*, 4 (1938), 73–4; 5 (1939), 7–15, 91–2.

the only difference between the representation of one ruler and that of another is that the senior is shown with a beard and mustache and the junior without them. For many Sicilian and Italian coins there is the further complication that the diameter of the flans was less than that of the dies, so that the inscriptions are largely off flan and one cannot always be sure that one is dealing at all with a Leo-Constantine combination.

Even allowing for these uncertainties, however, it is clear that Leo's role in the history of Byzantine coinage was much more important than was formerly supposed. On the gold, the practice was introduced of making the effigy of the junior colleague the main reverse type of the coin, instead of placing it beside that of the senior emperor on the obverse; it consequently displaced the cross potent which for over a century had been the normal reverse type. The custom of having a bust or similar figure on both sides of the gold coins evidently gave satisfaction and was to be the normal practice in the future, though whether the second effigy was that of a colleague, of a deceased predecessor, or of a religious personage would depend upon circumstances. In silver, Leo's reign saw the introduction of the thin, broad miliaresion which characterizes the middle Byzantine period. It was based in fabric and general design on the Muslim dirhem, but it took over for its reverse type the cross potent on steps which had been dropped from the gold. The "Victory" reference in its inscription (IhSYS XRISTYS ПICA) was also a conscious adaptation of the VICTORIA AVSY(sti) of the former solidus. In the first issue of copper coins (717–20), which are very rare, the decanummia are ordinarily overstruck on half folles of Leo's immediate predecessors, which suggests a revaluation of the solidus in terms of the follis. In 720 a new series of folles, half folles, and decanummia was introduced to celebrate the coronation of Constantine V. These followed the example of the gold in putting the effigy of Constantine on the reverse, but since the traditional M, K, and I were retained the bust of the infant emperor had to be placed above the mark of value. During the 720's, however, the revived follis underwent several reductions in weight, and when a further reform took place in the early 730's the follis and half follis reverted to the traditional design, with two busts side by side on the obverse and the mark of value on the reverse. The reverse type, however, included some innovations, for CON was omitted—since only one mint was by now active in the East, a mint-mark was superfluous—and there was no longer even the pretense of a date, the traditional ANNO and a numeral being replaced by a purely decorative XXX NNN. The number of officina letters was probably reduced, A, B, and Γ being the only ones recorded. On the gold there was even a period during which officina letters were dispensed with altogether.

The distinction between coins of Leontius and those of Leo III now presents no problems. Those of Leontius have a different portrait (fat, rounded face and short beard), a different costume (loros instead of chlamys), some difference in gesture and insignia (when Leontius has an akakia, he raises it above his right shoulder instead of holding it in front of his body), and a different inscription (D LEON PЄ AV instead of DNO LEON PA MYL). A few anomalies exist—Leo III's earliest solidi of Syracuse have a PЄ inscription, his earliest ones of Naples show him wearing a loros—but they create no serious difficulties.

The separation between the last coinages of Leo III and the first of Constantine V is more awkward, and discrepancies between the gold and the copper are hard to account

for. Coins struck before and after 741 show equally the busts of Leo and Constantine, Leo being always bearded and Constantine sometimes so. The obvious solution would be to assign coins with a beardless Constantine to the reign of Leo, when he was still the junior emperor, and those with a bearded Constantine to his own reign. Such an arrangement gives a satisfactory pattern for the gold of Constantinople, where it is confirmed by a change in type, coins with a bearded Constantine showing each emperor holding a cross potent instead of a globus cruciger. But it will not do for the copper. Class 4a of Leo III's folles shows two busts, side by side, each holding an akakia, Leo being bearded and Constantine beardless; Class 4b shows the same two busts, but with Constantine bearded. Class 4b can scarcely be assigned to Constantine's reign, however, for the inscription LЄON S CON places Leo first and implies that he is still alive; there are also folles of Constantine V alone, on which he is shown as much younger and still beardless. Mr. Veglery has suggested to me that the latter coins might belong to Constantine VI, not to Constantine V at all, but folles which are indubitably of Constantine VI all show him associated with Irene, and Officina B does not appear to have survived as late as his reign. It is highly unlikely, however, that Constantine V should be shown first as bearded and subsequently as beardless on coins of his own reign. On those of different reigns, on the other hand, such a sequence, however unlikely in theory, could occur in practice; Heraclius Constantine had been shown as bearded on coins of the later years of Heraclius, while on solidi struck in 641, after his father's death, he is beardless. The same apparently occurred here, and folles of Class 4b are better ascribed to Leo III's last years than to the reign of Constantine V.

So far as dating within the reign is concerned, there is not a great deal to go on. Coins of Leo alone belong to the years 717–20, those of Leo and Constantine to 720–41. Since Leo was already an adult at his accession, his bust remained unchanged throughout his reign, but Constantine is shown first as an infant, subsequently as a boy, and finally as a young man almost fully grown. Small changes also occurred in the inscriptions, the letter form ϽN in the initial DN being altered, late in the reign, to ϽN, which continued under Artavasdus and Constantine V. Coins showing Constantine as an infant are rare and were probably issued only briefly, in 720. Coins showing him as a boy can be conjecturally assigned to the years 720–32, the terminal date being that of the young emperor's fourteenth birthday, when a young man was held by Roman law to have reached the age of puberty (*aetas perfecta*). For the date of the transition from the use of Ͻ to ϽN we have no clues at all, but can perhaps place it *c.*737.

Wroth divided Leo's coins into five classes according to mint: Constantinopolitan, Provincial, Roman, Central and South Italian, and Ravennate. In each case it is necessary to eliminate the coins that belong to Leontius. For the rest, the identification of the first group presents no problem; the types and fabric of Constantinople are easy to recognize. The "Provincial" group is now assigned to Sicily, Syracuse being presumed as the mint. The coins of Rome are for the most part easy to identify, being very distinctive in style and RM being present on one occasion in the field, but a few of those assigned to Rome by Wroth are Sicilian and one is perhaps of Ravenna. "Central and South Italy" is still something of a problem. It includes a group which is, fairly certainly, Neapolitan, and some coins may belong to Ravenna, but isolated specimens remain uncertain. Wroth's

only Ravennate coin is one of Leontius, but Sabatier published a follis of Ravenna which can be attributed with fair certainty to Leo III, and there is some gold that can be attributed to the mint. The Roman gold coins are heavily debased, but the coinage of the peninsula as a whole is surprisingly abundant and in no way reflects the political and religious difficulties which the Iconoclastic policy of the emperor created in the West.

The coinage of the various mints can be summarized as follows:

CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople was the chief mint throughout the reign, and the only mint in the East.

SOLIDI. Two main types of solidus were struck,[8] one having on the reverse the traditional cross potent on steps and the other a bust of Constantine V. In reality they form three classes, the later coins of the second type being distinguished from earlier ones by a redrafting of the reverse inscription. Before the design of Class I was approved some preliminary patterns were made for a solidus with an armored and helmeted bust of the emperor. No strikes in gold are known, but the die or dies were used for ceremonial coins in silver (below, No. 20), and the obverse design was used for the first issue of copper coins of the reign (below, Nos. 24–27).

The obverse type of the three classes of solidus is invariably the facing bust of Leo III, wearing crown and chlamys, and the differentiation between the classes depends on the reverses.

I. Rev. type a cross potent on base and steps.

II. Rev. type the facing bust of Constantine V. The inscription begins ƎN, the form Ə being consistent; Constantine's name normally breaks CONSƬ ANƬ and is followed by an M; and the earlier coins have an officina letter after the M.

III. Same reverse type, but the bust of Constantine is older, the inscription normally begins ϭN instead of ƎN, the M is always absent, and Constantine's name breaks CON SƬANƬ.

Class I. This can be dated to the three years 717–20, and requires little comment. The obverse inscription reads ƎNDLЄO NPAMЧL. Wroth, I believe correctly, extended this D(omi)NO LEON(i) P(erpetuo) A(ugusto) MUL(tos Annos). Since DN traditionally stood for *Dominus Noster* the opening letters could conceivably represent Ə(omino) N(ostr)O, but there had been a tendency on late seventh-century coins to curtail the DN to D, and D(omi)NO is quite acceptable. Bellinger has objected that the third letter has the form D, not O, but this is sometimes found for O on other coins of the period. The solidi of Class III of Justinian II's first reign, for example, have the word *Christos* invariably spelled CRISƬDS (see *DOC*, II. 105, 578ff.).

The only variants in the class are coins on which the officina letter is followed by the letter C, which has already appeared on coins of Theodosius III (see *DOC*, II. 113, 686). Its meaning is unknown.

[8] Cf. A. R. Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, I. The Gold of Leo III and his Successors," *MN*, 13 (1967), 123–6. I have expanded and somewhat modified his conclusions.

Class II. This was issued over a period of some fifteen years, and can be broken down into several sub-classes. On coins of Class IIa, Constantine's head is small, rounded, and childish in appearance, with the ears clearly visible above the curls of hair at either side of the head. On coins of Class IIb the face is slightly older and the hair covers the ears and falls on either side to the nape of the neck. Class IIc has a still older bust. All the coins have the reverse inscription ϽNCONSƬ ANƬINЧSM, which is usually followed either by an abbreviation mark having the form of a small C—it has sometimes been misread as the letter Ƭ—or by an officina letter. The officina letter is normally much smaller than the letters of the inscription and was evidently inserted after the main design of the coin had been cut. It seems likely that the type was originally intended for a temporary special issue struck on the occasion of Constantine's coronation, under which circumstances an officina letter might have been dispensed with. This had been done sometimes for special issues in the past, e.g., consular coins of Tiberius II (*DOC*, I. 268, No. 1). Only when the novel design became permanent was it thought desirable to revive officina letters, though in fact this was done only rather briefly. Since the M after Constantine's name is occasionally extended to ML (below, No. 5.3) it is best interpreted as M(ultos Annos), despite the emperor's name being in the nominative case. That a meticulous observance of the rules of grammar is not to be expected at this period is shown by the occurrence of *Artavasdos Mul(tos Annos)* on the solidi of Artavasdus.

Class III. This class has a larger and maturer bust of Constantine V, but is most easily distinguished from Class II by the omission of M after his name and by the inscription being divided CON SƬAN instead of CONSƬ AN. There are two sub-classes. The earlier one (Class IIIa) has a slightly younger bust of Constantine, the hair coming straight down at the sides of his head instead of in two waves; it also retains the intial Ͻ and the absence of officina letter characteristic of Class II. The later one (Class IIIb) has 6 instead of Ͻ and revives the use of officina letters, these being usually on Leo's side of the coin but sometimes on Constantine's as well. In the latter case the officina letters on the two sides often differ from each other, presumably because a change in practice occurred while the class was being issued, and during the period when dies of the two groups were available the workmen did not trouble to ensure an exact correspondence between those which they were using.[9] The 6NCON SƬAN is sometimes preceded by a ligatured N̓ or by CΓ. Their meaning is unknown, but N̓ sometimes occurs after the inscription on solidi of Constantine V.

SEMISSIS and TREMISSIS. The classes correspond to those of the solidus, but since there are no officina letters on the fractional gold there is no objective way of distinguishing between coins of Class IIb and those of Class IIc. It is necessary to rely upon the size and general appearance of the bust of Constantine, which is not always, when taken by itself, a very satisfactory criterion.

[9] A similar confusion had occurred, for similar reasons, on Class 9 of Constans II's folles; see *DOC*, II. 455–6. In the case of Leo III's coins, the most likely sequence is (1) coins without officina letters, (2) officina letters after Constantine's name, and (3) officina letters after Leo's name, the change from (2) to (3) being made because of the greater space available on Leo's side. Once the latter series had been introduced its officina letter would be regarded as authoritative, and it would be of no consequence if a different one occurred on the other side of the coin.

SILVER COINAGE. The only ceremonial coins of the old pattern belong to the very beginning of the reign. There are two types, one with a helmeted and armored bust which was evidently intended for a solidus but was never used for one, the other with the ordinary solidus obverse of Class I. The reverses are in both cases struck with normal solidus dies of Class I, and only the irregular edges of the flans show that we have to do with ceremonial coins, not counterfeit solidi. After 720 the traditional ceremonial types of silver coin were replaced by the new miliaresia, which with the passage of time came to be accepted as coins for daily use.[10]

The normal silver coins of the reign are the miliaresia bearing the names of Leo and Constantine and introduced after the association of the latter as co-emperor in 720. There is no formal evidence that they go back to this date, but since in subsequent reigns, for the next hundred years, miliaresia were struck only when there were two emperors, it is natural to suppose that they were in each case issued when such coins would have been first required, for distribution on the occasion of a junior emperor's coronation.

The design of the miliaresion, which remained essentially unchanged for a century after its creation, consisted of an obverse bearing an inscription in several lines giving the names of the reigning emperors, followed by ЄC ΘЄЧ bASILIS, i.e., ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλεῖς, "emperors in God," and a reverse bearing a cross potent on base and steps with the inscription, in a mixture involving Greek and Latin elements, reading IhSЧS XRISTЧS ПICA, "Jesus Christ conquers." On each side there is a triple border of dots. The variations in detail, on the coins attributable to Leo III, require little comment. "Jesus" is sometimes spelled hISЧS instead of IhSЧS, not apparently as the result of the two letters being interchanged but through a genuine confusion between *eta* and *iota*. On coins of what appears to be the earliest group there are two slightly larger dots, close together, on the innermost dotted circle just under the steps of the cross. A pellet sometimes follows the obverse inscription. There are some rare coins on which a rosette follows the inscription and there are four rosettes on the innermost circle of dots on the obverse. There seem to be clear cases in which the number of circles round the circumference is two instead of the customary three. These variants, however, can only be recorded; their purpose, if indeed they had any, is unknown.

Under Leo III, but under none of his successors till the eleventh century, a fractional silver coinage was struck. It apparently did not prove a success and only two specimens are known (below, No. 23). The weight is low for a half miliaresion, but the coin is too heavy to be a third. The design is similar to that of the full miliaresion, but the cross stands on a globe instead of on a flat base—there is an obvious parallel with the design of the semissis—and there are only two borders of dots instead of three.

Wroth followed Sabatier in inaugurating the series of miliaresia with Constantine V, or rather, since Constantine's coins are all struck in association with Leo IV and must therefore date from 751 or later, with Artavasdus and Nicephorus, whose coins belong to 742–3. It is inherently more likely, however, that they would date from Leo III, and

[10] The twelfth Hollschek Sale (Dorotheum 18.x.60) included as lot 872 a solidus of Class IIc struck in silver, but it has not the appearance of a ceremonial coin. Occasional "solidi" in silver or base metal occur at all periods of Byzantine history, their function—when they are not contemporary counterfeits—being unknown.

it is now generally agreed that some of the coins formerly attributed to Leo IV must be moved back to the reign of his grandfather.[11] The distinction between the coins of the two emperors depends on the shape of the cross potent. On Leo III's coins it is tall and narrow, like that of the solidus type from which it derived, and has long vertical bars at the ends of the cross-arm, while on Leo IV's coins it is shorter with a broader cross-arm and short ends. Only in extreme cases, however, is the distinction easy to make; often one is left in doubt as to which reign particular coins should best be assigned. The general design of the miliaresion is based on the Arabic dirhem, the elements common to both being the broad, thin flan, contrasting with the thicker and heavier hexagrams of the Heraclian period, the epigraphic character of the obverse type, with an inscription in several lines across the face of the coin, and the triple border of dots. They are independent in weight, however, so that when miliaresia are overstruck on dirhems, as is sometimes the case, the latter have had to be cut down for the purpose.

COPPER COINAGE.[12] Wroth attributed to Leo III, on the authority of Sabatier, only a single follis and a single half follis, but both of these were coins of Leontius, and the copper coinage of the reign has to be disentangled from that formerly ascribed to Constantine V and Leo V. Four classes were struck, the fourth subdividing into two according to whether Constantine is shown as beardless or bearded. Their main characteristics are as follows:

Class 1. 717–20. Folles, half folles, decanummia. Obv. Armored bust. Rev. Mark of value accompanied by date XX or XXI, with CON on follis and decanummium.

This type was unknown until fairly recently. Sixteen specimens of the decanummium, found in American excavations in the Athenian Agora, were published by Miss Thompson in 1940, with a number of other small copper coins of the same period, and more were found subsequently.[13] Despite their poor condition, the very fragmentary character of their inscriptions, and their novel type, they could be attributed with certainty to Leo III, for almost all were overstruck on half folles of Anastasius II (713–16), Philippicus (711–13), or the second reign of Justinian II (705–11). Specimens of the corresponding follis and half follis have only come to light during the preparation of this catalogue.

The obverse type is that of the armored bust used on the ceremonial silver coin alluded to above and apparently first intended for solidi. The reverse types are copied from those of the first year of Justinian II's second reign, though the dates (Regnal Years 20 and 21) were quite irrelevant to that of an issue in the early years of Leo III. The coins can be dated to 717–20, those with a star beside the officina letter or to the left of the mark of value belonging perhaps to 718. Their large size—the decanummia are as big as many of Leo's later folles—and the change in value implied by the frequent overstriking of the decanummia on half folles of preceding emperors suggest that Leo intended to carry

[11] See above, p. 63, for the literature.

[12] This section is based on my article, "The Copper Coinage of Leo III (717–41) and Constantine V (720–75)," *NC*[7], 5 (1965), 183–96, but includes a number of corrections and amplifications on points of detail.

[13] M. Thompson, "Some Unpublished Bronze Money of the Early Eighth Century," *Hesperia*, 9 (1940), 358–80, esp. 370–3. Six further specimens were found in the 1940's, bringing the total up to twenty-two. See M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II. *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (Princeton, 1954), No. 1832.

out a monetary reform like that attempted under Constantine IV, an aspiration emphasized by the revival of the armored bust used by the latter.

Class 2. 720–732? Folles, half folles, decanummia. Obv. Bust of Leo III wearing chlamys. Rev. Mark of value flanked by ANN (vertically) and XX (vertically) beneath an ornate bar, above which is a bust of Constantine V.

These coins were assigned by Wroth and other scholars to Constantine V's reign, but the bust of this emperor is often infantile and there can be no doubt that they belong to the reign of Leo. In design they are the counterparts of the solidi, but since the marks of value differentiating the several denominations of the copper were large numerals, not, as on the gold, varying forms of a cross potent, the details of the reverse designs had to be differently arranged. Wroth suggested that the decorated bar was intended to show the child emperor seated or standing on a balcony, as he in fact would have been at his crowning in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches in the Palace.[14] The meaningless Year XX is carried over from the preceding class; the figure never seems to be XXX, as given by Wroth and as I had assumed it to be in my earlier article. The crowding of the reverse type led to the omission of CON beneath the M on the follis, and once having been dropped it was never restored.

Three subdivisions of the class can be made. The first, Class 2a, consists of very large coins—the folles weigh *c.*10 g. and are *c.*25 mm. in diameter—with an infantile bust of Constantine usually corresponding to that of Class IIa of the gold. They can be dated 720–*c.*721, their exceptionally large size being in part due to the fact that they were intended to celebrate Constantine's association as co-emperor. Classes 2b and 2c are much smaller, weighing *c.*4.5 g. and *c.*3.5 g. respectively, but since the weights of individual specimens of the two classes overlap and little care was taken in using the correct obverse dies for each denomination, they are not always easy to separate from each other. A distinguishing detail seems to be the form of the decorated bar beneath the bust, for that on coins of Class 2b, as on those of Class 2a, is thick and ornate, while that on Class 2c is no more than a straight or dotted line. The officina letter is normally A, but B also occurs and one instance of Γ in Class 2a has been recorded, though whether this continued for Classes 2b and 2c is unknown. The dating is uncertain. If Class 3 can be dated 732 one can presume *c.*721–*c.*725 for Class 2b and *c.*725–732 for Class 2c. The changes in weight presumably had economic implications, but we have no idea of how, at this time, the follis was reckoned in relation to the solidus.

Class 3. 732(?). Folles, half folles. Obv. Busts of Leo III (wearing chlamys) and Constantine (wearing loros) side by side, holding jointly in their right hands a cross potent. Rev. Mark of value between XXX (vertically) and NNN (vertically).

Coins of this type, which are very rare and have no obverse inscription, have been doubtfully attributed to Justinian II and Tiberius (Bertelè, Miss Thompson) and to Leo V and Constantine (Tolstoi).[15] A date as early as Justinian II is excluded by the absence of CON and the use of the XXX NNN formula, a date as late as Leo V by the general appearance of the coins and by the fact of their being sometimes of Officina B,

[14] Theophanes, A.M. 6212 (ed. de Boor, I. 401).

[15] See below, p. 260, refs. to Nos. 36a.2, 36b, 37.

which had disappeared well before the end of the eighth century. The reign of Artavasdus and Nicephorus, an obvious possibility, is excluded by their being frequently overstruck by coins of Class 4b.[16] This seems to determine their place in Leo III's reign, and I would tentatively assign them to 732, when Constantine attained his legal majority at the age of fourteen. The XXX NNN is a purely decorative development arising from the fact that the mark of value had now been restored to its original size, but that, although there was space on either side of it, a revival of the practice of dating was felt to be pointless. There seems no reason to accept the suggestion of Lambros and Wroth that XXX NNN stood for Χριστὸς νίκα, thrice repeated.[17]

Class 4. 732(?)–741. Folles, half folles, decanummia. Obv. Busts of Leo III and Constantine facing, each wearing chlamys and holding an akakia. Rev. As Class 3.

There are two subdivisions to this class. On coins of Class 4a, which seems to be the rarer of the two, Constantine is represented as beardless and the inscription starts at the top of the coin, between the emperors' heads, and is divided LЄON S CON. On coins of Class 4b Constantine is bearded and the inscription starts to the left, the normal division and reading being LЄ ONS CON. The varying arrangement of the inscription is without significance in itself, but it shows that the moneyers had been provided with a new model and followed it very closely. A noticeable feature in both cases is the omission of any DN before or PA MЧL after the emperors' names. Here again, once a breach with the past had been made with the inscriptionless Class 3, there was no necessary return to the full traditional practice when an inscription was revived on Class 4, but to only as much of it as was felt to be still useful. As for the chronology of the class, the dates suggested in the text (732[?]–*c.*735, *c.*735–41) are no more than approximations.

Sicily

Gold and copper continued to be struck in Sicily under Leo III, but the identification of the gold is less simple than for earlier emperors.[18] This is not true of the copper, for although there were two considerable changes in type and fabric during the reign, the first and second classes of coin retained the mint-mark SCL and the third, which Wroth described as "Provincial" but which is now attributed to Sicily on the basis of find evidence, inaugurated a general type which was to be used for the next half century. The second and third types indicate a tendency to refer to Constantinopolitan models which had been conspicuously absent from the very varied coinage of the island under Leo's predecessors. The gold is more of a problem, for like the copper, it abandons certain traditional features—notably the linear border and its use of horizontally distorted letter forms—and there is at the same time no mint-mark to provide a definite localization for the new types. Provenance and stylistic resemblance to the copper coins are in consequence our only guides.

[16] This proof would be more cogent if the overstriking were by coins of Class 4a, but I have not met with any case of this. If Class 4b really belonged to Constantine V's reign, as is possible but unlikely, then the coins of Class 3 could belong to that of Artavasdus.

[17] *RN*², 4 (1859), 210–11, summarizing Lambros' publication of a follis of Irene in the issue of Νέα Πανδώρα (Athens) for February 1857; Wroth, p. 383, note 1, and p. 400, note 2.

[18] The standard guide is D. Ricotti Prina, "La monetazione siciliana nell'epoca bizantina," *Numismatica*, 16 (1950), 26–60.

The gold coinage forms three classes:

Class I. 717–720. Solidi. Obv. Facing bust of Leo. Rev. Cross potent on steps, P in right field, star at end of inscription.

This requires no comment. The reverse type is identical with that of Theodosius III (*DOC*, II. 668, No. 7), though the meaning of the P and the star are unknown. The coin is characteristically Sicilian in style and fabric. Only the solidus is recorded, but semisses and tremisses were probably struck.

Class II. 720–*c*.735. Solidi, semisses, tremisses. Obv. Bust of Leo III. Rev. Bust of Constantine V.

The type is that of Class II of Constantinople, the bust of Constantine corresponding to that of Class IIb but the fabric and style being quite different. The traditional linear border of Sicilian gold has been abandoned and the letters of the inscriptions are small, irregular, and badly formed. The rough edges and general appearance of the coins, together with the close resemblance of the busts to those on Class 2 of the Sicilian copper, justify Ricotti's attribution to Sicily.

Class III. *c*.735–741. Solidi, semisses, tremisses. Type similar to the last, but of much superior style, with an older bust of Constantine and the inscription beginning 6.

There are two main subdivisions to this class, one with C in the obverse field and I in the reverse field, the other with no letter in either field, but mules between the two classes occur and there are consequently coins having a letter in one field only. The class is very uniform stylistically, and specimens are not uncommon. Wroth attributed it to Rome, but the coins are of quite different style and fabric from those of that mint, besides being of good quality gold. Ricotti does not claim them for Sicily, but the attribution seems to me fairly certain. The portraiture corresponds very closely to that of the last class of Leo's Sicilian copper, the attribution of which seems assured, and the C and I in the obverse and reverse fields of the earliest coins in the class are best interpreted as CI(κελία). The shift from the Latin SCL to a Greek form is paralleled by the Greek inscriptions ΛΕΟΝ and ΚΩΝS ΔΕCΠ on the copper, while CIK′ itself occurs as a mint-mark on Sicilian material later in the century.

COPPER COINAGE. The follis was the only denomination struck, and Leo's reign marks the passage from a general type which had dominated Sicilian coinage since the reign of Constans II to that which was to be characteristic of it during the next half century. Sandwiched between them was a type copied directly from that of Constantinople in the 720's. The main features of the four classes are as follows:

Class 1. 717–720. Obv. Standing figure of Leo III. Rev. Large M between two branches, with monogram above and SCL in exergue.

This type requires little comment, since it differs in no essential features from those of Leo's predecessors. Leo is shown helmeted, as on the Class 1 of Constantinople. Leo's monogram closely resembles that of Anastasius II (see *DOC*, II. 111, 679), but the letters to the left and right of the cross are Λ and Є respectively, not A and C.

Class 2. 720. Obv. Facing busts of Leo III and Constantine V. Rev. Same as Class 1.

The existence of this class is known from a single specimen. The obverse type is the traditional method of showing two co-emperors, while the reverse carries on that of the

preceding class. One may assume that the coins were struck when the news of Constantine's coronation reached Sicily, but before any specimens of the new Constantinopolitan coins were available for imitation.

Class 3. 721–*c.*730. Obv. Facing bust of Leo III. Rev. Facing bust of Constantine V above an M, on either side of which are SC L.

This is a direct imitation of the Constantinopolitan issue which began in 720, but even the largest coins have a bust of Constantine corresponding to that of the Constantinopolitan solidi of Class IIb, not those of Class IIa, so it evidently started a little later. Marked reductions in size and weight occurred during the period of issue as they did at Constantinople, the earliest coins being *c.*30 mm. in diameter and weighing *c.*6 g., the smallest being *c.*15 mm. and weighing *c.*2 g.

*Class 4. c.*731–741. Obv. Standing figure of Leo III, bearded, wearing chlamys and holding an akakia, between ΛЄON and ΔЄCΠ inscribed vertically. Rev. A similar figure of Constantine, beardless, between KѠNS and ΔЄCΠ (vertically).

This type is peculiar to Sicily and different from anything struck in the East, but is not quite as original as appears at first sight. Its essential aspects are derivative, the Sicilian contribution being a preference for a standing figure as the type, the Constantinopolitan one being the placing of the junior emperor on the reverse and the representation of each emperor wearing a chlamys and holding an akakia, both features being taken from Class 4 of Leo's folles of Constantinople. The copying of a standing figure from a type with a bust is probably the explanation of the distorted proportions of the Sicilian designs, with huge heads perched on minuscule bodies. Innovations, on the other hand, are the absence of any mark of value and any indication of where the coins were struck, as well as the use of the Greek title ΔЄCΠ(ότης) for the first time in Byzantine numismatics. The one parallels the dropping of CON at Constantinople and the other makes good the abandonment of DN at the same mint, besides being a testimony to the strength of the Greek element in southern Italy and Sicily. This had been greatly strengthened during the preceding half century through the arrival of Greek-speaking refugees from the Balkans. Leo's transfer of these provinces from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome to that of Constantinople must also have had its repercussions outside the purely ecclesiastical sphere.

Naples

The coinage of Naples under Leo III was limited to solidi and tremisses of base gold. They have no specific mint-mark, but carry on stylistically from the Neapolitan coins of the late seventh and early eighth centuries. The gold is also of the same slightly greenish tinge and the surface rather soapy to the touch. Besides the general similarity in style and fabric, the earlier issues of Leo III have a six-pointed star in the reverse field, which carries on the star that terminated the reverse inscriptions under Tiberius III, Anastasius II, and Theodosius III. Class III, which resembles the earlier coins in fabric but differs from them somewhat in style, shows a relatively mature bust of Constantine V and must date from late in the reign. It is peculiar in having Λ (for Λέων) and K (for Κωνσταντῖνος) in the reverse field, both letters being unnecessary in view of the fact that the busts are already identified by the inscription.

A half follis having a facing bust wearing a chlamys and an inscription read as NΔ ΛЄO was published by Cordero di San Quintino and reproduced by Sambon in his study of the coinage of Naples.[19] Its large size and the fact that it is more or less circular and not rectangular in shape make it more likely that it is a misread specimen of the half follis of Constantine IV (*DOC*, II. 572, No. 79 bis).

ROME

The coinage of Rome during Leo's reign consisted almost entirely of gold, apparently struck in fair quantity. The coins are of very poor quality, usually greyish yellow or greyish black in color, and are, in general, little worn, as if they circulated on only a limited scale. No analyses are available, but on the evidence of color many of the coins must be only eight carats fine or less; some appear to contain no gold at all. They are stylistically very uniform, with simplified and highly stylized portraits and very characteristic letter forms, notably a T with an abnormally elongated upper bar (⊤). Though RM occurs in the field on only one variety of tremissis, the general resemblance between the coins is so strong that their attribution is rarely in doubt. No semisses were struck, and after 720 the solidi and tremisses are identical in type and differentiated from each other only in size.

Coins of Leo alone (717–20) are rare. There are two varieties, one with L✱ and the other with Δ✱ in the reverse field. They follow on naturally from the solidi and tremisses of Theodosius III, under whom L✱ also occurs.

The coins of Leo and Constantine (720–41) are fairly common, but are difficult to classify satisfactorily. Almost all have symbols in the reverse field:[20] one star, two stars, RM, a star and one or two letters, two stars and a letter, or a letter and a cross. Only the earliest and the latest coins among them can be dated with any certainty. The earliest, with one star in the field, have a bust of Leo closely resembling that of the coins of 717–20 and one of Constantine copied from the Constantinopolitan solidi of 720 (Class IIa). The latest, with two stars in the field, have busts identical in style with those of Artavasdus and Nicephorus (742/3), both sets of coins having also two stars in the field.

Between these two extremes the remaining coins can be arranged in rough chronological order, determined partly by stylistic considerations, partly by the color of the metal, and partly in accordance with the sequence of letters on the assumption that these follow one another in alphabetical order. But there are some irregularities in the stylistic pattern, color is not a very reliable guide to fineness, and a satisfactory explanation for the letters has still to be found. Since these go up to IЄ, i.e., 15, one would expect them to stand for indictions, with coins of Indiction 15 belonging to 731/2 and the others earlier or later. Such an arrangement, however, presents a number of difficulties. Coins with the letters A–Γ, for example, would have to belong to the 730's, since Indictions 1–3 in the preceding cycle antedated the association of Constantine as Augustus in 720, while the evidence of style suggests that they are earlier; they have a bust of Leo different from that of all the

[19] "Le monete del ducato napoletano," *RIN*, 3 (1890), 450, No. 10, Pl. x. 8. It is reproduced again in the *CNI*, XIX. 3, No. 1, Pl. I. 8.

[20] See Table 9 in the Introduction, p. 88.

later coins, when his mustache is represented as a straight line from one side to the other of an oval-shaped face. At present I see no satisfactory solution to the problem, and the arrangement of sub-classes in the catalogue (Nos. 66–91) must be regarded as only provisional, though it probably corresponds approximately to the order of issue. For some varieties only solidi are known, for others only tremisses, but since the missing items will probably turn up in due course, it is convenient, for purposes of reference, to provide a system of numbering which is the same for the two denominations.

Only one type of silver coin was struck at Rome. The obverse shows the imperial bust between two stars, while the reverse is remarkable in having as its type what is virtually a papal monogram, the letters GREO (for GREGORius) at the ends of the arms of a cross. The coin has been very variously attributed: to Gregory, exarch of Africa, who revolted against Constans II in 647;[21] to Duke Gregory of Benevento (732–9);[22] and, as here, to Pope Gregory III (731–41) in association with Leo III.[23] The first of these is impossible, since the coin is eighth-century in style and fabric, and the second highly unlikely, since the style is not in the least Beneventan and no silver coins of Benevento are known before Grimoald III introduced denari of Frankish pattern after 788. The style is that of the mint of Rome in the second quarter of the eighth century and the portrait that of Leo III toward the end of his reign; the two stars, indeed, suggest that the coin may have been struck in 740/1, at the same time as the tremissis No. 91. This means that the "monogram" must be that of Pope Gregory III (731–41), not Gregory II (715–31). Its presence on a coin is a remarkable symbol of papal independence, and makes one suspect that some of the unexplained letters in the field of Italian coins of the late seventh and early eighth centuries may be the initials of imperial officials.

The only copper coin attributable to Rome is a rare thirty nummus piece with a facing head, beardless, on the obverse, and XXX, with ROM in the exergue, on the reverse (below, No. 93). It belongs to a group of coins which can be dated *c.*690–*c.*720,[24] and the extremely close resemblance of the broad, childish face and rounded chin to the portrait of the infant Constantine V on some of Leo's tremisses of the early 720's (below, Nos. 76, 77) leads me to attribute it to Leo III's reign. It is odd that such a coin should have Constantine's portrait and not Leo's, but the anomaly could perhaps be explained if it initially represented a special issue in honor of the new Augustus.

It seems to me possible that a coin of the same type and fabric, but with an older bust,[25] should be attributed to Leo III rather than to the first reign of Justinian II, but without further evidence one would not be justified in altering the accepted classification.

[21] So Penon in *RBN*², 6 (1856), 188–92 (cf. Thomsen's note on p. 492); J. Friedlaender, "Monnaie de Gregorius, exarque d'Afrique," *ibid.*³, 1 (1857) 22–4.

[22] So Wroth (*BMC*, I, p. xxviii, note 2; *BMC Vand.*, 160–1), following Muratori, Promis, and others. The attribution is rightly rejected by A. Sambon, *Recueil des monnaies médiévales du Sud d'Italie avant la domination des Normands* (Paris, 1919), 5.

[23] So G. Sambon, *Repertorio*, No. 681, and L. Laffranchi, "Il tremisse di Ariperto con Iffo e le prime monete beneventane," *Rassegna Numismatica*, 31 (1934), 35.

[24] *DOC*, II. 50–1.

[25] *BNC*, 414 and Pl. lxii. RO/Æ/01. The bust is somewhat different from that of the similar coin attributed to Justinian II, perhaps without adequate justification, in *DOC*, II, Pl. XXXIX. 69.

A surprising feature of the coinage of Rome is that its existence seems to have been unaffected by the political difficulties of Leo's reign in Italy, first the revolt caused by his heavy taxation and subsequently the long-drawn-out acerbities of the Iconoclastic dispute. Despite the continued presence of imperial officials, effective control over the city was by now almost completely in papal hands. Only a few years earlier the Monothelete leanings of Philippicus had resulted in a refusal at Rome to strike coins bearing the emperor's effigy.[26] Now things went differently; the Lombard peril was so serious that however outrageous an emperor's conduct might be, no pope with any claims to farsightedness could lightly permit any weakening of the political link with Byzantium. Gregory II actively discouraged a movement to elect a rival emperor and send him to Constantinople, on the grounds that Leo might still be converted to better ways of thinking,[27] and even after the exarch Eutychius' attempt on his life he urged the Roman people to remain loyal to the Empire.[28] Papal documents continued to be dated by the regnal years of "the most pious emperors" Leo and Constantine. These are facts which go far to discount the authenticity of Gregory's two famous letters to Leo: these represented the terms which the papal chancery would like to have used rather than anything actually sealed and dispatched. It is possible, however, that the quite unprecedented debasement of the coinage may have been an indirect result of the quarrel, for Leo's confiscation of the revenues of the papal domains in South Italy and Sicily, which were reckoned to be worth annually three and a half talents of gold, i.e., 350 pounds or over 25,000 solidi, must have seriously reduced the supplies of bullion available in the city.[29]

Ravenna

The only coin attributed by Wroth to the mint of Ravenna under Leo III is a follis of Leontius (p. 377, No. 72, Pl. XLIII. 21). The *CNI* (vol. X, p. 680) likewise lists only folles. Two of its entries (Nos. 1, 2) represent coins of Leontius; they refer, in fact, to a single specimen, that in the British Museum. No. 3 is taken from Sabatier (Pl. XXXIX. 19) and shows on the obverse a bust wearing a chlamys and an inscription read as LEO NPAMYL; it may possibly be of Leo III, but without having examined it—Sabatier does not give its whereabouts—one cannot be sure. No. 4, which the *CNI* illustrates (Pl. XLIII. 15), seems to have a bust holding a spear in front, which would make it a follis of Tiberius III like that in *DOC*, II, Pl. XLII. 48. 1.

Three tremisses can be assigned to Ravenna with some confidence:

(a) a coin in the British Museum of Leo III alone, with Θ in the reverse field. The style of the bust is the same as that of occasional issues ascribed to Ravenna in preceding

[26] *DOC*, II. 665.

[27] *Vita Gregorii II*, c. 184 (in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I. 404–5).

[28] *Ibid.*, c. 185 (p. 407): *ne desisterent ab amore vel fide Romani imperii.*

[29] Theophanes, A.M. 6224 (ed. de Boor, I. 410). In Western usage a talent normally means a pound, but such a figure would be derisory in this context and Theophanes almost certainly uses it for the old unit of 100 pounds (*centenarium*). The wealth of the Papal See was at this time very great, despite the losses consequent on the Lombard conquest of so much of Italy. When Duke John of Naples recaptured Cumae from the Lombards in 717, thus reestablishing land communications between his city and Rome, Gregory II rewarded him with seventy pounds of gold for his efforts (*Vita Gregorii*, c. 181; pp. 400–1).

reigns, as can be seen in Laffranchi's illustration of the sequence,[30] and Θ is a common symbol on Ravennate coins.

(b) another coin in the British Museum, having a bust of Leo III on the obverse and a very early one of Constantine V on the reverse. It goes stylistically with the preceding coin.

(c) a coin of Leo III and Constantine V (older bust) published by Penon.[31] It has a large I in the reverse field, and since it links up with a series of dated coins of Constantine V which can be assigned to Ravenna with certainty—it may indeed have been found with them—it must belong to the same mint. The letters in the reverse fields of Constantine's coins are those of a number of indictions in the 740's, so the I on Leo's coin should date it to the tenth indiction, i.e., to 741/2. This indiction did not start till two months after Leo's death, but since the news would have taken at least this long to reach Ravenna the coin could have been struck in the last months of 741.

Uncertain Italian Mints

There remain a number of coins of Leo III alone, or of Leo III and Constantine V, which are certainly of Italian origin but which cannot be easily fitted into the stylistic pattern of the issues of Syracuse, Naples, Rome, and Ravenna. Some of them are catalogued below, Nos. 97 ff., but the list is practically limited to those here or in the British Museum or in Tolstoi, and so is far from complete. It could have been extended without difficulty, but in the present state of our knowledge it seemed pointless to add to it a further series of stylistically unrelated pieces from various sources. The proper study of these coins, which could only be undertaken after a systematic search for material in Italian and other collections, is a task for the future. Only such a study will disclose how many of the coins are the products of known mints but not easily assignable to them on account of vagaries of style—one probably anticipates too high a degree of stylistic uniformity in a mint, particularly in the conditions of eighth-century Italy—how many others are the products of temporary mints whose existence is not at present suspected, and how many are no more than contemporary counterfeits.

[30] "La numismatica di Leonzio II," *Numismatica*, 5 (1939), 10–11, Pls. III, VI [= IV in text].

[31] Below, note to No. 96.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			∂NDLEO NPAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	VICTORIA AVSY Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
			(a) Nothing after officina letter		
1a	Ⅳ 4.45	21 ↓	Ends M[	At end, A	
*1b	Ⅳ 4.42	21 ↓	Ends MYLA; no circlet on crown	At end, B	
1c.1	Ⅳ 4.51	20 ↓	O for D	At end, Є	
1c.2	Ⅳ 4.49	20 ↓		At end, Є	
*1c.3	Ⅳ 4.37	21 ↓		At end, Є	
*1d	Ⅳ 4.49	21 ↓	Ends MYLA	At end, S	
1e.1	Ⅳ 4.45	21 ↓	Ends MYL·	At end, H	

1a Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
W. 5 = T. 16, R. —
The hoard from which this and a number of other coins in the Whittemore Collection are derived is that whose contents are summarized by S. Vryonis, "An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Coins (668–741) from the Thomas Whittemore Collection and the Numismatic Evidence for the Urban History of Byzantium," *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, I (Belgrade, 1963), 291–300. It was found at Liopesi, near Athens, in or shortly before 1946, and contained fifty-one coins, but owing to inadequate labelling they cannot now be satisfactorily identified. See *DOC*, II. 532, note to No. 17.2, and Index.

1b Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. 1727

1c.1–3 Whittemore
W. 6, T. 17, R. —

1d Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. —, R. —

1e.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1e.2	N	4.45	21	↓		At end, H	717–720
1e.3	N	4.40	20	↓	Ends MYL·	At end, H	
(1f)	N	4.42	19		(W. 7 = T. 18)	At end, Θ	
*1g	N	4.34	21	↓	Ends MYL·	At end, I	
					(b) C after officina letter		
(2a)	N	4.5	20		(T. 20)	At end, ΔC	
(2b)	N		20		(Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel, Auction XI, 23.i.53, lot 257)	At end, ZC	
					Class II		
					Same inscription and type, but inscription regularly ends MYL·	ƆNCONSƬ ANƬINYSM Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	
					(a) Constantine's head very small, his hair not covering his ears		720
*3a.1	N	4.44	20	↓	Same die as 3b	Ends YMᶜ Same die as 3b	
3a.2	N	4.41	20	↓	Same die as 3a	Ends YMᶜ Same die as 3a	

1e.2 Friend 1957
1e.3 Whittemore
1g Whittemore
W. —, T. 19, R. —
3–5 The dates suggested for these are conjectural. On the characteristics of the various groups, see above, pp. 229–30.
3a.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3b	Ꝡ	4.39	20	↓		At end, B	720
3c	Ꝡ	4.44	20	↓		At end, Γ	
3d	Ꝡ	4.43	21	↓		At end, Z	
*3e.1	Ꝡ	4.46	21	↘		At end, H	
3e.2	Ꝡ	4.46	20	↓		At end, H	
*3e.3	Ꝡ	4.43	21	↓		At end, H	
3e.4	Ꝡ	4.35	21	↙		At end, H	
	pierced						
*3f	Ꝡ	4.45	20	↙		At end, I (altered from A?)	
					(b) Constantine's head slightly larger and older, with longer hair		720–*c.* 725
*4a.1	Ꝡ	4.46	21			At end, A	
4a.2	Ꝡ	4.44	20			At end, A	
4b.1	Ꝡ	4.41	20			At end, 6	
4b.2	Ꝡ	4.35	20			At end, B	
*4c	Ꝡ	4.43	20	↓		At end, Γ	

3b Peirce 1948
W. —, T. —, R. —
3c Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —
3d Peirce 1948 from Raymond ii. 30
W. —, T. —, R. —
3e.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman v. 28
W. —, T. —, R. —
3e.2 Peirce 1948 ffrom Hirsch vi. 30
3e.3–4 Whittemorerom Liopesi Hoard
3f Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —
4a.1 Whittemore
W. 14 = T. 58, 60, R. —
4a.2 Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
4b.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond i. 29
W. —, T. —, R. —
4b.2 Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
The officina letter is badly formed and could be H.
4c Peirce 1948 acq. ii. 24
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*4d.1	N	4.42	20	↙		At end, Z	720–*c.* 725
4d.2	N	4.37	21	↓		At end, Z	
*4e	N	4.45	20	↓		At end, Θ	
*4f	N	4.46	20	↓		No letter at end	
					(c) Constantine's head still larger; instead of an officina letter, an abbreviation mark (ᶜ) normally follows the M on the reverse		*c.* 725–732
5.1	N	4.46	20	↙			
*5.2	N	4.44	21	↓			
*5.3	N	4.46	22	↓	Ends MЧL	Ends ML	
*5.4	N	4.43	21	↓	Ends MЧ·	Ends MM	
*5.5	N	4.47	20	↓	Ends MЧ·	Ends M	
*5.6	N	4.47	20	↓	Ends MЧL		
5.7	N	4.45	20	↓	Ends MЧL		
5.8	N	4.43	21	↓			
	pierced						
*5.9	N	4.43	20	↓	Ends MЧL		
*5.10	N	4.42	21	↓	Ends MЧ·	Ends M	
5.11	N	4.80	20	↓		Ends M	
	with ring						

4d.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
4d.2 Schindler 1960 from Egger 10. i. 16
4e Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
4f Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
5.1–2 Whittemore
W. 13 = T. 57, 56, 59, 68, R. 1735
5.3 Whittemore
The ML at the end stands for *Multos*.
5.4 Whittemore
The MM at the end is a die-sinker's error.
5.5–8 Whittemore
5.9–10 Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
5.11 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class III		
			Constantine's bust large, no M after his name		
			Similar inscr. but usually begins 6 (not ϑ) and the MЧL is followed by an officina letter Same type	6NCONS ƬANƬIПЧS Same type, but bust more mature	
			(a) Obv. and rev. inscriptions begin ϑ		732–*c.* 737
*6.1	Ꝗ 4.46	20 ↓	Ends MЧL		
*6.2	Ꝗ 4.42	20 ↓	Ends MЧL	Ends ПЧS·	
			(b) Obv. and rev. inscriptions begin 6		*c.* 737–741
*7a.1	Ꝗ 4.46	22 ↓	Ends MЧL	C ΓCNCONS ƬANƬI NЧS·	
*7a.2	Ꝗ 4.44 pierced	21 ↘	Ends MЧL'		
*7a.3	Ꝗ 4.43 pierced	21 ↓	Ends MЧL'		
7b.1	Ꝗ 4.45		(T. 61) At end, Δ	At end, A	

6–7 This class is distinguished from its predecessor by the disappearence of M after Constantine's name, by the inscriptional break CONS ƬAN (instead of CONSƬ AN), by Constantine's larger and more mature bust, and on most coins by the letter form 6 instead of ϑ and by the presence of officina letters. These are normally different on the two sides of the coin, a paradoxical arrangement discussed above, p. 230. The arrangement of coins below is based on the letters occurring on the side with Leo's name.

6.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto 9. xii. 30, lot 1734
W. —, T. 54–5, R. 1734

6.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman xii. 27

7a.1 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1649
W. —, T. —, R. —
The CΓ preceding the reverse inscription is unexplained.

7a.2–3 Whittemore
W. 11–12 = T. 67, R. —
Wroth read the abbreviation mark after the MЧL as a Ƭ. The reverse inscription on W. 12 begins 6ONCONS.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(7b.2)	Ꝗ	4.41	20		(W. 8 = T. 62) At end, Δ	At end, I	*c.* 737–741
(7c.1)	Ꝗ	4.5	20		(T. 63) At end, Є	Ends ƧINЧΘ	
(7c.2)	Ꝗ	4.45			(T. 64) At end, Є	At end, I	
*7d	Ꝗ	4.30	20	↓	At end, S	Inscr. preceded by N and ends ƧINЧΘ	
7e.1	Ꝗ	4.47	20	↓	At end, Z	Ends ƧINЧS	
(7e.2)	Ꝗ	4.41	21		(W. 9 = T. 65) At end, Z	Ends ƧINЧΘ	
*7f.1	Ꝗ	4.45	21	↓	At end, H	Inscr. preceded by N	
*7f.2	Ꝗ	4.45	20	↓	At end, H	Inscr. preceded by N	
(7g)	Ꝗ	4.50			(T. 66) At end, I	Ends ƧINЧS	
					SEMISSIS		
					Class 1		
					Same inscr., but begins ɔ	VICTORIAAVƧЧS	717–720
					Same type	Cross potent on globe	
*8	Ꝗ	2.17	18	↙	ɔNDLЄO N[ ]ЧL	VI[ ]ORIAVƧЧS	

7d Peirce 1948 from Schulman x.31
W. —, T. —, R. —
The initial N, which occurs elsewhere in this series (Nos. 7f.1 and 7f.2 below) and after the inscription on some solidi of Constantine V (below, p. 299, Nos. 1e.1, 1e.2), is unexplained. There are other cases of the final S of *Constantinus* being altered to a Θ instead of this letter being added after the word.

7e.1 Schindler 1960 from Glendining sale 17. ii. 37, lot 56
W. 10, T. —, R. —

7f.1–2 Whittemore from Liopesi Hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —

8–19 The classes of the semisses and tremisses follow the general pattern of those of the solidi. See above, p. 230.

8 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Same inscr. and type	∂NCON STA NTINY SMc Same type as Class II of solidus, but Constantine holds in r. hand, by its shaft, a cross potent on globe	720–732
			(a) Constantine's head very small, his hair not covering his ears		720
(9)	Æ 2.15	17	(T. 93)		
			(b) Constantine's face slightly older, with longer hair		720–*c.* 725
*10	Æ 2.18	18 ↙		∂NCON[S]TA NTINY SM·	
			(c) Constantine's face still older		*c.* 725–732
*11	Æ 1.94 plugged	18 ↓		∂NCONSTA NTINY SM·	
			Class III		
			Constantine's bust larger, no M after his name		
			Same inscr. and type	Similar inscr. and type, but inscr. breaks CON STA and is without final M	732–741

10 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. (Constantine V) 11, T. —, R. —
11 Schindler 1960 acq. Vienna 18. viii. 32
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Inscriptions begin ∂		
*12	Æ	2.06	17	↓	∂NLEO NPAMYL	∂ CON STANTINY	732–*c.* 737
					(b) Inscription(s) begin 6		*c.* 737–741
*13	Æ	2.22	18	↓	6NDLEO NPAMYL	CON TANTINYS Adult portrait	
					TREMISSIS		
					Class I		
					Same inscr., but begins ∂ Same type	VICTORIAAVSYS Cross potent on base. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
*14	Æ	1.45	18	↓			
					Class II		
					Same inscr. and type	∂NCON STA NTINY SMc Same type as Class II of solidus, but Constantine holds in r. hand, by its shaft, a cross potent on base	720–732

12 Whittemore
W. 16 = T. 94, R. 1736

13 Whittemore
W. —, T. 92, R. —
The omission of an S before T in Constantine's name is a die-sinker's error. A specimen in the BN, like this one, has no initial 6, but one is present on T. 92 (= Montagu 1184). Semisses of this class are usually larger than earlier ones, T. 92 being 19 mm., virtually the same size as a solidus, but one published by H. Goodacre, "A Rare Semissis of Leo III and His Son Constantine V," *N.Circ.*, 42 (1934), 345–7, is of normal size (14 mm.).

14 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) Constantine's head very small, his hair not covering his ears		720
*15	Æ 1.40 pierced	17 ↓			
			(b) Constantine's face slightly older, with longer hair		720–*c.* 725
*16.1	Æ 1.46	17 ↓	Ends MЧ	Ends M	
*16.2	Æ 1.44	16 ↓	]O NPAMЧL	ƏN[ ]SƬA NƬINЧSML	
*16.3	Æ 1.44 pierced	16 ↙	ƏNDLЄO NPA[	ƏNCO[ ]SƬA N[ ]N ЧSM	
			(c) Constantine's face still older		*c.* 725–732
*17.1	Æ 1.44	17 ↓	Ends MЧ·	ƏN [ ]SƬA NƬINЧSM·	
*17.2	Æ 1.33	16 ↓	ƏNDLЄO NPAM	ƏN CONSƬ[	
			Class III		
			Constantine's bust larger, no M after his name		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type, but inscr. breaks CON SƬA and is without final M	732–741

15 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
16.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
W. (Constantine V) 12, T. —, R. 1737
16.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman xii. 27
16.3 Whittemore
17.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, T. (Constantine V) 11, R. —
17.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Inscriptions begin ∂		732–*c.* 737
*18a.1	A/	1.43	16	↓	∂NLEO NPAMYL·	]CON STANTIL	
*18a.2	A/	1.40	17	↓	∂NCONSTANTINYSM	∂N CON STANTINYS	
*18a.3	A/	1.32	16	↓	∂NDLEO PAMYL[	]N CON [S]TANT INYS	
					(b) Inscriptions begin 6		*c.* 737–741
*18b	A/	1.39	16	↘	6NLEO NPAMY	6 CON STANT	
*18c	A/	1.33	17	↓	6NDLEO NPAMYLS	6 CON [ ]TINY Much older portrait	
					HALF TREMISSIS		
					Class II		
					Constantine's bust small, but no M after his name		
					Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type, but inscr. breaks ST – A and Constantine holds gl. cr.	720–*c.* 725
(19)	A/	0.71	13		∂LEO NMYL' (Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel, Sale XIII, 17. vi. 54, lot 846)	∂CONST ANTINYS	

18a.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. (Constantine V) 9, 10, R. —

18a.2 Whittemore
The obverse inscription is a die-sinker's error, of a kind that occasionally occurs; cf. *DOC*, I. 237, No. 128 (Justinian's name on a coin of Justin and Sophia). Prof. Bellinger and I were for some time inclined to attribute this coin to the early years of Constantine V's reign, despite the very different portraits of "Constantine" on its two sides, but the ∂ dates it some years before Leo III's death.

18b Peirce 1948 from Schulman 1927
W. —, T. —, R. —

18c Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan 1935
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					SILVER		
					CEREMONIAL ISSUES		
					Class I		
					ƆNDLEO N PAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing cuirass, shield, and helmet with plume and cross. In r. hand, spear held across shoulder	VICTORIA AVSY Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
*20a	Æ	3.04	22	↓		At end, Δ	
(20b)	Æ	3.25	21		(T. 43)	At end, Є	
					Class II		
					Inscr. and type as Class I of solidus	Same inscr. and type	
*21	Æ	3.27	20	↓	ƆNDLEO NPA[	At end, A	
					MILIARESION		
					LEON SCONST ANTINEE COEYbA SILIS· in a triple border of dots	IhSYSXRIS TYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, in a triple border of dots	720–741

20a Bought in Switzerland, 17. vii. 67
W. —, T. —, R. —
The obverse die was apparently that of a pattern solidus which was not struck. The reverse was struck by a solidus die of normal type. See above, pp. 229, 231.

(20b) Tolstoi records two specimens, the second (1.9 g.) very badly preserved. The one which he illustrates had previously been in the collection of Ignaz Jaeger, when it was published by A. Tauber, "Silbermünze Leos III des Isaurers," *NZ*, 1 (1869), 428–30.

21 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. —, R. —

22 On the difficulty of distinguishing the miliaresia of Leo III from those of Leo IV see above, pp. 63, 231–2. I have followed Bellinger in transferring to Leo III a number of those

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) Narrow cross, pellet after obv. inscr., two pellets on inner circle beneath steps on rev.		720–741
*22a.1	Æ 2.20	25 ↖			
*22a.2	Æ 2.09	22 ↓			
*22a.3	Æ 1.99	25 ↘			
*22a.4	Æ 1.96	22 ↙	Two circles visible	Only one circle visible	
*22a.5	Æ 1.51 worn and pierced	21 ↘	Two circles visible; no pellet after inscr.	Two circles visible; pellets obscure, perhaps absent	
			(b) Broader cross, no pellets on inner circle of rev.		
*22b.1	Æ 2.00	24 ↖	Pellet after inscr.		
*22b.2	Æ 1.84	22 ↑	Two circles visible; no pellet after inscr.	Two circles visible	
*22b.3	Æ 1.32 worn and pierced	21 ↑	No pellet after inscr.		
			(c) Broader cross, rev. inscr. begins hl instead of lh, no pellets on inner circle or after inscr.		
*22c.1	Æ 2.23	23 ↑			

which I had originally given to Leo IV, since where the attribution is doubtful they are more likely to have belonged to a long reign than to a very short one. All the coins have been illustrated, so that the reader can draw his own conclusions. The coins have been grouped according to minor features which they have in common. Their borders are described as being dotted, but are in fact something between dotted and reel borders. The low weight and absence of outer borders found in some specimens is presumably the result of clipping in circulation.

22a.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto 9. xii. 30, lot 1770 This coin
W. (Leo IV) 7, T. (Leo IV) 10, R. 1769–70 (as Leo IV)
22a.2–5 Whittemore
22b.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
22b.3 Schindler 1960 from Egger 8. ii. 15
22c.1–4 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*22c.2	Æ 2.08	22 ↖			
*22c.3	Æ 2.12 pierced	21 ↖	Two circles visible	Two circles visible	720–741
*22c.4	Æ 1.91	21 ↑	One circle visible	One circle visible	
			(d) Rosette after obv. inscr., and four rosettes on inner circle of dots on obv.		
(22d)	Æ	22	(R. 1771 as Leo IV)		
			HALF MILIARESION		
			Same inscr., but two borders of dots and pellet at end	Same inscr. (with IhSYS) and type, but cross on globe instead of on base and only two borders of dots	
*23	Æ 0.85	16 ↑			
			COPPER		
			Class 1		
			Bust of Leo III alone		
			FOLLIS		
			[ϽNDLEO] N PAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing cuirass, shield, and helmet with plume. In r. hand, spear held across shoulder	M To l., ANNO To r., X X Above, cross. In ex., CON	717–720

The misspelling hISYS for IhSYS is paralleled by one of Irene's name (HRHNI for IRINH; below, p. 342, no. 3c) on solidi of Constantine VI, which suggests that this group should perhaps be attributed to Leo IV rather than Leo III.

(22d) Another specimen in the Horsky Sale (Hess 30. iv. 17), lot 4834

23 Swiss Collection
W. —, T. —, R. —
Another specimen, from different dies, in a private collection at Buffalo, N.Y. (0.9 g.)

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*24	Æ 7.49	29 ↙	] N PAMYL	Beneath, A Cross and ANNO obscure	717–720
			HALF FOLLIS		
			Same inscr. and type	K To l., A N N O To r., X X Above, cross	
*25	Æ 2.40	19 ↓	∂NDLEO N PA[	Beneath, A ✱ Cross, A of ANNO, and upper X obscure	
(26)	Æ 4.50	19 ↙	(BM)] N PAMYL'	Beneath, Γ To r., I X X	
			DECANUMMIUM		
*(27)	Æ	20	Same inscr. (very fragmentary) and type (M. Thompson in *Hesperia*, 1940, 370–1)	I To l., star with cross above; to r., X X In ex., CON `	
(28)			*Vacat*		

24 Glendining sale 22. x. 69, lot 324 (from H. Weller)
W. —, T. —, R. —
A supposed variety of this follis, dated Year 2 and with spear held in front, was described by Mme Morrisson in 1966 ("Monnaies byzantines entrées récemment au Cabinet des Médailles," *Bull. de la Soc. fr. de numismatique*, 21 [1966], 5), but it is in fact a coin of Tiberius III overstruck on one of Leontius; see *BNC*, Pl. LXII/01.

25 H. Weller 16. iv. 70
W. —, T. —, R. —

(26) I am grateful to Dr. J. P. C. Kent for information regarding this coin. The I to the left of the X X is clear; it is a numeral, not a tick. There is a ✱ on the emperor's shield, this being the only specimen on which the design is clear.

(28) This was intended for a pentanummium of whose existence I had been informed, but on further examination the coin turned out to have been misread. I leave the numeral, however, since I have no doubt that a pentanummium of this class will in due course come to light.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 2 Busts of Leo (on obv.) and Constantine (on rev., above mark of value) FOLLIS		
			ƆNDLEO NPAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	ƆNCONST ANTINYSM Horizontal bar ornamented with zigzag pattern and at each end with two small globes. Above, bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. In field r., cross. Below, M To l., A N N To r., X X	720–732
			(a) Large size; bust of Constantine as an infant, like that of Class IIa of the solidus		720–*c.* 721
*29a	Æ 9.46	25 ↓	]LEO NPAMYL	]ST ANTINYSM Beneath, A No cross in field. Trace of an O(?) beneath ANN	
(29b)	Æ 11.73	27	(W. Constantine V 16 = T. Constantine V 14)	Beneath, B	

29 The dating and classification of this class are discussed above, p. 233. The distinction between Classes 2a and 2b is clear. That between 2b and 2c is more difficult, since there is an overlap of weights. The form of the bar above the M on the reverse seems the best criterion, since its simplification was apparently a consequence of the reduction of the size of the coins.

29a Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. (Constantine V) 17, T. (Constantine V) 13, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(29c)	Æ	9.77	26	↓	(W. B. Porter coll.) ∂NDLEO NPA[	∂NC[Beneath, Γ	720–*c.* 721
29d.1	Æ	10.09	24	↓	Inscr. illegible	Inscr. and officina letter illegible	
*29d.2	Æ	9.52	27	↓	∂ND[	]ST ANTINY[Officina letter illegible	
*29d.3	Æ	9.05	25	↓	]AMYL	∂NCONST ANTIN[Officina letter illegible	
					(b) Medium size; Constantine older, horizontal bar decorated as before		*c.* 721–*c.* 725
30a	Æ	3.71	23	↓	]AMYL	]NYS Officina letter, A	
*30b.1	Æ	6.27	23	↓	]NDLE[	]NYS Officina letter illegible (? Γ)	
*30b.2	Æ	4.53	20	↓	∂NDLEO NPAMY	∂NCON[Officina letter illegible	
*30b.3	Æ	4.18	21	↓	∂NDLEO [	]NTINYS Officina letter illegible (? B)	
					(c) Small size; Constantine similar, horizontal bar linear or dotted		*c.* 725–732
*31a.1	Æ	3.51	20	↓	∂NDEO NAMYL	∂NCON [Officina letter, A To l., A/A	

(29c) See my note, "A Follis of Leo III from Officina Γ," in *N.Circ.*, 76 (1968), 260.
29d.1 Swiss Collection 1956
29d.2 Schindler 1960 from Bertelè ii. 38
29d.3 Swiss Collection 1956
30a Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Constantine V) 19–22 = T. (Constantine V) 15, R. —
30b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
The high weight of this coin is partly due to incrustation.
30b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
30b.3 Schindler 1960 from Trinks (Vienna) 1898
31a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. 1741
The absence of the letters L and P from the obverse inscription is due to the die having shifted during the striking.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
31a.2	Æ	3.28	19	↓	]PAMYL	]ON [Officina letter, A	*c.* 725–732
31a.3	Æ	3.05	20	↓	]NPAMYL	] ƬINY [Officina letter, A	
*31a.4	Æ	2.91	19	↓	]O NPA[	Inscr. illegible. Officina letter, A	
*31a.5	Æ	2.89	20	↓	]EO NPMYL[	]NƬ [Officina letter, A To r. of M, A A To l., illegible	
31a.6	Æ	2.86	19	↘	] NPAMYL	Inscr. illegible. Officina letter, A	
*31b.1	Æ	4.90	22	↓	Inscr. illegible	Inscr. and officina letter illegible	
*31b.2	Æ	4.00	18	↙	ƏNDLEO NPA[	]ONSƬ ANƬINY Officina letter illegible	
31b.3	Æ	3.43	18	↓	]LEO [N]PA[	Inscr. and officina letter illegible	
31b.4	Æ	3.35	20	↓	ƏNDLEO [	As last	
*31b.5	Æ	2.30	18	↓	]LEON PAMYL	As last	
					HALF FOLLIS		
					Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. Similar type, but K instead of M below the horizontal bar, which is undecorated	720–732

31a.2–6 Swiss Collection 1956
31b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Constantine V) 22 = T. (Constantine V) 16, R. —
This coin, unlike most of the others in this series, has not been cleaned, which partly accounts for its high weight. The obverse die used for the BM specimen was intended for a coin of larger module, so that the bust occupies the whole of the flan and no inscription is visible.
31b.2–4 Swiss Collection 1956
31b.5 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Large size		720–*c.* 721
*32	Æ	5.98	22	↓	] NPAMЧ[	Inscr. and officina letter illegible	
					(b) Medium size		*c.* 721–*c.* 725
*33.1	Æ	2.91	19	↓	]NLЄO NP[	Inscr. illegible; officina letter, A; ANNO for ANN	
*33.2	Æ	2.28	18	↙	ƆNLЄO [	ƆNCON [Officina letter, A To l., A A To r., • X X	
*33.3	Æ	2.20	17	↓	ƆNLOЄN [ ]MЧ	Inscr. illegible; officina letter, A To l., A A Date illegible	
*33.4	Æ	1.47	18	↓	ƆNLЄO [	ƆNCO[Officina letter, A To l., A A To r., X X	
					(c) Small size		*c.* 725–732
*34	Æ	2.68	16	↙	]L[ ] PAMЧL	Inscr. illegible. No officina letter. To l., X X To r., A A	

32 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
The size and weight of this coin show that it corresponds to the heavy folles of Class 2a, but Constantine's bust is that of Class IIb of the gold, which indicates a slightly later date.

33.1 Schindler 1960 from Trinks (Vienna) 1898
W. —, T. —, R. —
A fine specimen of this group was published by C. Davies Sherborn in *N.Circ.*, 45 (1937), 126.

33.2 Peirce 1948

33.3 Grierson 1969

33.4 Swiss Collection 1956
The low weight is due to the coin being struck on an abnormally thin flan.

34 Swiss Collection 1956
This is possibly identical with the specimen (not illustrated) published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 8–9, No. 21, allowing for a loss of 0.12 g. in cleaning.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			DECANUMMIUM		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. Similar type, but I instead of K below the horizontal bar, which is undecorated. To l., A N N To r., [X X]	720–732
			(a) Large size; bust of Constantine as an infant, like that of Class IIa of the solidus		720–*c.* 721
*35.1	Æ 2.20 broken	19 ↓	Inscr. illegible	ƆNCONS[	
*35.2	Æ 1.59 corroded	16 ↓	]NLЄ[	]AATIN[	
			Class 3		
			Busts of Leo and Constantine, holding cross potent jointly		
			FOLLIS		
			No inscription Two busts facing, Leo on l., bearded, wearing chlamys, and Constantine on r., smaller and beardless (?), wearing loros. Each wears a crown with cross. They hold between them a cross potent in their r. hands, Leo's forearm crossing in front of his body to do so.	M Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N	732 (?)

35.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
35.2 H. Weller 2. vii. 69

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*36a.1	Æ	3.64	20 ↘		Beneath, A	732 (?)
*36a.2	Æ	3.43	20 ↘		Beneath, A	
(36b)	Æ	3.7	19	(T. [Leo V] 14)	Beneath, B	
				HALF FOLLIS		
				Same type	K Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N	
*(37a)	Æ		20	(Agora 1829 b)	Beneath, A	
(37b)	Æ			(Agora 1829 b)	Beneath, B	
				Class 4		
				Busts of Leo and Constantine, each holding akakia		
				FOLLIS		
				LEON S CON (or variant) Two busts facing, Leo on l., bearded, and Constantine, usually slightly smaller, on r. Each wears chlamys with conspicuous tablion and crown with cross, and holds akakia in r.	M Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N	732–741

36a.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
For the attribution of this class to Leo III and Constantine V, see above, pp. 233–4.

36a.2 Swiss Collection 1956
This specimen was published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 6, No. 13 bis, the difference in weight (from 3.75 g.) being due to subsequent cleaning. Bertelè attributed it to Justinian II and Tiberius, but only with great hesitation, noting quite correctly that the formula XXX NNN would point to a later date.

37 Only a specimen with officina letter A is illustrated in the Agora publication, but Miss Thompson notes (p. 108) that specimens of both A and B were found.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Constantine beardless. Inscr. starts between heads and reads LEON S CON		732–*c.* 735
*38a.1	Æ	6.20	24	↓	LEON S CON	Beneath, A	
38a.2	Æ	4.84	20	↓	LEON [S] CON	Beneath, A	
38a.3	Æ	3.85	27	↓	LE[ ] CON	Beneath, A	
38a.4	Æ	3.20	21	↓	LE[ ]ON	Beneath, A	
*38b.1	Æ	1.95	16	↓	]CO	Beneath, A	
*38b.2	Æ	0.86	15	↓	LEO[	Beneath, A	
					(b) Constantine bearded. Inscr. starts to left and is usually spaced LE ONS CON		*c.* 735–741
39a.1	Æ	5.72	24	↓	LEO NSC O NSC	Beneath, A	
*39a.2	Æ	5.63	23	↓	LEO N[S] CON	Beneath, A	
*39a.3	Æ	5.43	25	↓	]ONS CON Overstruck on Class 3, trace of Constantine's head and of cross potent visible	Beneath, A	
39a.4	Æ	5.24	23	↓	] ONS CON	Beneath, A Much corroded	
39a.5	Æ	4.05	25	↓	LE ONS CON	Beneath, A	

38–40 For the classification and dating of this class, see above, p. 234.

38 The discrepancies in weight within this class are disconcerting, but No. 38a.1 is very well preserved, Nos. 38a.2–4 are worn, and the only real anomalies are Nos. 38b.1 and 38b.2. They should perhaps be made a separate (light) class, but the reverse type is only slightly smaller than usual and they seem simply to have been struck with obverse dies for half folles on flans intended for decanummia. It is difficult to believe that they can have been accepted in circulation as folles.

38a.1 Peirce 1948
W. (Leo V) 15, T. (Leo V) 13, R. —

38a.2–4 Swiss Collection 1956

38b.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

39a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —

39a.2–5 Swiss Collection 1956
No. 39a.3 was published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 10, No. 25.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*39a.6	Æ	3.83	22	↓	LЄ ON[S] CON Overstruck on Class 3, tops of heads and of cross potent visible	Beneath, A	*c.* 735–741
39b.1	Æ	5.49	24	↓	LЄ[	Beneath, B	
39b.2	Æ	5.48	25	↓	] ONS [	Beneath, B Overstruck on Class 3, tops of heads and of cross potent visible	
*39b.3	Æ	4.37	20	↓	LЄ ONS CO	Beneath, B	
39b.4	Æ	2.72	27	↓	LЄ[Overstruck on Class 3, tops of heads and of cross potent visible	Beneath, B	
39b.5	Æ	2.68	18	↓	LЄ [	Beneath, B	
*39b.6	Æ	2.51	21	↓	]ONS CO	Beneath, B	
*39b.7	Æ	2.33	22	↓	]ONS CO Overstruck on Class 3, trace of cross potent and of Constantine's loros visible	Beneath, B	
*39b.8	Æ	2.15	21	↓	LЄ [Overstruck on rev. of Class 3, of which XXX, the left part of M, and A are visible	Beneath, B Overstruck on obv. of Class 3, the top of Leo's head being visible	

39a.6 Schindler 1960
39b.1 Schindler 1960
W. (Leo V) 16, T. (Leo V) 15 (from Sabatier, I. 83, No. 8, Pl. XLII. 13), R. —
39b.2–4 Swiss Collection 1956
From No. 39b.4 onward these coins are all heavily corroded, which accounts for their low weights. No. 39b.3 was published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 9–10, No. 24.
39b.5 Schindler 1960
39b.6–7 Swiss Collection 1956
39b.8 Grierson 1968 acq. in London

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					HALF FOLLIS		
					Similar inscr. and type	K Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N	732–741
					(a) Constantine beardless. Inscr. starts above heads		732–*c.* 735
*40a.1	Æ	1.92	18	↓	LEON S CON	Beneath, A	
*40a.2	Æ	1.57	18	↓	LEO	Beneath, A	
*40b.1	Æ	1.09	19	↓	]N	Beneath, B	
*40b.2	Æ	0.89	18	↓	Inscr. illegible	Beneath, B	
					(b) Constantine bearded. Inscr. starts to left		*c.* 735–741
*41a	Æ	2.45	20	↓	LEO N[	Beneath, A	
*41b	Æ	1.97	18	↓	]SC′ (?)	Beneath, B	

40a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —

40a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28
The inscription is complete, no mention being made of Constantine.

40b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
There seem to be traces of letters to the left, as if the inscription started there, but they may only be marks due to corrosion.

40b.2 Swiss Collection 1956

41a Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Leo V) 17 = T. (Leo V) 21, R. —

41b Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
Published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 10, No. 26.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Syracuse		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Rev. type: cross potent on steps		
*(42)	Ⱥ 4.05	21	[DN]LE ONPEA Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia (W. 60 = T. 24 = Ricotti 183)	VICTORIA AVGY* Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONOB. In field r., P	717–720
			Class II		
			Rev. type: bust of Constantine as a child		
			ƆNDLE ONPAM Same type, but bust stylized and cruder	ƆNDCO NTANM Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. Crude style	720–*c.* 735
*43	Ⱥ 3.96	20 ↘	]NDLE ONPAM	ƆNDCO NTANM	
			Class III		
			Rev. type: similar, but Constantine older		*c.* 735–741
			ϽNOLEO NPAMYL' Same type, but much better style	ϽNCONS ƬANƬINYS Similar, but Constantine older and bust of much better style	

(42) The P in the reverse field and the terminal star of the inscription link this coin with the similar type of Theodosius III.

43 Peirce 1948
W. 20 = T. 70, 69, R. —, Ricotti 185

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) C in obv. and I in rev. field r.		*c.* 735–741
*44	Ꝗ	3.93	19	↓			
					(b) No letters in field		
*45.1	Ꝗ	3.97	20	↓		Ends ꞇINϒ	
*45.2	Ꝗ	3.93	21	↓	]NOLЄO NPΔMϒL Larger bust	] ꞇΔNꞇINϒ Much larger bust and face	
*45.3	Ꝗ	3.37	20	↓	]NOLЄO NPΔMϒ	⌒NCO[N] ꞇΔИꞇINϒ	
					SEMISSIS *Class II* Same style as Class II of solidus		
					ƆNDL ЄONPAI Type as Class II	Ɔ CO SNꞇA Type as Class II of solidus, but Constantine holds in r., by its shaft, a cross potent on globe	720–*c.* 735
*(46)	Ꝗ	2.05	17		(T. 95 = Ricotti 186)		

44 Schindler 1960 from Glendining sale 1. vii. 36, lot 44
W. 29 (as Rome) = T. 74, R. 1739
Ratto rightly queried Wroth's attribution to Rome, but whether the mint was Sicilian or on the Italian mainland is open to discussion. For the Sicilian attribution see above, p. 235. The abbreviation mark after the obverse inscription is very large, being almost an I. The same is true of that on 45.1.

45.1 Hess-Bank Leu sale (Lucerne) 2. iv. 58, lot 427
W. 26–27 = T. 73, R. 1738
This coin is of poorer workmanship than the last, and perhaps of inferior gold. W. 28 (= T. 72) is a contemporary imitation of a coin of this class, with the reverse inscription retrograde and the type reversed from left to right.

45.2 Ars et Nummus 22. vii. 60
Poorer workmanship and style than the last

45.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
Poor gold and bad lettering; probably a contemporary imitation

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class III		
			Same style as Class III of solidus		
			ꝺNLE ONPAMYL Type of Class III of solidus	6 N CON SꝲANꝲINY Same type, but style of Class III of solidus	*c.* 735–741
			(a) C in obv. and I in rev. field r.		
*(47)	Æ 1.9	14	(T. 97)		
			TREMISSIS		
			Class II		
			Same style as Class II of solidus		
			ꝺNDLEO NPAMY Type as Class II of solidus	ꝺN CO [Type as Class II of solidus, but Constantine holds, by its shaft, a cross potent on base	720–*c.* 735
*48	Æ 1.28	14 ↘	]ND[	ꝺN[	
			Class III		
			Same style as Class III of solidus		
			6NLE ONPAMYL Type as Class III of solidus	6NCONS ꝲANSꝲINY Same type, but style as Class III of solidus	*c.* 735–741
			(a) C in obv. and I in rev. field r.		
*(49)	Æ 1.40	13	(T. Constantine V 12)		

48 Vinchon sale 27. iv. 60, lot 702
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti 187
The specimen illustrated by Ricotti, like that here, has most of the inscription off flan, but there is a more legible one, with a smaller bust of Leo, in the Museo Civico at Milan.

(49) There is another specimen of this coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*BNC*, II. 462/03).

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
				(b) Nothing in obv. field, I in rev. field r.		*c.* 735–741
*(50)	Æ	1.26	13	(W. 45 = T. 96)		
				(c) Nothing in field		
*51	Æ	1.24	15 ↓	]LEO [	]И C ONS ТАИТІИЧ	
				FOLLIS		
				Class 1		
*52	Æ	2.88	20 ↙	No inscription Leo standing, facing, bearded, wearing loros and helmet with plume, holding spear in r. and gl. cr. in l. Details obscured by overstriking	M Above, ANE To l. and r., palm. In ex., SCL	717–720
				Class 2		
				No inscription Two busts facing, a large one of Leo III on l., bearded, a smaller one of Constantine V on r., beardless, each	M Above, ANE In ex., SCL	720

(50) This coin presumably results from a muling of Classes IIIa and IIIc, though other specimens are known, e.g., one at Vienna, and another in the second Apostolo Zeno Sale, lot 2531.

51 Pierce 1948
W. —, T. —, R. —

52 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti 184
The specimen illustrated by Ricotti shows that Leo is wearing a loros, which is not apparent on the one here and which one would not expect in conjunction with a helmet.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet and holding gl. cr. in r.		720
*(53)	Æ 3.56	23 ↓	(Spahr coll.)	Overstruck; part of earlier type visible above and to r. of M	
			Class 3		
			ƬNDL ЄOM Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	ƬNCO NƬAN Horizontal bar, above which bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. Beneath bar, M between SC and L	721–*c.* 730
			(a) Large size		
*(54a)	Æ 6.00	26	(Ricotti 189)		
			(b) Small size		
*54b	Æ 2.74	16 ↘	Inscr. off flan	ƬN[Rest of inscr. off flan	

54 There were probably three different sizes, as at Constantinople, though the largest coins have a bust of Constantine corresponding to that of Class IIb of the solidus there, not to that of Class IIa. A fine specimen of No. 54a, acquired by Mr. Buttrey in Sicily, is published by Bellinger in *MN*, 12 (1966), 117, No. 51, Pl. XXXVI.2. There are several, of varying sizes, at Turin.

54b Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
The dies used for this coin apparently belong to the "medium size" group, and are much too large for the flan.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 4		
					Leo standing, facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, akakia. To l., Λ Є O N To r., Δ Є C Π	Constantine standing, facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, akakia. To l., K ω N C To r., Δ Є C Π	*c.* 731–741
*55.1	Æ	5.58	21	↓	Letters badly formed	Letters badly formed. Ends Π′	
*55.2	Æ	4.03	18	↓			
*55.3	Æ	3.11	19	↓			
					Naples		
					Class I		
					Leo alone, wearing loros		
					SOLIDUS		
					DL ЄOPPAV Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.	VICTOR AVϹЧ·∴ Cross potent on base and three steps. In field r., star. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
*(56)	El.	4.00	20		(T. 28)		

55.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 21–3, T. —, R. 1756 = Ricotti 190
This specimen is abnormal in style and in the details of the design. The arms of each emperor project sideways at the elbows, breaking the line of the chlamys and making it look as if there was an akakia in each hand. The emperors' robes also look more like a skirt falling to just below knee level, instead of a chlamys reaching the ankles. The identification seems clear, however; so one must presume an incompetent die-sinker, uncertain how to cope with a newly introduced type.

55.2 Swiss Collection 1956

55.3 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898

(56–62) For these attributions to Naples, see above, p. 236.

(56) Another specimen in Auktion XIII of Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 17.vi.54, lot 844, and I know of two more in private collections in Italy and France. Tolstoi's specimen

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TREMISSIS		
			D LEOPA Same type	VICT ORIA Cross potent on base. In field r., star. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
*(57)	El. 1.25	15	(W. 64 = T. 39)		
			Class II		
			Leo alone, wearing chlamys		
			SOLIDUS		
			DL EOPPA Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	VICTO RAϹЧΔ Cross potent on base and three steps. In field r., star. Beneath, CONOB	
*(58)	El. 3.84	20	(W. 57, T. 25)		
			TREMISSIS		
			D LEO Same type	VICT ·RIA Cross potent on base. Beneath, CONOB	
			(a) No star in reverse field		
*(59a)	El. 1.34	15	(W. 68 = T. 41)		
			(b) Star in reverse field r.		
(59b)	El. 1.30	15	(W. 66–67 = T. 40) DL NVIC	VICT RVS	

(= Montagu Sale, No. 1178) appears to have a trefoil on the crown, but the other three specimens have a cross. The inscriptions are also slightly distorted through double-striking, the A on the obverse and the V in AVϹЧ being missing.

(58) There is another specimen, with Leo's face more pointed, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Mme Morrisson attributes it, I think incorrectly, to Rome (*BNC*, II. 463/01, Pl. LXVI. RO/N/01).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class III		
			Leo and Constantine, Λ and K in fields		
			SOLIDUS		
*60	El. 4.00	21 ↓	DLE ONP Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia. In field r., Λ	DCO NSTI Similar bust to obv., but beardless, and in field r., K	717–741
			TREMISSIS		
*(61)	El.	15	Same type (Vinchon sale 26.x.64, lot 73)	Same type	
			Rome		
			Class I		
			Rev. type: cross potent		
			SOLIDUS		
			DNDLEO NPAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	VICTOR AVSY Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONOB	717–720

60 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1651
W. 61, T. —, R. —
The Dumbarton Oaks specimen was published by Pfaffenhoffen in *RN*², 1 (1865), 287, No. 2, when it was in the Fürstenberg collection. There was another specimen in the eighth Lockett Sale (Glendining 26.v.59), lot 266

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) L and ✱ in rev. field		717–720
*(62)	A	20	(Laffranchi)		
			(b) Γ and ✱ in rev. field		
*(63)	A 4.26	19	(W. 58 = T. 22)	At end, Γ or Π (vertical)	
			(c) ✱ and Δ in rev. field		
*(64)	A 4.03	20	(W. 59, T. 21)		
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. Cross potent on base. In ex., CONOB	
			(a) L and ✱ in rev. field		
(65)	A	17	(Laffranchi)		

(62–91) In describing the solidi and tremisses of Rome, A has been used for those of reasonably pure gold, El. (i.e., electrum) for those of obviously base gold, and B (i.e., billon) for grey or blackish coins which to the eye show no trace of gold in their alloy. Wroth and Tolstoi sometimes term them silver, but they are certainly not the pure metal. Probably they are very base electrum, coins of even the same type differing appreciably in color and perhaps in alloy.

(62) Published by L. Laffranchi, "La Numismatica di Leonzio II," *Numismatica*, 5 (1939), p. 10, Pl. IV. 41–42 (listed in text on p. 11 as Pl. VI. 35–36, owing to a printer's error), from a specimen in a private collection in Italy. T. 23, from Sabatier, II. 49, No. 10, Pl. XXXIX. 16, is another specimen, with reverse inscription ending ⁘. Sabatier refers to others of this variety, with L✱ in the field, having reverse inscriptions ending ✱ or with nothing after AVϹЧ.

(63) Wroth classes this as central or south Italian, and the style is less obviously Roman than the previous coin or the next one; also the terminal Π is unlikely for Rome. But it has the same peculiar form of ϹЧ in the reverse inscription, like a very thin S, that occurs on other coins of Rome of the early eighth century.

(64) Wroth classes this also as central or south Italian, but Laffranchi, I am sure correctly, gives it to Rome (*art. cit.*, p. 10, Pl. IV. 43–44, listed in the text as Pl. VI. 37–38).

(65) Published by Laffranchi, *art. cit.*, p. 10, Pl. IV. 49–50 (listed in text as Pl. VI. 43–44), from a specimen in a private collection at Milan.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Rev. type: bust of Constantine V		
			DNDLЄ OPAMЧL (or variant) Similar bust, becoming steadily more stylized	DNOCONS TANTINЧS (or variant) Bust of Constantine facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	720–741
			(a) Infantile bust of Constantine; ✱ in rev. field r.		720–*c.* 721
*(66)	Ꝗ 4.26	20	(W. 30–1 = T. 75)		
			(b) Broad bust of Constantine; RM in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			(c) Similar bust; ✱ ✱ in rev. field, ✱ after rev. inscr.		
			No solidus known		
			(d) Transitional bust of Constantine; Є ✱ in rev. field		*c.* 721
*(67)	Ꝗ 3.76	22	(W. 33 = T. 78, 71)		

(66) W. 31 (not illustrated by Wroth) is earlier in date than W. 30; the bust of Leo is closer to that of the coinage of 717–20 and Constantine's bust is tall, while on all the later coins it is broader with the cross of the crown either below the inscription or barely over it. An early feature is the reading LEON in the inscription, the N and even the O being later dropped.

(67) The style of Leo's bust places this coin in the 720's, but Constantine's face differs from that of the preceding group in being heart-shaped instead of broad and shallow, while it has not the characteristic long straight hair, curled up at the end, of the next variety.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(e) Narrow bust of Constantine; ✱ R in rev. field		721–741
			No solidus known		
			(f) Similar bust; ✱ A in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			(g) Similar bust; ✱ B in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			(h) Similar bust; ✱ Γ in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			(i) Similar bust; ✱ Δ in rev. field		
*68	El. 3.36	21 ↓	DNOLЄ OPAMЧL	DNOCON TANTЧ	
			(j) Similar bust; ✱ Є ✱ in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			(k) Similar bust; ✱ Z in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			(l) Similar bust; ✱ H in rev. field		
*(69)	El. 4.19	21	(W. 34 = T. 79)		
			(m) Similar bust; ✱ Θ in rev. field		
*(70)	El. 4.30	20	(T. 80, ex Montagu 1183)		

68 Schindler 1960 from Münzhandlung Basel 6. iv. 36
W. 32 = T. 77, R. —

(70) The attribution of this coin, and of the corresponding tremissis with ✱ Θ (below, No. 86), which differs from it somewhat in style, is not quite certain. The style and the details of the imperial busts vary in several respects from those of other Roman coins of the period, notably in the treatment of the chlamys and fibula. But the fabric appears to be Roman, the use of a star accompanied by a letter is peculiar to the Roman mint, and the coin has no resemblance to any other obviously identifiable Italian group.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(n) Similar bust; ✱ I in rev. field		721–741
*(71)	El.	4.08	21		(W. 35 = T. 81)		
					(o) Similar bust; I ϵ ✱ in rev. field		
*(72)	B	4.19	22		(W. 36, T. 82)		
					(p) Similar bust; ∆ + in rev. field		
*73	B	3.76	22	↓	D NOLEO PAMYL	DNOCONTANTINY	
					(q) Similar bust; nothing in rev. field		
*74	El.	4.11	21	↓	D NOLE PAMYL	DNOCONTANTIN	
					(r) Similar bust; ✱ ✱ in rev. field		
					No solidus known		
					TREMISSIS		
					Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type	
					(a) Infantile bust of Constantine; ✱ in rev. field r.		720–*c.* 721
*(75)	El.	1.44	12		(W. 46)		
					(b) Broad bust of Constantine; RM in rev. field		*c.* 721–741
*76	El.	1.45	15	↓	D NOL OPAMYL	DNO[C]ON STANTIN	

(72) Other specimens at Berlin and in the Kestner Museum, Hanover

73 Whittemore
W. 37, T. 76, R. —
There is another specimen of this class at Paris (*BNC*, II. 463/02).

74 Peirce 1948 from Raymond xi. 28
W. —, T. —, R. —

76 De Falco 16. ii. 70
W. —, T. 112, R. —
Other specimens at Berlin and in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society (ex. J. Schulman sale 17. vi. 24, lot 1025)

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
				(c) Similar bust; ✱ ✱ in rev. field, ✱ after rev. inscr.		721–741
*(77)	El.	1.34	15	(W. 47; T. 99 var., no star in l. field)		
				(d) Transitional bust of Constantine; ∈ ✱ in rev. field		
				No tremissis known		
				(e) Narrow bust of Constantine; ✱ R in rev. field		
*(78)	El.		15	(Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1653)		
				(f) Similar bust; ✱ A in rev. field		
*(79)	El.	1.43	14	(W. 48 = T. 102)		
				(g) Similar bust; ✱ B in rev. field		
*(80)	El.	1.35	14	(W. 49 = T. 103)		
				(h) Similar bust; ✱ Γ in rev. field		
*(81)	El.	1.13	15	(W. 50 = T. 104)		
				(i) Similar bust; ✱ Δ in rev. field		
*(82)	El.	1.35	15	(W. 51 = T. 105)		
				(j) Similar bust; ✱ ∈/✱ in rev. field		
*(83)	El.	1.39	14	(W. 52)		

(77) Another specimen at Milan

(78) This coin is now at Berlin.

(79) Tolstoi gives an incorrect Wroth reference (W. 55). There is another specimen from the same dies in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society.

(81) Other specimens at Berlin and Vienna and Auction XIII of Münzen und Medaillen A. G. 17. vi. 54, lot 845.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(k) Similar bust; ✱ Z in rev. field		721–741
*84.1	El.	1.30	16	↙	D[ ]LE PAMYL	D NDCONTANTIN	
*84.2	El.	1.29	16	↙	DNOLE PAMYL	D NOCONTANTI	
					(l) Similar bust; ✱ H in rev. field		
*(85)	B	1.21	15		(W. 53 = T. 106)		
					(m) Similar bust; ✱ Θ in rev. field		
*(86)	El.		14		(Berlin, from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1654)		
					(n) Similar bust; ✱ I in rev. field		
*(87)	El.		15		(Vienna)		
					(o) Similar bust; I ϵ ✱ in field		
*(88)	B	1.27	15		(W. 54 = T. 107)		
					(p) Similar bust; ∆ + in field		
*89	B	1.35	15	↙	D NOLEO PAMYL	D NOCONTANTINY	
					(q) Similar bust; nothing in rev. field		
*(90)	B	1.25	14		(T. 98)		

84.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —

84.2 Schindler 1960 from Münzhandlung Basel 22. iv. 36

(85) There is another tremissis of this date in Vienna which is appreciably different in style, especially in the treatment of the bust of Constantine. This emperor's name is also spelt CONSTANT instead of CONTANT, which is normal at this period of the reign. There are some affinities with earlier coinage—the top bar of the T is less elongated, the form of the letter S is almost identical with that of the ς on coins of Class I—and I suspect that the dies were the work of a retired die-sinker brought back to work in some emergency. The coin is certainly one of Rome.

(86) See note on No. 70 above.

89 Peirce 1948 from Fejer viii. 28
W. 55, T. 101, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(r) Similar bust; ✱ ✱ in rev. field		721–741
*(91)	B 1.45	16	(T. 100)		
			SILVER		
			No inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr. To l. and r. of head, star	+ To l., ϛ; to r., R; above, O; beneath, ∈	731–741
*92	℞ 0.32	19 ↓			
			COPPER (?)		
			No inscription Very young bust of Constantine V facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross	XXX Above, cross. In ex., ROM	*c.* 720
*(93)	Æ 0.49	11 ↑	(Rome, former Royal Collection)		

(91) Tolstoi lists three specimens in his collection, one of pale gold (1.45 g.), the others of silver (1.3 g., 1.2 g.). There is a further specimen at Vienna and there was one in the second Apostolo Zeno Sale, lot 2532. One of those in Tolstoi's collection is identical with that in the Rohde Sale (Hess 24. v. 86), lot 854.

92 Grierson 18. vii. 71, ex Grantley Sale, lot 2822 from Spink
WVand. p. 159, Nos. 2, 3 (as Gregory of Benevento), T. —, R. —
The "monogram" on the rev. is that of Pope Gregory III (731–41).

(93) Publ. *CNI*, XV.60, No. 14, Pl. iii.26. These coins are described as copper, but since they are marked as multiples of thirty folles they were probably, in theory, billon. The coin is struck on a rectangular flan. For the attribution, see above, p. 238.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Ravenna		
			TREMISSIS		
			Class I		
*(94)	Æ 1.48	13	DL ЄONPA Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia (W. 44 = T. 42)	VICTORAAVϹV Cross potent on base. In field r., Θ. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
			Class II		
*(95)	El. 1.31	13	Similar inscription Same type (W. 70)]NϤAϹV—	Inscription Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia]NC[ ]ИϤИ·	720–741
			Class III		
(96)	El.	14	Similar inscription Similar type, but bust much larger and older (Former Penon coll.)]STA[?]	Similar inscription Similar type, but bust much larger and older; date-letter in field r.] NS[In field r., I	741

(94) Wroth attributes this coin to Rome, Laffranchi to Ravenna.
(95) Wroth attributes this to central or southern Italy.
(96) Published by C. Penon, "Médailles byzantines inédites," *RBN*³, 6 (1862), 202 and Pl. x. 19, as a silver piece. He attributes the coin wrongly to Constantine VI. Since he describes it in company with two Ravenna coins of Constantine V of the 740's, all of them quite rare, I suspect that they may have been found together.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Uncertain Italian Mints		
			Leo III alone		
			(a) K in reverse field r.		
			SOLIDUS		
			Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	Inscription Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONOB	717–720
*(97)	Æ 4.22	18	(W. 25 = T. 26)]LEOPE RPETY[	VICTO RIA In field r., very large K	
			(b) A ✱ in rev. field		
			"SOLIDUS"		
			DNOLEO PAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross; in r. hand, stretched across body, cross potent on base	VICTORI AVSY Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONB In field A ✱	
*98	Æ 2.43 broken	20 ↓	]O PA[	VICTORI [A]V[	

97–103 These coins represent the residue of Italian issues remaining in Wroth and Tolstoi after all fairly secure attributions to specific mints have been made. They vary greatly between themselves in style and fabric, and are certainly from more than one mint. Coins of such clumsy fabric and design that they can scarcely be products of regular mints (e.g., W. 63) have not been included.

97 Attributed by Wroth to Rome, but it does not fit the coinage pattern of this mint. The appearance of *Perpetuus* in full, in the obverse inscription, is most unusual. T. 27, of very irregular flan and poor style, is a contemporary imitation of this, at least so far as the reverse is concerned.

98 Whittemore
W. 71 = T. 53, 52, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			"TREMISSIS"		
*(99)	Æ 1.58	14	Similar inscr. and type (Vienna)	Similar inscr. and type	717–720
			Leo III and Constantine V		
			SOLIDUS		
			(c) N in rev. field r.		
*(100)	El. 4.28	17 ↓	Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown (? with cross on circlet), holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia (W. 62. Inscr. obscure, top of crown off flan)	Inscription As obv., but bust beardless. In field r., N]NCON S[NP ?]	720–741
			(d) B in rev. field r.		
			∂NOLEO NPAMYL Bust bearded, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	ϹNCONST ANTINYSM As obv., but bust beardless. In field r., B	

This is a puzzling "coin." About half a dozen specimens are known, from several different dies. The central position of CON beneath the steps of the cross suggests that this was all that was originally intended; the B, and on some specimens an O inserted to the *left* of CON, represent later additions. Wroth catalogues it as a bronze coin, but suggests that it may originally have been plated and intended to pass as a solidus. The weights of well-preserved specimens, the fact that the reverse type is that of a solidus, and the existence of a corresponding "tremissis," all suggest that this was in fact the case. The coin is certainly Italian. The obverse type, with Leo's right arm stretched across his body holding a cross potent on base, is related to that of Class 3 of the Constantinopolitan follis, but with Constantine V deliberately omitted.

(99) Published by H. Longuet in *NZ*, 77 (1957), 45, No. 276. The reverse type is that of a solidus, not the simple cross potent on base customary for the tremissis. Cf. the way in which the tremisses of Rome at this period were of solidus type, but of smaller module.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*(101)	*N* 4.24	20 ↓	(*BNC*, II. 464, It/*N*/01)		720–741
			TREMISSIS		
			Similar inscr. (?) and type.	Similar inscr. (?) and type.	
			(e) L in rev. field r.		
*(102)	*N* 1.28	12 ↓	(W. 69. Inscr. and most of bust off flan)	Inscr. off flan	
			(f) No letter (?) in field		
*103	El. 1.34	13 ↓	Inscr. and most of bust off flan	Inscr. and most of bust off flan, incl. the whole of the r. field	

(101) This coin is of very good style, but the B in the field, the irregular edge, and a falling-off in the quality of the metal prevent one assigning it to Constantinople.

102–103 These coins are alike in that they are struck on flans so small that virtually the whole of the inscriptions, and a large part of the type, are absent.

(102) The obv. die was that of a solidus.

103 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
Both obv. and rev. dies were intended for solidi. The childish bust of Constantine V dates it to the early 720's.

ARTAVASDUS

July 742 – 2 November 743

Colleague: Nicephorus (from 742)

Theophanes and Nicephorus are virtually our sole authorities for the usurpation of Artavasdus.[1] Constantine V succeeded his father without hindrance, having already been co-emperor for many years. But he was only twenty years of age, and the throne was coveted by his much older brother-in-law Artavasdus on his own behalf and on that of his son Nicephorus. Artavasdus had been one of Leo III's chief supporters in 717, had been awarded the hand of Leo's daughter Anna, and was an able and popular general who could count on the soldiers of the Opsikian theme and the favor of the iconodule element in the population. According to the accepted chronology, the revolt broke out in July 742, after Constantine had summoned Artavasdus to his camp (27 June) for a campaign against the Arabs. Though much of the army remained loyal, Artavasdus was able to occupy the capital, where he was crowned, and soon afterward associated his son Nicephorus as co-ruler. But Constantine retained his hold on Asia Minor, and after defeating his rival's forces in a series of engagements during the summer of 743 he was able in September to lay siege to Constantinople. The city surrendered on 2 November, and Artavasdus, who had fled to Nicaea, was captured shortly afterward and exposed with his two sons to public insult in the Hippodrome. Later they were blinded, possibly after the discovery of a conspiracy in which they were implicated and in any case to prevent any further movement in their favor.

Though Constantine V occupied the throne for at least a year before the revolt of Artavasdus and must certainly have begun to mint, it is convenient to deal with Artavasdus' coins first, since their early date relates them more closely to those of Leo III than to the issues of the later years of Constantine V or of Leo IV. All of his coins are extremely rare, though there were several types during his short reign. They can be divided into two main groups, those of Artavasdus alone and those struck after the association of Nicephorus as co-emperor.[2]

[1] Theophanes, A.M. 6232–6235 (ed. de Boor, I. 413–20); Nicephorus, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, 59–62. I follow the dating of G. Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 7 (1930), 10–13, 17–18, though with much hesitation, finding it difficult to believe that the dating of a whole group of papal documents is as consistently in error as his argument requires. One certain piece of evidence, not known to Ostrogorsky and strictly contemporary in character, is provided by coin No. 10 below, which proves that the mint of Rome believed Artavasdus to be still emperor at some time during Indiction 12 (= September 743 – August 744).

[2] On the coinage of Artavasdus, see A. A. Boyce, "A Solidus of Artavasdus," *MN*, 5 (1952), 89–102, and L. Laffranchi, "Il solido di Artavasdo nel Medagliere reale di Torino," *Numismatica*,

The solidus of Artavasdus alone, represented by a unique specimen in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, shows the emperor facing, holding in his right hand a short patriarchal cross. The choice of symbol was probably deliberate, since this two-barred cross was conceived of as representing the actual cross of Christ in a particularly intimate fashion. The reverse type represents a throwback to the traditional seventh-century type of a cross potent on steps, but the actual pattern of the cross is modelled on that of the miliaresion. The miliaresion also supplied the inscription, IhSYS XRISTYS NICA replacing the old VICTORIA AVSY, but CONOB (in the form CONOB) was retained, though in tiny letters and used for the last time in Byzantine coinage, below the steps of the cross. There is a corresponding semissis, with the same reverse inscription and the same type but for the substitution of a globus for the steps of the cross. The only known specimen of this coin is catalogued below.

Two types of solidus were struck after the coronation of Nicephorus. The first has on the reverse a bust of Nicephorus, beardless, wearing a chlamys like his father and also holding a patriarchal cross. The reverse inscription ends MYLTY A(nnos). On one recorded specimen a small Θ, evidently added to the die as an afterthought and intended to serve as an officina letter, has been fitted into the space between the A and Nicephorus' shoulder.[3] This type of solidus was succeeded by another of more traditional design, in which the patriarchal cross disappears, each emperor holds a globus cruciger and an akakia, and Nicephorus wears a loros instead of a chlamys. The recorded endings to the reverse inscription are MYLTYA (T. 1), MYLTYΘ· (T. 2), and MYLTYb (below, No. 3), the Θ and b being presumably officina letters[4] and the status of the A being uncertain. There is a unique semissis of the second of these classes at Turin.

The miliaresia, as one would expect, are all of Artavasdus and Nicephorus. Nearly half the known specimens are in the National Museum at Warsaw, a small hoard of them having been acquired by a Polish doctor at Thessalonica in 1891.[5]

No copper coins of Artavasdus have been identified up to the present. It is possible that some of those ascribed to Constantine V are really the usurper's, e.g., the anomalous half folles and pentanummia with bearded bust (Class 2), for the [S]TA which is all that is legible on the pentanummium (p. 305, No. 10) might be [AR]TA and not [CONS]TA, but any attribution must await the discovery of legible inscriptions. At one time I believed that the follis and half follis of Class 3 of Leo III, which have no inscription, might belong to Artavasdus and Nicephorus, but the evidence of overstriking is against this.

2 (1936), 85–7. Two solidi of Artavasdus and Nicephorus were included in a hoard found off the Sicilian coast in 1950 (S. L. Agnello in *Atti del VIII Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini, Palermo, 1951* [Rome, 1953], 311).

[3] M. D. O'Hara, "Another Solidus of Artavasdus," in the coin list no. 5 (1967) of D. J. Crowther Ltd. (London). The coin, the only one of Artavasdus amongst eight early Isaurian solidi from a small hoard, was acquired by the author at Istanbul.

[4] The pellet inside the b is presumably the equivalent of that after the Θ. The pellet after the A on T. 1, if there ever was one, is off flan.

[5] A. Szemiothowa, "Les rares monnaies antiques du Musée National de Varsovie," *Polish Numismatic News*, 1961 (= *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, V, 1961), 89–90. There were seven miliaresia in this hoard.

The Italian gold coins of Artavasdus are limited to Rome, none being known of either Sicily or Ravenna, and one specimen is linked in a highly anomalous fashion with a die bearing the name of Constantine V. Some scholars[6] would explain this by uncertainty at Rome as to who was legitimate emperor, and whether or not Constantine and Artavasdus were co-rulers, but the dating of papal letters and related documents shows that the Roman chancery was quite clear regarding the sequence of rulers, and it is simpler to assume carelessness or indifference on the part of the mint.

The coins, as at present known, form three classes:

I. Obv. of Artavasdus, rev. of Constantine V (two stars in field). Only the solidus is recorded. This presumably belongs to the brief reign of Artavasdus alone. The mint was at a loss for a suitable reverse type, and simply used one dating from the end of Leo III's reign, with the juvenile bust of Constantine V.[7] There are some crude forgeries of this type, struck in lead or potin and very variable in weight, which date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.[8]

II. Obv. of Artavasdus, rev. of Nicephorus, with two stars in field. The solidus and tremissis are both known.

III. Obv. of Artavasdus, rev. of Nicephorus, with IB (i.e., Indiction 12 = 743/4) in field. Only the tremissis is known.

[6] Boyce, *op. cit.*, 93ff., developing an argument of de Saulcy.

[7] This is doubted by Mrs. Boyce, who argues that the die of Constantine, with two stars in the field, is not known apart from these coins and must have been made independently, at the same time as that of Nicephorus with two stars. But there are tremisses with Constantine's bust and two stars (above, p. 278, No. 91), and there is no reason to doubt the existence of similar solidi.

[8] At least three specimens are recorded, all from the same dies: (1) Hermitage = T. 6; (2) Brera, mentioned by Laffranchi; (3) Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Collection (Garrett Collection), ex Baranowsky sale 22.vi.31, lot 213. They are of very poor workmanship and have been discussed by modern scholars with more respect than they deserve.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			ϭAPTAYA SDOSMYLT Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, patriarchal cross held before breast; l. hand not shown	IhSYSXRIS TYSΠICA Cross potent on base and three steps. In ex., COΠOB	742
*(1)	Ꞡ 4.43	21	(ANS Museum)		
			Class II		
			Same inscr. and type	ϭNICHEOR YSMY LTYA Bust as on obv., but beardless and with hair differently designed	742/3
*2a	Ꞡ 4.45	20 ↘		A perhaps recut over another letter (? I)	
(2b)	Ꞡ	20	(O'Hara coll.)	At end, Θ	
			Class III		
			ϭNARTAY ASDYSMY Same bust, but Artavasdus holds in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	ϭNICHFOR YSMYLTY Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	

(1) Published by A. A. Boyce, "A Solidus of Artavasdus," *MN*, 5 (1952), 89–90, Pl. xv. 1. Probably identical with that illustrated in *N.Circ.*, 37 (1929), 292, and H. Goodacre, *Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, II (1931), 144.

2a Hess-Bank Leu sale 12. iv. 62, lot 569
W. p. 391 (in BN) = T. 3, R. —
The obverse and reverse of this coin have been accidentally interchanged on the plate.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3a	Æ	4.4	19		(T. 1)	At end, A	742/3
*3b	Æ	4.43	21	↓		At end, b, perhaps recut over another letter. Double struck	
(3c)	Æ	4.45	20		(T. 2)	At end, Θ·	
					SEMISSIS		
					Class I		
					Same inscr. and type as No. 1	Same inscr. as No. 1. Cross potent on base above globus. In ex., CONOB	742
*4	Æ	2.20	17	↓			
					Class III		
					Same inscr. and type as No. 3	NI Ch FORЧSM Similar type to No. 3, but Nicephorus holds cross potent on globe instead of gl. cr.	742/3
(5)			19		(Turin, Museo Civico)		

3b Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1658
W. —, T. —, R. —

4 Whittemore. Said to have been found on the island of Zacynthus
W. —, T. —, R. —
Published by Mrs. Boyce, *op. cit.*, 90, Pl. xv. 2.

(5) W. —, T. —, R. —
Publ. and illus. by P. P. Santamaria, "Le monete bizantine del Museo Civico di Torino," *Numismatica*, 2 (1936), 95–6 (as a solidus), and in A. Serena Fava, L. Sachero, and V. Viale, *Il Medagliere delle raccolte numismatiche torinesi* (Turin, 1964), 124, No. 72, Pl. 38. 6.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION		
			ART AYASDO SSΠIChF OROSEC ΘEYbAS ILIS+ within a triple border of dots	IhSYSXRIS TYSΠICA Cross potent on three steps within a triple border of dots	742/3
*6.1	Æ 1.81	22 ↙			
*6.2	Æ 1.81	23 ↗			
6.3	Æ 1.70 worn	22 ↘			
			Rome		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			D NOART AYASδO Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	D NOCONTANTINY Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. In l. and r. field, star	742
*(7)	El. 4.03	21	(W. p. 392 [BN] = T. 5)		
			Class II		
			Same inscr. and type	D NONI CIFORO Same type	742/3
*(8)	El. 4.06	21	(W. p. 392 [BN] = T. 4)		

6.1 Peirce 1948 from Platt x. 28
W. p. 391 = T. 8, R. —
6.2–3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TREMISSIS		
			Class II		
*(9)	El. 1.35	15	Same inscr. and type (T. 7)	Same inscr. and type	742/3
			Class III		
*(10)	El. 1.35	14	Same inscr. and type (Turin, Museo Civico)	DNONIC IFORO Same type, but I and B instead of stars in field	

CONSTANTINE V Copronymus[1]

18 June 741 – 14 September 775

Co-emperor from 25 March 720

Colleague: Leo IV (from 6 June 751)

BACKGROUND AND CHRONOLOGY

Constantine V was born in 718 and created co-Augustus by his father on Easter Day, 25 March 720.[2] He became sole emperor on his father's death in the summer of 741. A year later, as we have seen, he was ousted by his brother-in-law Artavasdus, and it was not till 2 November 743 that he recovered the capital and reestablished his position.[3] His long reign lasted for over thirty years, until his death on 14 September 775.[4] He married three times. By his first wife Irene, daughter of the Khazar Khan, he had a son Leo (IV) who succeeded him. His second wife, of whom nothing is known, died childless in 751, within a year of their marriage. By his third wife Eudocia he had five sons and one daughter. Leo IV was born on 25 January 749 and crowned co-Augustus on Whitsunday 751, i.e., 6 June,[5] and thenceforward has a place on the coinage. Eudocia was crowned Augusta on 1 April 769, and the next morning, which was Easter Day, her two elder children Nicephorus and Christopher were created Caesars and their younger brother Nicetas was given the rank of *nobilissimus*.[6] The boys survived to play an unhappy role in the intrigues that accompanied the rise to power of Irene.

"Few reputations," as Finlay observed, "have passed through such an ordeal of malice as that of Constantine, and preserved so many undeniable virtues." It was under him that the war on images was pushed to extremes, and since it was the iconodules who ultimately won, his character and almost every aspect of his policy are depicted by the chroniclers in the worst light. Those concerned with public affairs, even when otherwise prejudiced, took a more balanced view. When the Council of 787 restored the cult of

[1] A. Lombard, *Constantin V, empereur des Romains* (Paris, 1902), remains the fullest account, though requiring correction on points of detail. The current opinion, which I do not share, is that it gives too favorable a view of the emperor.

[2] Above, p. 226.

[3] Above, p. 283.

[4] Theophanes, A. M. 6267 (ed. de Boor, I. 448), with which the *Catalogus Sepulchrorum* agrees (in *DOP*, 16 [1962], 53).

[5] Theophanes, A. M. 6241 (p. 426). If the year were 752, as some scholars believe, the day and month would be 28 May.

[6] *Ibid.*, A. M. 6260 (pp. 443–4). The other brothers Anthimius and Eudocimus were created *nobilissimi* on later occasions. The year was 769, when Easter fell on 2 April, not 768, which is the date usually given. See G. Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 7 (1928/9), 20.

images and condemned Leo and Constantine for their heretical and blasphemous religious policy, it went out of its way to applaud their achievements in other spheres: their courage and success in war, their wise administration, the care they devoted to the welfare of their subjects.[7] Constantine was in fact an outstanding general, and his great military successes in the Balkans and Asia Minor were supported by far-sighted arrangements for the resettlement of provinces so long devastated by invasion and brigandage. Only in Italy did the decline of Byzantine power continue unchecked. Ravenna was lost to the Lombards in 751, and when Pope Adrian I received Charlemagne in Rome in April 774, he did so as effective ruler, if not yet legal sovereign, of the city.

Constantine is one of the few Byzantine emperors whose financial activities are commented upon by contemporary writers. He was accused of avarice—a "Christ-hating new Midas," Nicephorus calls him—and it was said that his hoarding resulted in such a shortage of ready money that prices fell on the market, a boon to the poor of Constantinople but not to farmers having to sell their produce.[8] Further, during the siege of Constantinople in 743, he is alleged to have issued leather solidi to the merchants who supplied his troops, promising to redeem them later, which in due course he did.[9] They were apparently real obsidional money, not simply promises to pay, and the expedient was no doubt suggested by classical precedents, real or imaginary. An occasional resort to leather money was alleged of both the Spartans and the Carthaginians,[10] and a passage in the chronicle of Eusebius-Jerome, to the effect that Numa made use of leather and bark *assaria*,[11] seems to have been of some notoriety—it later caught the attention of Suidas,[12] as it had done that of the compilers of early medieval glossaries in the West—and must have been familiar to the emperor and his advisers.

Coinage: Main Features

Constantine V's coinage is in all essentials a continuation of that of his father, the resemblance being so close that Wroth and Tolstoi both attributed to one emperor coins which really belonged to the other. In a few cases, indeed, we are still uncertain as to where the line between them should be drawn. One striking change, however, was made in the gold, for Constantine practically discontinued, so far as Constantinople was concerned, the issue of semisses and tremisses. The reason for this is unknown. It cannot have been

[7] Mansi, *Concilia*, XIII. 356.

[8] Nicephorus, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 76. A nomisma would buy sixty bushels (*modii*) of wheat or seventy of barley. In contrast, when Constantine was besieging Constantinople, we are told that barley rose to twelve nomismata a bushel in the city, pulse to nineteen, millet and beans to eight, and oil to five measures a nomisma and wine to a semissis a pint (Theophanes, A. M. 6235 [ed. de Boor, I. 419]).

[9] *Chronicon episcoporum Neapolitanae ecclesiae*, in B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus pertinentia*, I (Naples, 1881), 196. The passage in the MS preceding this text, which bears out other accounts which we have of the emperor's humane conduct during the siege, is missing, and it has been plausibly conjectured that it was torn out by some reader of iconodule sympathies (N. Adontz, "Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V, empereurs de Byzance," *Mélanges Bidez* [= *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et de l'histoire orientales et slaves*, 2 (Brussels, 1934)], 11).

[10] Cf. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, I.1, *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1826), xx–xxi.

[11] In Migne, *PL*, XXVIII. 359: *congiarium dedit asses ligneos, et scorteos.*

[12] *s.v.* Ἀσ(σ)άρια.

because their function was taken over by silver, since although Constantine struck miliaresia of the same type as his father, they were still technically of a ceremonial character and their issue did not begin till Leo IV was associated co-emperor in 751. Constantine's folles also remained very small and light, like those of Leo III's later issues, so that in the end the lower fractions ceased to be struck altogether. It was as if both gold and copper were being reduced to the simplest possible pattern of denominations.

One notable innovation was made in the design of the coins. Instead of reverting to the customary pattern of the gold when there was only a single emperor, and of using a cross potent as the basic reverse type, Constantine V preferred to show himself in association with his deceased father. It has been suggested elsewhere (above, p. 9) that this may show Muslim influence: it was a pictorial representation of the filiation formulae which played a major role in Arab personal names (ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, etc.). Scholars have differed in their view as to whether the side of the coin with Leo's bust should be considered the obverse or the reverse. It seems that there is no simple answer to the problem, for it was first one and subsequently the other. The solidus is not at first sight of much help, since the early coins show both emperors holding a cross potent on base (Pl. VIII. 1), but the semisses (Pl. VIII. 3, 4) provide the answer. On those with Constantine and Leo III only, it is Constantine who holds the cross potent on globe which identifies the denomination, and it is therefore he who occupies the reverse; on those with Constantine, Leo IV, and Leo III, it is the last of these who performs the same function and thus marks the reverse. Further, if the solidi are examined carefully, it will be found that while the two emperors hold the same symbol, a cross potent on base, they hold it differently. Leo's hand passes in front of the shaft of the cross as if he were holding it inwardly, toward himself; Constantine holds it from behind, his thumb upright against the inner side of the shaft, as if he were holding the cross outward, toward the spectator. This is essentially how Constantine holds the cross potent on globe of the semissis, and was apparently intended to differentiate between the cross as an imperial symbol and the cross as a mark of value. When held as a mark of value it indicates the reverse of the coin.

The mints of Constantine V are essentially those of Leo III, but Ravenna was active during only the first decade of the reign and the attribution of coins to Naples is highly conjectural. The coinage of the western provinces remained quite separate from that of the eastern, with mainland Italy characterized by badly debased gold and the continued use of the tremissis, Sicily by an abundant copper coinage quite distinct in design from that of the capital. Italy also differed from Constantinople in continuing to strike tiny silver coins of the traditional pattern, probably in very inadequate quantities, instead of adopting the large, thin miliaresia now coming into use in the East.

Constantinople

SOLIDI. Two classes of solidi were struck during the reign. Both have on one side the bust of Leo III, but Class I (741–51) has on the other the bust of Constantine V only, Class II (751–75) the busts of Constantine V and Leo IV. Each can be further broken down, and some of the details require comment.

In Class I the two emperors are dressed alike and bear the same insignia, a cross potent on base and an akakia. We have seen above that the different ways in which the cross potent is held mark the distinction between the obverse and the reverse of the coin. The class can be conveniently subdivided into Class Ia, with an officina letter following the obverse inscription, and Ib, without one, Ia being the earlier in date of the two. The only officina letters known to me are H, Θ, and I, but others may well exist. The obverse inscription on Class Ia invariably begins ϭN, i.e., the traditional DN (*Dominus Noster*), while on Class Ib the ϭ is usually absent, so that the inscription reads NC ON ST̈ANT̈INYS (or variant), but occasionally it is replaced by a meaningless I, O, or even B. Some coins without officina letters, however, have ϭN, and I doubt if the division into Classes Ia and Ib represents any real distinction between "issues"; it is rather a device of numismatic convenience for placing the coins in approximate order of issue. Some coins with initial ϭN have the final S of Constantine's name either followed or replaced by NC or ΘC, often ligatured (N̈, ϴC), like the N̈ which precedes Constantine's name on some solidi of Leo III's Class III (above, p. 246, No. 7f). I have treated these as meaningful variants in the text of the catalogue, though I can offer no explanation for them.[13] N (for Z) and Θ are possible officina letters, and a C had followed the officina letter on some solidi of Theodosius III and Leo III, but one would not expect an officina letter after Constantine's name. There are, in addition to the variants occurring in the standard works, others, such as the frequent blundering of the end of Constantine's name, which might be noted, but they are probably no more than die-sinker's errors and of no consequence. The dropping of the ϭ from ϭN, leaving only a now meaningless N, is sufficient evidence that the workmen had little understanding of what they were inscribing on their dies.

The issue of Class II was spread over nearly twenty-five years. The obverse shows the two busts of Constantine V and Leo IV, each wearing chlamys and carrying no insignia, and the reverse has a redesigned bust of Leo III, this time wearing a loros and holding toward the spectator a cross potent on base. The inscriptions are invariable: CONST̈AN-T̈INOS S LEON O NEOS, i.e., Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Λέων ὁ νέος, and ϭLEON PA MYL, the letter N having consistently the form Ν on the obverse and N on the reverse. There are two sub-classes, which succeed each other chronologically but can be only approximately dated. Class Ia (751–*c.*757) has both busts on the obverse small, but Leo IV is still an infant and smaller than Constantine. The only "officina" letters used are Θ (common) and A (very rare), but often there is none at all. Class IIb (*c.*757–775) is less homogeneous. The busts are much closer to each other in size, but on some specimens both are medium in size and on others, presumably the latest in date, they are very large and the inscription is usually partly off flan. No sharp distinction, however, can be made between the two groups. The "officina" letters that occur are Φ (medium busts and large busts) and B (large busts only), the latter being a B on a flat base of a kind often found in eighth- and ninth-century inscriptions,[14] but many specimens have no letter at all. The appearance of the letter Φ, which had never occurred in the traditional pattern of officina letters,

[13] The final AV(C) on sixth-century coins was occasionally ligatured and transformed into N, but AVC had disappeared too long from the coins for this to be a possible explanation here.

[14] See above, p. 187. Wroth, p. 379, No. 9, suggested that it might be a Δ altered to a B, but this is not the case.

shows that the numerical series of officinae had now been abandoned in favor of new control marks whose exact significance is unknown. The status of the Θ of Class IIa is ambiguous; it may be a survival of the Θ of Class I and still an officina letter of the old type, or it may belong to the new pattern, in which Θ was to recur quite frequently in the future.

FRACTIONAL GOLD. This is virtually nonexistent; its disappearance is one of the major novelties in Constantine's coinage. No tremisses of the mint of Constantinople are known at all; those attributed to it by Wroth (No. 12) and Tolstoi (Nos. 9–11) are coins of Leo III's reign (above, pp. 249–50, Nos. 16.1, 17.1, 18a.1). This is also true of the semissis Wroth No. 11 (above, p. 247, No. 10). Two types of semissis, however, each known in only a single specimen, were struck, probably for purposes of ceremonial distribution. One belongs to the period of Constantine V's sole reign, and since the form of the inscription corresponds to that of Class Ia of the solidus, it was probably struck at his accession. The other is of the joint reign of Constantine V and Leo IV, presumably for the latter's coronation. The two coins are described and illustrated below, Nos. 3, 4.

SILVER COINAGE. This requires little comment. The traditional types of ceremonial coin were no longer struck. The miliaresion is of the same general type as that introduced by Leo III, but the design has now become stereotyped and there is nothing corresponding to the minor varieties that occur under this emperor. The nominally ceremonial character of the denomination is shown by the fact of its not being struck prior to Leo IV's association as co-emperor in 751. There are no problems of attribution, since the only other Constantine of this period was Constantine VI, whose coins all show him associated with his mother Irene. No half miliaresion is known, and it is probable that none was issued.

COPPER COINAGE.[15] Constantine's copper coins are of the traditional denominations, with the customary marks of value, but the decanummia and pentanummia are extremely rare and are not known for the two final issues. The follis was so small, and had probably so low a purchasing power, that the need for fractional coinage was limited. Four classes were struck, each of which raises some problems.

Class 1 (Constantine V alone). 741–?. The obverse has a facing bust with inscription, and the reverse a mark of value between three X's and three N's, with an officina letter (A or B) beneath. The obverse type is puzzling in that the bust appears to be beardless; it is difficult to be sure, but the face is certainly more rounded and "childish" than the effigy on the gold.[16] The coins are in any case out of step with the solidus in having no reference to Leo III.

The explanation is presumably that the mint carried on without change the type of bust used for Constantine on the last issues of his father's reign. The other possibility, suggested to me by Mr. Veglery, is that the coins might belong to Constantine VI, who was only a child at his accession and is shown as beardless on his solidi. This seems to me unlikely on several grounds. The design of the bust, and in particular the treatment of the hair, differs from that customary in the 780's; Officina B still occurs, while by the 780's it had disappeared; and Constantine's coins all show him associated with his mother

[15] See P. Grierson, "The Copper Coinage of Leo III (717–41) and Constantine V (720–75)," *NC*[7], 5 (1965), 183–96.

[16] In my article the bust is described as bearded, but this seems to be incorrect.

Irene. In any case these coins of Class 1 could not be fitted into the pattern of Constantine VI's folles, and I see no alternative to making them the first coinage of Constantine V.

Their issue presumably started in 741 and went on until the late 740's. It can scarcely have ended with the usurpation of Artavasdus, since coins of the following class are so rare. The issue is noteworthy as being the last for which an Officina B is recorded.

Class 2 (Constantine V alone). ?–751. This has on the obverse a bearded bust, holding a cross potent on base, and a reverse similar to that of Class 1 save that that of the pentanummium is a simple Є. Here the type of bust conforms to that of the solidus and is what one would expect, but anomalous features of the class are its extreme rarity, the fact that the only denominations known are the half follis and the pentanummium, and the character of the obverse inscription. Instead of the lettering being small and neat, as with Class 1, it is large and mostly off flan, so that the only letters legible on recorded specimens are the last one or two, a Τ or ΤA, with a doubtful S before the ΤA. An attribution of the class to Artavasdus, reading [AR]ΤA instead of [CONS]ΤA, is an obvious possibility, but none of Artavasdus' coins show him holding a cross potent on base, and it seems best, at least provisionally, to attribute the coins to Constantine V. The finding of a better preserved specimen would settle the matter.

Class 3 (with Leo IV). 751–769?. Only folles and half folles are known of this class, and I suspect that no other denominations were struck. The coins have on the obverse the busts of Constantine and Leo IV. The reverse of the follis shows the bust of Leo III above an M flanked by X and N, that of the half follis only a K between three X's and three N's. The bust of Leo III is evidently omitted because of the small size of the flans. Although there is no obverse inscription, the attribution is not in doubt. The issue presumably began in 751. Its ending, and the introduction of Class 4 with the seated figures of the two emperors, can be conjecturally dated to the ceremonies which accompanied the crowning of Eudocia and the ennobling of other members of Constantine's family at Easter 769 (above, p. 290).

Class 4 (with Leo IV). 769?–775. As with Class 3, only folles and half folles are known. The obverse shows two seated figures. The reverse of the follis continues that of Class 3, while that of the half follis is a K between three N's and three X's, with no pretense of an officina letter. The follis is rather larger and heavier than that of Class 3, and may have been intended for a special distribution. The half follis was the last Byzantine coin of this denomination to have the traditional mark of value; later half folles have the M of the follis but are half the size of this coin.

Sicily

Constantine's Sicilian coinage is not altogether easy to understand. It can be identified only by its style, though the mint-mark CIK′ is said to occur on one coin, a rare half follis.

No gold coinage is known for the sole reign of Constantine V, a gap that is difficult to explain. Solidi of the period after 751, with the two busts of Constantine and Leo IV on the obverse and that of Leo III on the reverse, are quite common. They are mainly of two varieties, having either no symbol or a Θ in the reverse field; a third, with a labarum in the field, is known in only a single specimen. The coins are of poor fabric, badly rounded,

with rough irregular edges, and are of somewhat inferior gold. The busts of the earliest and the latest coins are relatively well designed, but the inscriptions are usually blundered and largely illegible, partly because of the small, ill-formed letters, partly because most of them are off flan.

The solidi present no problems of identification, since the combination of three imperial busts occurs only in the reign of Constantine V. This is not the case with the semisses and tremisses, where there is no room for three busts and the inscriptions are virtually illegible. The coins here attributed to Constantine V and Leo IV have on one side a bearded bust and on the other a beardless one, the latter accompanied by an inscription which usually seems to include elements of LEONPAMYL. This would normally allude to Leo III, not Leo IV, and to complicate matters further the inscriptions seem often to be more or less identical on *both* sides of the coins. On stylistic grounds the coins could not be as early as Leo III and on material grounds they could not be as late as Leo V, in whose time the emperors are normally termed *basileus* or *despotes*. They could, however, be coins of Leo IV and Constantine VI, to whom no Sicilian gold is usually attributed. Since they are so close stylistically to the solidi of Constantine V, however, I have in the end preferred to keep them together under this ruler (Nos. 16–17), but am not altogether convinced that it is to him that they will be finally assigned.

The copper coinage of the reign is common, and follows the same pattern as that of Leo III. Coins of 741–51 have the half-figure of Constantine on one face and that of Leo III on the other; they can be distinguished from that of Leo III's reign only by the fact that both the faces are bearded. The folles of 751–75 have the two busts of Constantine and Leo IV on one face, the standing figure of Leo III on the other. There is also a very rare half follis (No. 20) having on the obverse two busts above a line with CIK′ (?) beneath, on the reverse a single bust above a line with Λ (for Λέων, i.e., Leo III) beneath. The reading CIK′ is given by Ricotti from a specimen in his own collection, but this is not illustrated, and on the specimen at Dumbarton Oaks the letters are not clear. Both denomination and type are unusual, but a coin of a related type, with a quite legible CIK′, was struck under Leo IV (below, p. 334, No. 8).

Naples (?)

A few Italian coins exist which cannot be attributed to Sicily, Rome, or Ravenna. One group of them is attributed conjecturally to Naples in the catalogue (Nos. 21–24). The solidus (No. 21) and follis (No. 24) seem stylistically to come from a single mint, and to be linked with a solidus struck in copper which is copied from one of Rome (No. 22). I have added to these a curious silver coin (No. 23) which has some affinities with the copper; though the bust is copied from that of a silver coin of Rome, the treatment of the hair is different from that found on coins of the latter mint. The quality of the gold of the solidus, however, is much better than had been usual for Neapolitan coins in the past, and it may well be that these attributions will not stand up to further research.

Rome

The coinage of Rome in the name of Constantine V closely resembles that of his father. Virtually the only denominations struck were solidi and tremisses, and as under Leo III

the two were identical in type, differing from each other simply in size and weight. The earliest coins are of poor quality electrum, perhaps about eight carats fine. The later ones are of base silver, copper, or potin, apparently with no gold content at all. Even if they were once gilded or plated it is difficult to see how they can have ever served an economic purpose.

All the coins have letters in the reverse field, some of these including the initial of Rome—✱R, R, RM,[17] RI—and some apparently serving as numerals: B, Γ, Δ, IA, IΔ (accompanied by two stars), IE.[18] Since the highest numeral-letter is 15, as it had been under Leo III, one's natural inclination is to interpret them as indictions. An arrangement of the coins on this basis, however, runs in some respects contrary to what one would arrive at by grouping together those having other features in common—trefoils instead of crosses on the crowns, a blundered mixture of chlamys and loros, a laddered V-shaped pattern on the pendants of the fibulae—and does not take account of the coins having no letter-numerals at all. There must be, in any case, coins still to be discovered, both missing denominations—solidi with B where we have tremisses, tremisses with Γ where we have solidi—and letter-numerals not at present represented at all. The order given in the catalogue, therefore, must be regarded as no more than provisional, with only the beginning—coins identical in portrait with those of Artavasdus and the later years of Leo III—and the end—coins with the same portrait as that used under Leo IV—at all certain.

Small silver coins having on the reverse a monogram of K (for Κωνσταντῖνος)[19] and a cross are also customarily attributed to Rome. Although the portrait does not very closely resemble that of the "gold," they are more likely to belong to Rome than to any other mint.

Ravenna

The coinage of this mint necessarily belongs to the first decade of the reign, before the coronation of Leo IV as co-emperor, since the city was captured by the Lombard King Aistulf in or shortly before 751.[20] Its known coinage consists entirely of tremisses, though since Aistulf also struck solidi and folles it is probable that these denominations remain to be found. The tremisses are of distinctive style and fabric, and since in both particulars they resemble the coins of Aistulf, their mint is not in doubt. They are of poor metal, heavily alloyed with silver and often blackened on the surface with silver sulfide, so that specimens have usually been described as silver instead of as electrum or gold. They have rough irregular edges and the flans are always smaller than the dies, so that the inscriptions are mostly off flan. The normal obverse type is a bust of Constantine V, but this is preceded by one, stylistically rather different, having the busts of Constantine and his father side by side, Constantine being beardless but occupying the place of honor on the spectator's left. The design resembles that subsequently used for Class II of the gold coins of Rome and may have provided the model for it (cf. Nos. 27 and 45 on Pl. XI).

[17] This, the traditional abbreviation of *Roma*, was continued on denari of Pope Adrian I.

[18] RI should perhaps be added to this list also, reading the I as *iota* (= 10).

[19] Not the anti-pope Constantine (767–8), as Laffranchi suggested in his article cited above, p. 89, note 261.

[20] See the Introduction, p. 92.

The reverse type of all the tremisses is a cross potent on base, with an indictional date-letter in the field such as we find on the coins of Aistulf. Three dates are known for certain, ΙΔ (14), ΙΕ (15), and Α (1), i.e., A.D. 745/6, 746/7, and 747/8, and there is a possible Β (i.e., 2 = A.D. 748/9). On one coin of the year 747/8 the Α is surmounted by a cross, the significance of which is unknown.

Uncertain Italian Mints

As one consequence of the continued decline of Byzantine power in Italy, there are fewer unattributable coins of Constantine V than of Leo III. I have put under this heading a tremissis which fits into no obvious category (No. 51) and a copper or billon coin (No. 52) with a cross potent reverse which has no obvious affinities with anything else struck during the reign.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Constantinople		
					SOLIDUS		
					Class I		
					ϭ LЄ ONPAMЧL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand *inwards* cross potent on base; in l., akakia	ϭNCO N SƬANƬINЧS Similar bust to obv., but of Constantine V, and cross potent held *outwards*	741–751
					(a) With officina letter		
(1a)	Ꝗ	4.41	21		(W. 1 = T. 6) At end, H	At end, `	
*1b	Ꝗ	4.40	21	↓	At end, Θ	Ends ƬINS	
*1c	Ꝗ	4.43	21	↓	At end, I	Begins ϭNC ON	
					(b) Without officina letter		
*1d.1	Ꝗ	4.44	20	↓	ϭ LЄO NPAMЧL`	ϭNCO N SƬANƬINЧS·	
1d.2	Ꝗ	4.30	20	↓	ϭ LЄO NPAMЧL[` ?] Double struck	ϭNCO N SƬANƬINЧS· Double struck	
(1e.1)	Ꝗ	4.39	19		(W. 4 = T. 5) ϭ LЄO NPAMЧLƬ	ϭNCO N SƬANƬINЧSN	
*(1e.2)	Ꝗ	4.43	19		(W. 3, R. 1743) ϭ LЄ ONPAMЧL	BCO NS ƬANƬINЧN	
(1f)	Ꝗ	4.45	20		(T. 4)	ΓC ON SƬANƬINЧΘC	

(1a) T. 7 similar but rev. inscr. ends IЧN (for INЧ)
1b Peirce 1948 from Schulman 7. xi. 28
W. 2 (rev. ends NЧN) = T. 8, R. —
1c Shaw 1947
W. —, T. —, R. —
1d.1–2 Whittemore
W. 5–6, T. 1 (no pellet after rev. inscr.), 3 (rev. breaks ϭNC ON and ends NЧ), R. 1745 (as T. 3)
(1e.2) The illustration on the plate is of the Ratto specimen.
(1f) The ΘC is sometimes ligatured, e.g., on R. 1744.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1g.1	N	4.51	20	↓		NC ON STANTINY	741–751
*1g.2	N	4.46	21	↘		NC ON STANTINY	
*1g.3	N	4.43	21	↓		NC ON STANTINY	
*1g.4	N	4.43	21	↓		NC ON STANTINYS	
					Class II		
					CONSTANTINOSSLEO NONEOS Busts of Constantine, bearded, on l., and Leo IV, beardless, on r., facing, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between heads, cross	6 LE ONPAMYL Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r., *outwards*, cross potent on base	751–775
					(a) Bust of Leo IV small		751–*c.* 757
*2a.1	N	4.43	22	↙			
2a.2	N	4.40	20	↓		Begins · 6	
2a.3	N	4.39	21	↓			
*(2b)	N	4.39	20		(ANS Museum)	At end, A	
2c.1	N	4.49	20	↓		At end, Θ	
*2c.2	N	4.46	20	↓		At end, Θ	

1g.1 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co.
W. —, T. 2 (No. 1 on plate; rev. inscr. ends NYS), R. —
1g.2 Friend
1g.3–4 Whittemore
2a.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond
W. 7 (pellet after rev. inscr.), T. 33–34, R. 1750
2a.2–3 Whittemore
(2b) E. T. Newell, *The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe*, NNM, No. 105 (New York, 1945), 10, No. 22. This is the only specimen with A known to me.
2c.1 Whittemore
W. 8 = T. 37, 38–39, R. 1751
The four coins 2c.1–4, with Θ, have a childish bust of Leo IV, very like the first one used for Constantine V just after his coronation, and must date from the very early 750's. The use of Θ continued, however, for older busts.
2c.2 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2c.3	Æ	4.45	20	↘		At end, Θ	751–*c.* 757
*2c.4	Æ	4.42	20	↘		Ends ΜΥΘ	
	pierced						
					(b) Larger bust of Leo IV		*c.* 757–775
2d.1	Æ	4.46	20	↓			
2d.2	Æ	4.46	21	↓	Ends ΠΕΟ′		
2d.3	Æ	4.45	21	↙			
*2d.4	Æ	4.40	20	↓			
(2e)	Æ		20	↓	(Hess-Bank Leu sale 5. iv. 55, lot 203)	At end, Θ	
*2f.1	Æ	4.40	20	↓	Ends ΠΕΟϽ	At end, B	
2f.2	Æ	4.40	21	↘	Ends ΠΕΟϽ	At end, B	
*2f.3	Æ	4.38	22	↘	Ends ΠΕΟϽ	At end, B	
2g.1	Æ	4.49	21	↓		At end, Φ	
*2g.2	Æ	4.44	20	↓	Ends ΠΕΟ′	At end, Φ	
*2g.3	Æ	4.38	21	↓		At end, Φ	
2g.4	Æ	4.34	19	↙		At end, Φ	

2c.3–4 Whittemore

2d.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. 35, R. —

2d.2 Whittemore
The busts of Leo IV on this coin and the next two are not very large, but are appreciably older than those on coins of group 2a–2c and are about the same size as the accompanying busts of Constantine V, which are smaller than usual.

2d.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

2d.4 Whittemore

(2e) Cited to show that Θ is found on coins with a maturer bust of Leo IV. Other examples are Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Basel, Auktion VII, 3. xii. 48, lot 712, and Kress Auction 151, 23. xi. 70, lot 1293.

2f.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
W. 9, T. 36, R. —
The large size of the busts on the obverses of group 2f has resulted in smaller letters, which are often partly off flan, and in the horizontal ϽΝ of ΠΕΟϽΝ.

2f.2–3 Whittemore

2g.1–4 Whittemore
W. 10, T. 40, R. 1752

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			SEMISSIS		
			Class I		
			ϭ LЄ ONPAMYLT Bust bearded, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand, *inwards*, cross potent on base; in l., akakia	ϭNC ON STANTINY Similar bust to obv., but of Constantine V, and holds in r., *outwards*, cross potent on globe	741 (?)
*(3)	Ⱥ 2.04	19 ↓	(R. 1746)		
			Class II		
			CONSTANTINOSSLEO NON Same type as solidus, Class II	ϭ LЄ ONPAMYLT Same type as solidus, Class II, but Leo III holds, *outwards*, a cross potent on globe	751 (?)
*(4)	Ⱥ 2.22	17	(Vienna)		
			MILIARESION		
			CON STANTI NESLEON ЄCΘЄYbA SILIS· within triple circle of dots	IhSYSXRIS TYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within triple circle of dots	751–775

(3) Publ. by H. Goodacre, who acquired the coin, in his "Notes on Some Rare Byzantine Coins," *NC*[5], 11 (1931), 152–55.

(4) H. Longuet, "Die unedierten byzantinischen Münzen des Wiener Kabinettes," *NZ*, 77 (1957), 45, No. 280.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5.1	Æ 1.76 very worn	22 ↑	Pellet obscure		751–775
*5.2	Æ 1.74 pierced	24 ↓			
*5.3	Æ 1.37 pierced	23 ↓			
*5.4	Æ 1.36 pierced	22 ↓			
*5.5	Æ 2.16	25 ↓	Struck over dirhem		
			COPPER		
			Class 1		
			FOLLIS		
			ƆNCON SƬANƬINЧ Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	M Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N	741–(?)
6a.1	Æ 4.21	20 ↓	]CON SƬA[	Beneath, A	
*6a.2	Æ 3.34	19 ↓	]ON SƬANƬIN	Beneath, A	

5.1 Peirce 1948 from Feuardent
W. 13–14, T. 49, R. 1753
5.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
5.3 Swiss Collection 1956
This coin and the next have the appearance of being very poor metal.
5.4 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Kogler (Graz) 1920
5.5 Swiss Collection 1956
Struck over an Arab dirhem, perhaps of Darabjird, of A.H. 98 (= A.D. 716/17). This specimen is published by G. C. Miles, "Byzantine Miliaresion and Arab Dirhem: Some Notes on Their Relationship," *MN*, 9 (1960), 197–8, No. 2, with an enlarged illustration on his Pl. x. 5. Of the five miliaresia published above, it is the only one in good condition and of high weight.
6–14 On the characteristics and chronology of the copper see above, pp. 294–5.
6a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 15, T. 28, R. —
6a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6a.3	Æ 1.70 broken	18 ↘	ƆNC[ ]ƚANƚINЧ	Beneath, A	741–(?)
*6b.1	Æ 5.02	22 ↑	ƆNCON SƚANƚIN	Beneath, B	
*6b.2	Æ 3.44 broken	22 ↓	ƆNCON [ ]ANƚI	Beneath, B	
*6b.3	Æ 2.20 broken	21 ↓	ƆNCON SƚANƚIN	Beneath, B	
			HALF FOLLIS		
			Same inscr. and type	K Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N Beneath, A	
*7a.1	Æ 1.70	16 ↓	]ON SƚANƚIN	To r. of K, pellet	
7a.2	Æ 1.67	17 ↓	]NCON [ ]NƚIN	To r. of K, pellet	
*7b.1	Æ 1.37	18 ↑	]O[ ]ƚANƚ[	To r. of K, cross	
7b.2	Æ 0.90 chipped	16 ↓	]ON SƚA[	To r. of K, cross	
			DECANUMMIUM		
			Same inscr. and type	I Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N Beneath, A	

6a.3 Swiss Collection 1956
6b.1–3 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
7a.1–2 Swiss Collection
W. —, T. —, R. —
These half folles are all in poor condition. Presumably ones with officina letter B were also struck, but none are known to me.
7b.1–2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 27, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*8	Æ	1.22	15 ↘	]S ꞇANЧI		741–(?)
				Class 2		
				HALF FOLLIS		
				Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand, outwards, cross potent on base, in l., akakia	K Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N Beneath, A	(?)–751
*9.1	Æ	1.44	16 ↙	]ꞇ	N N N illegible	
9.2	Æ	1.05	14 ↙	]ꞇ		
*9.3	Æ	0.96	15 ↙	]ꞇ	Cross and N N N off flan	
				PENTANUMMIUM		
*10	Æ	0.66	14 ↓	Similar inscr. and bust]ꞇA	Є	

8 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
This specimen was published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 9, No. 23.

9–10 These may be coins of Artavasdus, but Constantine V seems more probable; the obv. type corresponds to that of the solidus, and one would expect coins of Constantine alone with bearded bust. See above, pp. 284–5. It is unfortunate that nothing decisive is legible of the specimens at Dumbarton Oaks, which are the only ones known to me. A possible decanummium of this class, ascribed to Nicephorus I, is illustrated by Sabatier (*Description*, II. 74, No. 3, Pl. XLI. 16 = T. 6).

9.1–2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
No. 9.2 was published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), p. 9, No. 22. He read the inscr. as]C ONSC, which if correct would settle the attribution of the coin. I can only make out the last letter, which might be C, but is more likely ꞇ.

9.3 Grierson 3. iii. 60

10 Grierson 1956 from Glendining sale 3. v. 51, lots 110/112
W. —, T. —, R. —
Published in *NC*[7], 5 (1965), 193. This specimen, so far as I am aware, is unique.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 3		
					FOLLIS		
					No inscription Two busts facing, Constantine on l., bearded, Leo IV on r., beardless and slightly smaller. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross. Between heads, cross	No inscription Bust of Leo III facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand, inwards, cross potent on base, all above a horizontal line ornamented at each end with little globes. Below, M with X to l., N to r., and A beneath. In upper field r., cross	751–769(?)
11.1	Æ	3.24	20	↓			
*11.2	Æ	2.86	23	↙			
11.3	Æ	2.59	18	↙			
11.4	Æ	2.35	17	↙			
11.5	Æ	2.20	18	↓			
*11.6	Æ	1.66	17	↓			
11.7	Æ	1.65	17	↙			
*11.8	Æ	1.62	18	↘			
11.9	Æ	1.59	17	↘			
*11.10	Æ	1.55	17	↓			

11 Dikigoropoulos attempted to divide these coins chronologically, according to Leo IV's increasing age as shown on them, but the scale is too small and the condition of the coins too unsatisfactory for one to be certain that such distinctions were intended. Although most of the specimens at Dumbarton Oaks come from one collection, it is clear from their diverse patination that they are not from one hoard: at least four sources must have been involved. Most are very worn and corroded, and a number were struck on flans too small for the dies. The latter varied a good deal in diameter, from *c.* 16 mm. to *c.* 20 mm.

11.1–7 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 23–25, T. 54, R. 1754–5

11.8 Schindler 1960

11.9 Swiss Collection 1956

11.10 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
11.11	Æ	1.53	17	↘			751–
11.12	Æ	1.51	17	↓			769(?)
11.13	Æ	1.49	16	↓			
					HALF FOLLIS		
					No inscription Same type	K Above, cross. X N To l., X To r., N X N Beneath, A	
*12	Æ	0.93	15	↓			
					Class 4		
					FOLLIS		
					No inscription Two figures seated facing on lyre-backed throne, Constantine on l., bearded, Leo IV on r., beardless. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross, and rests r. hand (? holding akakia) on lap. Between heads, cross	No inscription Same type as follis of Class 3	769(?)–775
13.1	Æ	4.03	20	↙			
13.2	Æ	3.61	20	↓			
*13.3	Æ	3.18	22	↓			

11.11–13 Swiss Collection 1956
12 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
Published in *NC*⁷, 5 (1965), 194. This specimen, so far as I am aware, is unique.
13.1–2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 26, T. 26, R. —
13.3 Schindler 1960 from Lubotić 1944

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					HALF FOLLIS		
14.1	Æ	1.98	16	↓	No inscription Same type	K To l., X X X To r., N N N	769(?)–775
*14.2	Æ	1.02	15	↑			
					Syracuse		
					SOLIDUS		
					Garbled fragments of names of Constantine and Leo. Busts of Constantine, bearded, on l., and Leo IV, beardless, on r., facing, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. Between heads, cross	ϽN OL ЄONPAMЧL Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand, outwards, cross potent on base	751–775
					(a) Very young bust of Leo IV; no letter in rev. field		
*15a	Ꝑ	3.91	20	↓	COЧ[	] OL ЄONPAMЧL	

14.1 H. Weller 1. vii. 70
W. —, T. —, R. —

14.2 Swiss Collection
This specimen, which at the time was the only one known, was published in *NC*⁷, 5 (1965), 194.

15 The letters of the obv. inscriptions are tiny and formless, and can be only approximately rendered in print. The base of the cross potent held by Leo IV is usually off flan, but is sometimes clear, e.g., *BNC*, Pl. LXVII. Sy/Ꝑ/01.

15a Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Older bust of Leo IV; no letter in rev. field		751–775
*15b.1	Æ	3.98	21	↓	Inscr. off flan	] OL ЄONPAM[	
*15b.2	Æ	3.84	23	↓	CO[ ]Ɔ [ ]LЄ	6 [ ] ЄONPAM[	
					(c) Mature bust of Leo IV; no letter in rev. field		
*15c.1	Æ	3.96	22	↓	COꝟ—Λ Λ [ ]ƧЄ	]ΛMꝟ	
15c.2	Æ	3.85	20	↓	Illegible inscr.	Illegible inscr.	
*15c.3	Æ	3.82	20	↙	Inscr. off flan	] O[ ]PAM'	
*15c.4	Æ	3.75	25	↓	COꝟƧ Λ Λ LЄO	]L ЄONPAMꝟ[	
15c.5	Æ	3.63	20	↓	Inscr. off flan	6 N OL ЄONP[	
					(d) Mature bust of Leo IV; Θ in rev. field r.		
15d.1	Æ	3.89	20	↓	IOV—[	]NPAM	
*15d.2	Æ	3.68	20	↘	COV[	] O NL CONPAM	
*15e	Æ	3.48	20	↓	Inscr. illegible. Leo on l., Constantine on r.	]MЧI	

15b.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, T. —, R. —
The bust of Leo IV on this coin and the next is absurdly large and boyish, in contrast to the very childish one of 15a and the maturer ones of 15c–15f. These coins, and those that follow, are of noticeably poorer gold than 15a.

15c.1 Whittemore
W. 28–30, T. 42, R. —, Ricotti 192

15c.2–3 Whittemore

15c.4 Peirce 1948 from Schulman iv. 30

15c.5 Schindler 1960 from Kallai (Vienna) 17. ii. 36

15d.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, T. 43, R. —, Ricotti 193
Besides the Θ in the field, the coins of group 15d differ from the others in having a diamond pattern of four pellets, instead of a single large globule, on the V-shaped part of the tunic visible at Leo III's neck.

15e Schindler 1960 from Dorotheum sale 9. xi. 36
W. —, T. —, R. —
The interchange of the figures on the obv. is a die-sinker's error, as is evident from the alteration in the position of the fibulae from their r. to their l. shoulders. The reverse shows a globule at the emperor's neck instead of the usual four pellets. The surface of the coin has been badly scratched in modern times.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(e) Mature bust of Leo IV; labarum in rev. field r.		751–775
*(15f)	Æ	3.85	19		(T. 44 = Ricotti 194)		
					SEMISSIS		
					Fragmentary inscr. Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	Fragmentary inscr. Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet, holding in r. hand, by the shaft, cross potent on globe	
*16.1	Æ	1.86	15	↓	II·ON CONPAM	I V OL ЄONPA	
*16.2	Æ	1.83	15	↘	] CO [ ]NPA	]NƬC	
					TREMISSIS		
					Similar inscr. Same type.	Similar inscr. and type, but emp. holds, outwards, cross potent on base	
*17a.1	Æ	1.28	15	↓	] L[ ] CONPA	]LTΛ	
*17a.2	Æ	1.24	12	↘	I ΠOI CONPΛY	Formless letters	
*17b	Æ	1.22	12	↓	] C[ ]PAM	] CЄ ONPAM	

16–17 On the uncertain attribution of these coins, see above, p. 296.

16.1 Whittemore
W. 32, T. —, R. —

16.2 Schindler 1960 from Button 1. v. 38

17a.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
W. —, T. —, R. 1740 (as Leo III), Ricotti 188

17a.2 Swiss Collection 1956

17b Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
This coin, which appears to be identical with one in the Rohde Sale (Hess 24. v. 86, lot 853), differs somewhat in the design of the busts, and in the large, well-formed letters, from the other tremisses and semisses here catalogued. It may come at the beginning of the series, or even go back to the reign of Leo III, where the coins have similar lettering though they are different in style (cf. Pl. v. 51).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			FOLLIS *Class 1*		
			Three-quarter length figure of Constantine V, bearded, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand, akakia. To l., K Ω N S To r., Δ Є C Π	Same type as obv., but with Leo IV, beardless. To l., Λ Є O N To r., N Є O V	751–775
*18.1	Æ 3.67	20 ↓			
*18.2	Æ 2.90	19 ↓	Δ and Π off flan	Λ and NЄOV off flan	
18.3	Æ 2.54 chipped	19 ↓	S and Π off flan	Λ off flan	
18.4	Æ 2.24	16 ↓	И for N; S and CΠ off flan	NЄOV off flan	
18.5	Æ 1.76	16 ↓	Π off flan	N off flan	
18.6	Æ 1.62	16 ↓	K and Δ off flan	ΛЄON and N off flan	

18–19 The wide range of weights found in these coins is due to their often being struck on small, irregularly shaped flans. Many of them are also very worn.

18.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 33–34, T. 50, R. —, Ricotti 190–1
W. 33 (= Ricotti 191) is described as having Leo *bearded*, i.e., Leo III, but this seems to me incorrect. On both W. 33 and W. 34 only Є and C to Leo's right are visible. Wroth mistakenly reconstructed the word as ΔЄCΠ, not NЄOV, and is followed by Tolstoi on T. 50. Davies Sherborn, on the basis of a specimen on which only ЄOV was legible, wrongly proposed to read [ЄK Θ]ЄOV (*N.Circ.*, 23 [1915], 309–10; 25 [1917], 148). R. 1756 (= Ricotti 190), attributed to Constantine V, is really a coin of Leo III (above, p. 269, No. 55.1).

18.2 Peirce 1948

18.3–6 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 2		
					Two half-length figures facing, Constantine V on l., bearded, Leo IV on r., beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand akakia. Between heads, cross. To l., K To r., Λ Є O N	Half-length figure of Leo III facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand, cross potent on base. To l., Λ Є O N To r., Δ Є C Π	751–775
					(a) ΛЄON (with O) on obv.		
19a.1	Æ	3.19	19	↓	K ΛЄON	ΔЄCΠ	
*19a.2	Æ	3.10	20	↓	ΛЄON	ΔЄC	
19a.3	Æ	3.02	19	↓	ΛЄON	ΔЄC	
*19a.4	Æ	2.99	18	↓	ЄON	ΛЄ and ΔЄC	
19a.5	Æ	2.95	20	↓	ΛЄON	ΛЄ and ΔЄCΠ	
19a.6	Æ	2.92	19	↓	ЄO	Є and ΔЄ	
19a.7	Æ	2.69	21	↓	ЄO	ΔЄCΠ	
19a.8	Æ	2.51	19	↓	ΛЄON	O and ΔЄCΠ	
*19a.9	Æ	2.32	20	↓	ΛЄO	ΛЄON and ΔЄC	

19 These coins, like those of the preceding series, are habitually struck on flans too small for the dies, so that at least half the letters on either side are normally off flan. The letters recorded are those that are visible, but I have no doubt that the inscriptions were always complete on the dies. The only notable variant is in the spelling of Leo IV's name (ΛЄON or ΛЄωN). Leo III is invariably ΛЄON.

19a.1–2 Whittemore
W. (35–51), T. 53, R. 1757–62
Wroth treats ΛЄωN as the normal spelling and singles out W. 38, 47, and 48 as having ΛЄON. The reading on most specimens is in reality uncertain.

19a.3 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 28

19a.4 Whittemore

19a.5 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 28

19a.6–7 Schindler 1960

19a.8 Whittemore

19a.9 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) ΛΕϢΝ (with ϢΝ) on obv.		751–775
*19b.1	Æ	2.76	20	↓	K and ΛΕϢΝ	ΛΕ and ΔΕC	
19b.2	Æ	2.74	18	↓	ΛΕϢΝ	N and ΔΕCΠ	
					(c) Spelling uncertain		
19c.1	Æ	3.65	21	↓	Nothing legible	Nothing legible	
19c.2	Æ	3.42	19	↓	K and Ε	ΛΕΟN and Ε	
19c.3	Æ	3.36	20	↓	ΛΕ	ΔΕCΠ	
19c.4	Æ	3.07	20	↓	K	Nothing legible	
19c.5	Æ	2.97	19	↓	K	ΛΕΟN and ΔΕC	
19c.6	Æ	2.71	19	↓	K	ΔΕC	
19c.7	Æ	2.68	19	↓	K	ΛΕΟN and ΕC	
19c.8	Æ	2.68	20	↙	ΛΕ	ΔΕCΠ	
19c.9	Æ	2.59	19	↓	K	ΔΕCΠ	
19c.10	Æ	2.53	19	↓	Nothing legible	ΔΕ	
19c.11	Æ	2.50	19	↓	Nothing legible	ΔΕCΠ	
19c.12	Æ	2.45	20	↓	ΛΕ	ΔΕ	
19c.13	Æ	2.41	19	↓	K	ΛΕΟN ΔΕC	
*19c.14	Æ	2.28	18	↓	K	Δ	
19c.15	Æ	2.25	19	↓	Nothing legible	ΔΕC	
19c.16	Æ	2.19	18	↓	Nothing legible	Nothing legible	
19c.17	Æ	2.10	18	↓	Nothing legible	ΔΕC	
*19c.18	Æ	1.82	19	↘	ΛΕ	ΔΕCΠ	

19b.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 28
W. (35–51), T. —, R. —
19b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
19c.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 28
19c.2 Whittemore
19c.3 Schindler
19c.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 28
19c.5–6 Whittemore
19c.7 Peirce 1948
19c.8 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
19c.9–12 Whittemore
19c.13 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
19c.14 Schindler 1960
19c.15 Peirce 1948 from Spink
19c.16–18 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
19c.19	Æ	1.79	18	↓	Nothing legible	ЄO	751–775
19c.20	Æ	1.67	18	↓	Nothing legible	Nothing legible	
					HALF FOLLIS		
*20	Æ	1.70	15	↘	No inscription Two busts facing, Constantine V on l., bearded, Leo IV on r., beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown without cross. Beneath horizontal line, CIK′ Λ (?)	No inscription Bust of Leo III facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown (without cross?), holding in r. hand cross potent on base. Beneath horizontal line, Λ	
					Naples (?)		
					SOLIDUS		
					Class I		
					Fragmentary inscr. Busts of Constantine, bearded, on l., and Leo IV, beardless, on r., facing, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between heads, cross	[D?] LЄ ONPΛMЧ Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent on base	

19c.19 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vi. 28
19c.20 Swiss Collection 1956
20 Schindler 1960
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti 196 bis
Since the Λ must stand for Λέων —at this time and place a three-quarter follis is unlikely, despite the existence of coins marked XXX at Rome—one would expect the letters on the obv. to be KΩ and Λ. The letter to the r. does in fact look like the top of a Λ, and I have read it thus. The letters on the left, however, do not seem to be KΩ, though neither do they look like CIK′, as they are read by Ricotti. Unfortunately his specimen is not illustrated.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*21a	N 3.32	18 ↓	Blundered letters mostly off flan		751–775
(21b)	Æ 3.18 pierced	20 ↓	(W. 31) Inscr. illegible	] OL CONΛII	
			Class II		
*(22)	Æ 4.21	20 ↓	Blundered inscr. Bust of Constantine, bearded, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with trefoil ornament, holding in r. hand gl. cr. (W. 57 = T. 91) O COИ AИI	Blundered inscr. Similar bust to obv., but of Leo IV, beardless. In field, I and ∂ HOLЄ DMMCC	
			SILVER		
			No inscription Crude bust facing, wearing loros and crown with trefoil ornament. To l. and r., ✱	No inscription Same type as obv.	741–775

21–24 For the uncertainty of the attribution to Naples see above, p. 296.

21a M. Ratto 11. v. 60
W. —, T. —, R. —
The gold is of unusually good quality for an Italian issue of this period.

(21b) Wroth describes this as an ancient forgery, formerly plated or gilded to pass as a solidus. It has been placed here because the shape of the heads resembles that of those on the obv. of 21a.

(22) Wroth attributed this doubtfully to Rome, and the I∂ shows it to be a copy of No. 33 below. The lettering and the shape of the heads, however, are not Roman, and it may, as Wroth admits, be simply a contemporary forgery. It could conceivably have been intended as a copper coin, like No. 24 below, but since it is imitated from a solidus it seems safer to assume that this is what it was intended to be. The design is very crude. Leo III is supposed to be holding a globus cruciger, but the globus has disappeared. Probably each figure is meant to be holding an akakia in his left hand, but this is reduced to a mere blob.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*23	Æ 0.44	16 ↓	Crown not visible	Crown not visible	741–775
			FOLLIS		
			No inscription Busts of Constantine, bearded, on l., and Leo IV, beardless, on r., facing, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between heads, cross.	No inscription Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent, above a horizontal line ornamented at each end with little globes. Below, M with X to l. and N to r., and A beneath. In upper field r., cross	751–775
*24	Æ 2.10	19 ↓	Positions of Constantine and Leo interchanged		

23 Grierson 22. viii. 61 from Ars et Nummus 13. vi. 60
W. —, T. 27, R. —
The identification is very doubtful. I bought the coin as one struck by the princes of Capua, but it is not so late. The design is extremely crude: the emperors have no neck or shoulders, the top of the body being reduced to a curved line on which an egg-like head is balanced. The shape of the face, though not the hair, resembles that of the preceding coin.

24 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 23. v. 26
W. —, T. 54, R. —
Schindler labelled this coin as Sicilian, but it does not resemble other coins from the island. Nor is it Constantinopolitan. Bellinger believed it to be a contemporary imitation, but the existence of T. 54, similar in style but with the emperors on the obverse correctly positioned, leads me to suppose that it was struck at a regular mint, if one with not very high standards of workmanship.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Rome		
			Class I		
			Bust of Constantine only		
			SOLIDUS		
			D NOCON ⊤AN⊤INY Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand, gl. cr., in l., akakia	VIC⊤ORI AVϛ⊤O Cross potent on base and three steps between ✱ and R. Beneath, CONOB	741–751
*25	El. 4.05	20 ↓			
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. Similar type, but no steps beneath cross	
*26	El. 1.32	14 ↓	Ends ⊤IN	VICTOR IAVϛ⊤	
			Class II		
			Busts of Constantine and Leo IV side by side		
			SOLIDUS		
			CONS ⊤LEOPP Two busts facing, Constantine on l., bearded, Leo IV on r., smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Constantine holds in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia. Above heads, *Manus Dei*; between them, cross	VIC⊤OR IAVI⊤O Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, CONOB	751–775

25 Sir Charles Oman Sale (Christie 12. xi. 68), lot 409
W. —, T. 17, R. —
This class must be the earliest of the reign, since it is the only one with Constantine alone and the bust closely resembles that of Leo III (latest issues) and of Artavasdus. Specimens are fairly common, especially the tremissis.

26 Peirce 1948 from Raymond i. 29
W. 63–64, T. 21–22, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) ✱ R in rev. field		751–775
*27	El. 2.84	18 ↘			
			(b) R M in rev. field		
			No solidus known		
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. Similar type, but no steps beneath cross	
			(a) ✱ R in rev. field		
*(28)	El. 1.47	14 ↓	(BN)		
			(b) R M in rev. field		
*(29)	El. 1.25	14 ↓	(W. 65 = T. 47)	With steps	
			Class III		
			Bust of Constantine on obv., of Leo IV on rev.		
			SOLIDUS		
			DNOCON STANT Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	DNOLE OPAMYL Similar bust to obv., but beardless and hair style different	

27 Peirce 1948 from Fejer viii. 26
W. 59 = T. 45, R. —
This class follows directly on Class I, with the same rev. type and identical lettering. The vertical stroke before the final T of the rev. inscription is on most specimens a ϛ, i.e., AVϛTO (= *Augustorum*).

(28) *BNC*, II. 474, No. RO/*N*/07. This is the only specimen known to me.

(29) This is both cruder in style and poorer in metal than the preceding coin. The *Manus Dei* is either absent or off flan, and Leo IV's crown has a trefoil ornament, a feature that often recurs in the future. Leo's hair is of a different design from that of his father, and his face is a different shape. Both of these features are carried on into the coinage of Class III.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) B in rev. field r.		751–775
					No solidus known		
					(b) Γ in rev. field r.		
*(30)	Æ	3.96	18	↓	(W. 56 = T. Leo III 83)		
					(c) Δ in rev. field r.		
*(31a)	El.	3.56	20	↓	(W. 58 = T. Leo III 84) Crown w. cross	Crown w. trefoil, no gl. cr.	
(31b)	El.	3.9	19	↓	(T. Leo III 85) Crown w. trefoil	Crown w. trefoil, no gl. cr.	
					(d) R in rev. field r.		
*(32)	Æ	3.4	19		(T. Leo III 88) Crown w. trefoil	Crown w. trefoil	
					(e) I ⅄ in rev. field		
*(33)	Æ	3.21	20	↙	(W. 54–5, T. Leo III 86, R. 1747?) Crown w. trefoil	Crown w. trefoil	

(30) This is hard to place, since the treatment of the hair is like that of Classes IIIa (tremissis) and IIIc, though it differs from them in having crosses instead of trefoils on the crowns and it gives Leo IV a normal chlamys. I have placed it here on the assumption that B, Γ, and Δ may represent a numerical sequence.

(31) Classes IIIa and IIIc go together, for both provide Leo IV with a quite abnormal fusion of chlamys and loros. On the r. it is a loros of the usual lozenge pattern, but the l. shows the three pendants of the fibula, which could be worn only with a chlamys. They have a laddered V-shaped design that represents the wires that sometimes linked these pendants (see *DOC*, II. 77–8) and reappears on coins of Classes IIId (with R) and IIIg (with IЄ). The emperor also holds no akakia.

(32) Class IIId goes with Classes IIIa and IIIc because of the trefoil crowns, linked fibula pendants, and resemblances of general design. Constantine's face on T. 88 is virtually identical with that on T. 85, and the tremissis of Class IIIa (below, No. 37) has a head of Constantine almost identical with one of Class IIIc at Berlin.

(33) The trefoil ornaments on the crown and general stylistic considerations link this with the preceding classes. The coins of this class, which are fairly common, are of very poor metal. Tolstoi describes his one as silver, but Wroth gives the two in the British Museum as potin.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(f) I Δ, with stars above, in rev. field		751–775
*(34)	Æ 4.2	20	(T. Leo III 87)		
			(g) I Є in rev. field		
*(35)	El.	20	(Berlin)		
			(h) R I in rev. field		
*36	Æ 3.91	19 ↓	⅁NOCON TANTN	⅁NOL Є PAMΨL	
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type	
			(a) B in rev. field r.		
*37	Æ 1.65	13 ↓	] TANTI Bust *beardless*	DNOLЄ [Bust *bearded*	

W. 57 (= T. 91), an imitation of the regular Rome issue with IΔ in field, is ascribed above (No. 22) to Naples. Wroth, in describing the coin, has inadvertently omitted to mention the letters in the field.

(34)–36 Classes IIIf, IIIg, and IIIh clearly go together, and since the RI of Class IIIh continues under Leo IV, it presumably represents the last issue of the reign. If it were not for the apparent sequence IΔ/IЄ I would have preferred to make Classes IIIf and IIIh follow one another—both show the same broad, humped shoulders and the fibula pendants without V's—but for coins struck so close together in time stylistic considerations must take second place to more objective marks of dating.

If IΔ and IЄ imply Indictions 14 and 15 they would have to be dated 760/1 and 761/2, since virtually the whole of the next Indiction 14 and the whole of Indiction 15 fell within the reign of Leo IV. In that case the two stars accompanying the IΔ would have been intended to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Constantine's accession (June 741) and the tenth of Leo's (751), and very nearly the fiftieth of Constantine's coronation. So early a dating, however, would leave the coins of Class IIIh as the only ones for the last thirteen years of Constantine's reign.

36 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
W. 52 = T. 89, R. —

37 Schindler 1960
W. —, T. —, R. —
Only the lower loop of the B is visible, but the identity of the letter is clear. The interchange of bearded and beardless busts is a die-sinker's error. The costume of *both* emperors shows the laddered pendilia of the fibulae, the curious mixture of loros and chlamys, and the absence of akakia described above in the note to No. 31. Constantine's crown seems to have been surmounted by a cross; Leo's is off flan.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) Γ in rev. field r.		751–775
			No tremissis known		
			(c) Δ in rev. field r.		
*(38)	El. 1.43	13 ↓	(W. 62 = T. Leo III 109) Crown w. trefoil	Crown w. trefoil	
			(d) R in rev. field r.		
*(39)	B 1.32	14 ↓	(W. 60 = T. Leo III 110) Crown w. trefoil	Crown w. trefoil	
			(e) I ∆ in rev. field		
*(40)	El. 1.36	13	(W. 61 = T. Leo III 108) Crown w. trefoil	Crown w. trefoil	
			(f) I Δ, with stars above, in rev. field		
*41	El. 1.46	14 ↓	ꝺNOCO TANTI	ꝺNOLE PAMYL	
			(g) I Є in rev. field		
*(42)	El.	14 ↓	(Berlin)		
			(h) R I in rev. field		
*43	Æ 1.46	15 ↓	DNOCON TANTIN	D NOLE PAMYL	

(38) As with the corresponding solidus, only Leo IV has the chlamys-loros costume; Constantine has a normal chlamys. There is another specimen of this coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

(39) The tops of the crowns on W. 60 are off flan, but are trefoils on two specimens at Berlin.

(40) Wroth inadvertently mentions only the ∆ in the field, not the I. Leo IV is shown with a mustache, so that there is no difference between him and Constantine, but on the solidus—where he also has a mustache—the outline of Constantine's chin is clearly shown bearded as well.

41 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —

(42) There are two specimens of this coin at Berlin.

43 Hess-Bank Leu sale 5. xii. 70, lot 701
W. —, T. 111, R. —
The metal is copper or potin, which seems to have been tinned or gilded.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			SILVER		
*(44)	Æ 0.40	10 ↓	No inscription Bust facing, wearing loros and crown with trefoil (W. 66–69, T. 25–26)	No inscription Monogram of K and cross. To l., star	741–775
			Ravenna		
			TREMISSIS		
			Class I		
			Constantine V and Leo III		
*45	El. 1.33	16 ↓	Inscription Two busts facing, Constantine V on l., beardless, Leo III on r., bearded, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. Between heads, ⁘]NCO[ ]NL4	Inscription Cross potent on base. In field I Δ. Beneath, CONOB VICTO RIASA The CONOB is off flan	745/6

(44) The bust seems to be beardless, the whole design, especially that of the loros, being highly schematic. The general style of the coin is mid-eighth century, and the K on the reverse identifies the emperor. The silver coin with RM as rev. type, attributed by Mme Morrisson to Constantine V (*BNC*, Pl. LXVIII. Æ/01), belongs in my view to Justinian II; see *DOC*, II. 603, No. 68.

45–50 For the attribution, see above, p. 297. The letters in the field are indictional dates. The coins are very irregular in shape and too small for the dies, so that the inscriptions are largely off flan. On T. 18 even the date numeral is off flan. The coins are variously described as electrum or silver. Of the five at Dumbarton Oaks, three are poor electrum, about 6/8 carats fine to judge by the color; the other two are black in color, from silver sulfide corrosion, and can have only a trace of gold, if that, in their composition. They are quite different, however, from the copper or potin used for "gold" coins at Rome.

45 Schindler 1960 from Dr. F. Stefan (Graz) 3. ii. 35
W. —, T. 48 (from Sabatier II. 61, No. 3, Pl. XL. 24), R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Constantine V alone		
			Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.	Inscription Cross potent on base. Beneath, CONOB	741–751
			(a) I Δ in rev. field		745/6
*46	Æ 1.19	14 ↓	Inscr. off flan	]RI[and [CONO]B	
			(b) I Є in rev. field		746/7
*47	Æ 1.32	13 ↓	Inscr. off flan	VICTORIA and [CONO]B	
			(c) A in rev. field		747/8
*48.1	El. 1.38	14 ↓	]NCO[ ]NS[	VICꞇO[and CONO[	
*48.2	El. 1.33	14 ↓	]NSꞇA	VICTO[and [CONOB]	
			(d) A surmounted by cross in rev. field r.		
*(49)	Æ 1.45	15 ↓	(T. 19)		

There is only a trace of the Δ in the field, the hollows for the letter having become filled up on the die, but the letter is clear on a specimen in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, and on that illustrated by Sabatier. The pellet in the left field is part of the design, though its meaning is not apparent. It is present on the other specimens, though the dies are different.

46 Grierson 3. iii. 60
W. —, T. 23, R. —
The Δ is almost entirely off flan, but one can see a line sloping downward toward the left, and no other letter seems possible.

47 Schindler 1960 from T. Bertelè 1938
W. 72–73, T. 24, R. 1748 (this coin)

48.1 Peirce 1948
W. 74–75, T. 20, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(e) B(?) in rev. field r.		748/9
(50)	Æ	15 ↓	(Former Penon coll.)	]AYYCI(?) and [C]ONOB	
			Uncertain Mints		
			TREMISSIS		
			DCON STANTI Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.	DNLEO [ ]TAZ Similar bust to obv., but beardless. In field r., star	741–775
*51	N 1.36	14 ↘			
			COPPER		
			No inscription Bust facing, bearded (?), wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent on base. In field r., ✱	No inscription Cross potent on base and three steps. In field, to l. and r., ✱	
*52	Æ 0.96	16 ↓		Star to r. obscure	

(50) Published by C. Penon, "Médailles byzantines inédites," *RBN*³, 6 (1862), 203, Pl. x. 21, reading the letter in the field as R. Since the other letters found on this series are all indictional numerals, I assume that it was a misread B, though an R (for *Ravenna*) is possible.

51 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
This coin is of somewhat base gold, and has the irregular, broken edges often associated with debasement, but it is of better metal than is usual at either Rome or Ravenna. The letters are badly formed and often join up with the circle which marks the outer edge of the coin, but although this is also a feature of the coinage of Rome the general design does not conform to the regular pattern of that mint.

52 Schindler 1960 from Princess Hohenlohe
W. —, T. 30, R. —
Struck on a very thin flan. I follow Tolstoi in describing this as copper, but I imagine that it was intended as silver, even though its silver content may be small. The attribution to Constantine V is uncertain; it is not likely to be earlier, but could be later. There is no indication of mint. The Tolstoi specimen weighs 1.2g.

LEO IV the Khazar

14 September 775 – 8 September 780

Colleague: Constantine VI (from 14 April 776)

Since Leo IV had been born in 749 he was twenty-six years old when he became sole emperor on his father's death in 775. He reigned exactly five years, dying of a fever on 8 September 780[1] at the early age of thirty-one. His son Constantine, a child only five years old,[2] was crowned Emperor on Easter Day (14 April) 776, under conditions of quite exceptional splendor and publicity. Two days earlier, on Good Friday, members of the governing classes and representatives of the army and the guilds had taken an oath of allegiance to the child, and on Saturday their written oaths were deposited on the altar of Saint Sophia and the congregation proclaimed their acceptance of the promised sovereign.[3] These elaborate and unusual guarantees were apparently a consequence of the fact that Leo's two half-brothers Nicephorus and Christopher had been created Caesar in 769,[4] and since this title had commonly been conferred on the heir apparent the Emperor wished to give precedence to his own son in the most public manner possible. The two brothers were in fact soon afterward found to be involved in a conspiracy, and though they themselves were pardoned their confederates were banished to Cherson.[5]

There appear to be no Constantinopolitan coins of the first seven months of Leo's reign, before the association of his son Constantine as co-emperor in April 776. This is unusual, since a sovereign was normally anxious to show himself on the coinage as soon as possible, but Leo was in poor health and may have wished to postpone minting until he had associated his son with him on the throne. He may also have intended to crown Constantine earlier than he did, and had to postpone it till April for reasons of which we are ignorant. The gold and copper coins which were struck after 776 fall into two classes, one having the busts of Leo IV and Constantine VI and the other their seated figures. The second can be dated from 778, when a major victory over the Arabs was celebrated with exceptional splendor and the two emperors showed themselves seated side by side to the crowd.[6]

[1] Theophanes, A.M. 6272 (ed. de Boor, I. 453).

[2] He was born on 14 January 771 (*ibid.*, A.M. 6262, p. 445).

[3] Theophanes, A.M. 6268 (pp. 449–50), describes the proceedings in detail. Most modern writers (Ostrogorsky, Wroth, etc.) give the date wrongly as 24 April, this apparently going back to a slip of Bury (*History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, II. 459). Bury also gives the date of Constantine's birth wrongly as 14 January 770, instead of 771, though Theophanes attributes it clearly to the ninth indiction.

[4] Above, p. 290.

[5] Theophanes, *loc. cit.* (pp. 450–1).

[6] *Ibid.*, A.M. 6270 (p. 451).

The inscriptions on the solidi have only recently been satisfactorily explained. The coins have on the obverse the two figures of Leo IV and Constantine VI, on the reverse those of Leo III and Constantine V, each of these being identified by the part of the inscription above it. An incomplete interpretation was given by Wroth (p. 393, note 1). The reverse inscription, LEON PAP' CONSTANTINOS PATHR, makes no difficulty; Leo III and Constantine V are described as πάππος (grandfather) and πατήρ (father), i.e., of Leo IV. The obverse inscription was customarily read LEON VS SESSON CONSTANTINOS O NEOS. The last part is Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ νέος (Constantine junior), and Friedländer long ago suggested that VS was υἱός (son). This left SESSON still an enigma, till Veglery and Zacos pointed out that the S was the usual abbreviation for καὶ and that what had been read as ESSON was in fact EΓΓON—the SS often has the form ϹϹ or ΓΓ—i.e., ἔγγονος (grandson), so that Leo IV was simply being described as υἱός καὶ ἔγγονος ("son and grandson") of the two figures on the other side of the coin.[7] The same solution was given independently by S. Maslev.[8]

The silver and copper coinage of Constantinople requires little comment. The miliaresia are of the same type as those of Leo III and Constantine V, and since the inscriptions are identical the distinction between the coins of the two reigns is not always easy. Coins of Leo IV have shorter bars at the ends of the arms of the cross and sometimes have the ends of the steps joined, or almost joined, to each other and sloping upward in the form of a pyramid.[9] The folles and half folles are almost identical with each other in type—on Class I the folles have on the reverse the letters BA, which are absent on the halves—but are quite distinct in size and weight. The M of the follis is now used for both denominations, the notion of its representing forty nummi having by now disappeared. If the two sizes of coin were found in a single class only one might attribute it simply to weight reduction in the follis, but their occurrence in both Classes 1 and 2 shows that the larger and the smaller coins must represent two distinct denominations. The BA on the folles of Class 1 presumably stand for βασιλεῖς (so Wroth), though it is difficult to see why the dead and not the living emperors should be characterized in this fashion.

No Sicilian gold coinage of Leo IV is known, and only a single type of follis, corresponding to Class 2 of Constantinople. Ricotti attributed to the early years of the reign two coins having on the reverse a beardless bust wearing a chlamys and accompanied by letters which were read as C (?) NEOV, on the obverse either a bust wearing a chlamys (Ric. 198 = R. 1764) or a loros (Ric. 199 = R. 1763); Ratto had given them to Constantine V. The types, however, are notably different from others of this period, for Syracuse, when not copying some issue of Constantinople, favored standing figures for its folles. The coins in general seem to belong to the early ninth century, and I prefer to

[7] "Enigmatic Inscriptions on Byzantine Coins," *N.Circ.*, 63 (1955), 107–11, 166, and "New Light on the Solidus of Leo IV," *ibid.*, 69 (1961), 30–31. Veglery and Zacos consider that the inscription is to be read continuously from one side of the coin to the other, beginning with "Leo the grandfather," and that this proves that the side with the ancestral portraits is really the obverse and not the reverse. Neither Bellinger nor I believe this to be the case.

[8] "O nekotorykh voprosakh, svyazannikh s vizantiiskimi pamyatnimi monetami," *VV*², 18 (1961), 236–8. The article represents work done in 1946.

[9] See above, p. 63.

attribute Ric. 198 to Michael I and Theophylact (below, p. 370, No. 10) and Ric. 199 to Nicephorus I and Stauracius (below, p. 361, No. 11).

No coins have up to the present been ascribed to the mint of Rome. There is in the British Museum, however, a solidus having on both obverse and reverse the name of Leo (below, No. 9), and in the Whittemore Collection there is a corresponding tremissis (No. 10). The busts are identical with those of one issue of Constantine V showing this emperor and Leo IV. Wroth assumed that the DNOLЄ PAMЧL on the obverse was simply an error of the die-cutter, and that the coin was one of Constantine V. The discovery of a similar tremissis makes this less likely, and since the style and the presence of RI in the reverse field link up the two coins with the latest issue of Constantine V, it is reasonable to attribute them to the opening months of Leo IV's reign, i.e., to 775/6, or more precisely to the spring of 776, after Rome had received the news of Constantine V's death.[10] They represent the last coins struck by the mint of Rome in the name of a Byzantine emperor, for none are known of the joint reign of Leo IV and Constantine VI.[11]

[10] The news arrived on 7 February, and the pope at once wrote to inform Charlemagne (*Codex Carolinus*, No. 58, in *MGH, Epist. merow. et karolini aevi*, I [Berlin, 1892], 583).

[11] See Introduction, pp. 90–1.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Four busts		
			LEONVSSEϹϹONCONS TANTIONEOS On l., bust of Leo IV facing, bearded; on r., bust of Constantine VI facing, beardless. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross. Hands not shown. Above, cross	LEONPAP'CONSTAN TINOSPATHR On l., bust of Leo III facing, bearded; on r., bust of Constantine V facing, bearded. Each wears loros and crown with cross. Hands not shown. Above, cross	776–778
			(a) Θ after rev. inscr.		
*1a.1	*N* 4.41	20 ↓		Ends Θ	
1a.2	*N* 4.40	21 ↓	LEONVSEϹϹ[ ]TANT' ONEO'	LEONPA'CONSTANT 'PATHΘ	
1a.3	*N* 4.36 pierced	21 ↓		Ends HΘ	
*1a.4	*N* 4.32 pierced	21 ↓	Ends ANTIN'ONEOS	Ends PAT'Θ	
			(b) Θ after obv. inscr.		
			LEONVSSEϹϹONCONS TANTINOSONEOS		

1–2 On most specimens there is a pellet between the heads of the emperors, but this was made in centering the dies and was not part of the design. Traces of the robe worn by Leo III beneath the loros are visible low down at his right and left sides. On Class I the control letter Θ is placed indifferently on the obverse or reverse; on Class II it is absent.

1a.1 Peirce 1948 from J. Schulman xi. 32
W. 2, T. —, R. 1765

1a.2–3 Whittemore

1a.4 Schindler 1960 from Egger 19. x. 15

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1b.1	A/ 4.42	21 ↓	Ends CONSTAN[ ]ONEOSΘ		776–778
1b.2	A/ 4.40	21 ↓	Ends Θ		
*1b.3	A/ 4.39	21 ↓	Ends Θ		
*1b.4	A/ 4.38	21 ↓	Ends Θ		
*1b.5	A/ 4.35	21 ↓	Ends Θ	Ends TAN[ ]PATHR	
			Class II		
			Two seated figures and two busts		
			Same inscr. as Ib, but ends NEOu On l., Leo IV bearded, on r., Constantine VI beardless, seated facing on lyre-backed throne. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross, and rests r. hand in lap. Above heads, cross	Same inscr., but no abbreviation mark after PAP Same type	778–780
*2.1	A/ 4.45 pierced	22 ↓	Heads small. Each figure holds akakia		

1b The lettering on Class Ib is smaller than that on Class Ia, which permits a slightly fuller obverse inscription.

1b.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 1, T. 1–3, R. 1766

1b.2 Whittemore

1b.3 Peirce 1948 from Baranowsky 9. xii. 29

1b.4–5 Whittemore

2 The seated figures on the reverse are each intended to be shown as holding an akakia—the position of the arm is characteristic—but since the objects are rarely depicted I have not included them in the general description of the type. They are shown on Nos. 2.1, 2.10, and some other specimens I have noted, e.g., Montagu Sale, lot 1193; Consul Weber Sale II, lot 3202; Tolstoi 5. The lettering is in general very small, as with Class Ib, and often parts of the inscription are off flan.

2.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger
W. 3–6, T. 5–7, R. 1767

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.2	N	4.44	22	↓			778–780
2.3	N	4.44 pierced	22	↓	LEONVSS[		
2.4	N	4.43	24	↓			
*2.5	N	4.41	21	↓	]ONVSENCCCONSTANTIN[	LEONP[ ]NS[	
2.6	N	4.41	22	↓	]ϥϥONCONSTANTINONEOS	LEONPAPCONSTAN T[ ]HR	
2.7	N	4.41	22	↓	LEONVSSENϥϥONCON[		
2.8	N	4.37	22	↓			
2.9	N	4.37	21	↓		LEONPAPCONST [ ]ATHR	
*2.10	N	4.35	22	↓	Heads small. Each figure holds akakia		
					MILIARESION		
					LEON SCONST ANTINEE CΘEYbA SILIS within a triple circle of dots of which the two inner are generally the only ones visible	IhSYS XRIS TYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within a triple circle of dots of which the two inner are generally the only ones visible	776–780
*3.1	Æ	2.19	22	↗	Pellet after inscr.		

2.2 Friend 1957
2.3–6 Whittemore
2.7 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27
2.8–10 Whittemore
3 All the coins included here have the short bars at the ends of the cross-arms which is one of the chief features differentiating the miliaresia of Leo IV from those of Leo III (above, pp. 63, 232). Nos. 3.1 and 3.2 have pyramidal steps. Since No. 3.5 is overstruck on a dated Islamic coin of 772/3, it is necessarily one of Leo IV.
3.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*3.2	Æ 2.05	23 ↑			776–780
3.3	Æ 2.03	23 ↖			
*3.4	Æ 1.93	22 ↖			
*3.5	Æ 1.88	21 ↑	Overstruck on dirhem		
3.6	Æ 1.70 worn	20 ↑			
			COPPER		
			Class 1		
			FOLLIS		
			No inscription To l., bust of Leo IV bearded, to r., bust of Constantine VI beardless, both facing. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross. Above, cross	No inscription On horizontal line, to l., bust of Leo III, to r., bust of Constantine V, each facing, bearded, and wearing loros and crown with cross. To l., B To r., A Above, cross. Below line, M To l. and r., X N Beneath, A	776–778
*4.1	Æ 5.33	24 ↘			
4.2	Æ 5.24	24 ↓			

3.2 Peirce from Feuardent x. 27
3.3 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
3.4 Peirce 1948 from Hirsch vii. 30
3.5 Whittemore
Overstruck on an Arab dirhem of Caliph al Manṣūr of Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdad), A.H. 156 (A.D. 772/3). Published by G. C. Miles, "Byzantine Miliaresion and Arab Dirhem: Some Notes on their Relationship," *MN*, 9 (1960), 200, No. 6, Pl. XI. 2, 3.
3.6 Whittemore
4–7 The line beneath the busts normally ends in a pellet on each side. I have not included these in the totals of pellets beside the busts.
4.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 11–13, T. 11, R. 1772
4.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.3	Æ 5.23	23 ↓			776–778
*4.4	Æ 5.20	24 ↓			
4.5	Æ 5.01	24 ↓			
*4.6	Æ 4.89	27 ↓		Pellet below B and A	
4.7	Æ 4.84	22 ↘		Pellet below B and A	
4.8	Æ 4.76	24 ↘		Pellet below B and A	
4.9	Æ 4.69	25 ↓			
*4.10	Æ 4.28	24 ↓			
*4.11	Æ 4.23	26 ↓			
			HALF FOLLIS		
			Same type	Same type, but without B A	
*5.1	Æ 3.77	20 ↓			
5.2	Æ 3.33	18 ↙			
5.3	Æ 2.56	19 ↓		: to l. and r.	
5.4	Æ 2.26	19 ↓			
*5.5	Æ 2.24	18 ↓			
5.6	Æ 2.06	17 ↘			
	very worn				

4.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
4.4 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan 1935
4.5 Whittemore
4.6 Schindler 1960 from Lukastik 1941
4.7 Swiss Collection 1956
4.8 Whittemore
4.9 Shaw 1947
4.10–11 Whittemore
5.1 Schindler 1960 from Hollschek 8. iii. 37
W. 14, T. —, R. —
5.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956
5.4 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
5.5 Whittemore
5.6 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 2		
			FOLLIS		
			To l., Leo IV bearded, to r., Constantine VI beardless, seated facing on lyre-backed throne. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross, and rests r. hand in lap. Pellet to l. and r. of throne. Above, cross	Same type, but without B A; 2 pellets in field to l. and r.	778–780
*6.1	Æ 6.23	24 ↓			
6.2	Æ 5.92	23 ↓			
*6.3	Æ 5.41	24 ↙			
6.4	Æ 5.38	23 ↓			
6.5	Æ 4.78	24 ↘		3 pellets	
6.6	Æ 4.76	23 ↓		3 pellets	
6.7	Æ 4.17	22 ↓			
*6.8	Æ 4.07	22 ↓		3 pellets	
6.9	Æ 3.91	24 ↓			
	worn				
6.10	Æ 3.55	22 ↓			
			HALF FOLLIS		
			Same	Same	
*7.1	Æ 3.32	20 ↓		3 pellets	

6.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
W. 15–17, T. 13, R. 1773
6.2–3 Whittemore
6.4 Swiss Collection 1956
6.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
6.6–7 Whittemore
6.8–9 Swiss Collection 1956
6.10 Schindler 1960 from Hollschek 16. ii. 33
7.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7.2	Æ	3.15	20	↓			778–780
*7.3	Æ	2.59	20	↓		3 pellets	
*7.4	Æ	2.56	20	↓		No pellets	
7.5	Æ	2.41	21	↓			
7.6	Æ	2.33	20	↓			
7.7	Æ	2.14	20	↓			
					Syracuse		
					FOLLIS		
					No inscription To l., Leo IV bearded, to r., Constantine VI beardless, seated facing on throne with curved arms. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross, and rests r. hand in lap. Above, cross	No inscription To l., bust of Leo III, to r., bust of Constantine V, each facing, bearded, and wearing loros and crown with cross. Above, cross. Beneath, CIK′	
*8.1	Æ	3.45	21	↓	Figure on r. wears chlamys	Figure on l. wears loros	
*8.2	Æ	2.96	19	↓			
*8.3	Æ	2.47	20	↓			

7.2 Swiss Collection 1956
7.3 Schindler 1960
7.4 Peirce 1948
7.5–6 Swiss Collection 1956
7.7 Whittemore
8.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. 14, R. —, Ricotti 197
The curious interchange of costume on the figures is a fault due to the coin having turned over between the dies, so that the right-hand figure on each side seems to be wearing a mixture of the loros and chlamys. The double striking did not affect the left-hand side of the coin.
8.2 Swiss Collection 1956
8.3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.4	Æ 2.29	20 ↓			778–780
8.5	Æ 1.63 worn	17 ↓			
			Rome		
			SOLIDUS		
			D NOLE PAMYL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	DNOLE PAMYL Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. In field, l. and r., R I	776
*(9)	El. 4.25	22	(W. Constantine V 53 = T. Leo III 90)		
			TREMISSIS		
*10	Æ 1.30 plated	16 ↘	Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type	

8.4 Swiss Collection 1956
8.5 Schindler 1960 from Bertelè 21. vi. 49
9–10 On the attribution of these to Leo IV see above, p. 327.
10 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

CONSTANTINE VI

8 September 780 – 19 August 797

Constantine VI succeeded his father at the age of nine and reigned, in form at least, for seventeen years. Although our sources do not say it in so many words, he must have been weak-willed almost to the point of feeblemindedness, for he never succeeded in growing up or in emancipating himself from the influence of his strong-minded and unpleasant mother, the Empress Irene. It was she who summoned the Council of Nicaea and secured the condemnation of Iconoclasm in 787, when she had the satisfaction of hearing herself and her son solemnly acclaimed as the new Helena and the new Constantine respectively.[1]

Only between the years 790 and 792 did her power undergo a partial eclipse. By 790 Constantine was nineteen years old, and impatient both of his mother's tutelage and of the intolerable manner in which he was treated by her servants and confidants, in particular the Logothete Stauracius. In the spring of that year Irene discovered that he was plotting against her and took vigorous action, banishing his supporters and confining him to his quarters in the palace. In the autumn she demanded an oath from the army to the effect that they would not recognize him as effective emperor as long as she was alive. The soldiers of the Armeniac theme declined it (September), saying that they preferred their original oath of loyalty to Constantine and Irene, whereupon the rest of the troops reversed their position and proclaimed Constantine the sole emperor (μόνος βασιλεύς). The formal ending of Irene's regency seems to have taken place on 10 November. In December Stauracius was deposed, flogged, and banished, and the empress confined to her palace of Eleutherion. In January 792 Constantine was foolish enough to restore his mother to her previous position, and acclamations were again formally addressed to Constantine and Irene jointly.[2] In the course of the next five years Constantine's popularity declined, till by the summer of 797 Irene decided that she could depose him with impunity and seize full power herself. An attempt to assassinate him during July was unsuccessful, but a month later he was seized by his mother's supporters, shut up in the purple chamber in the palace where he had been born, and blinded with such cruelty that it was generally

[1] The chief original authority for the reign is Theophanes, A.M. 6273–89 (ed. de Boor, I. 454–73), but his chronology is sometimes at fault and requires correction; see E. W. Brooks, "On the Date of the Death of Constantine the Son of Irene," *BZ*, 9 (1900), 654–7; S. Pétridès, "Quel jour Constantin, fils d'Irène, eut-il des yeux crevés?" *Echos d'Orient*, 4 (1900–01), 72–4; and Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" (above, p. 225, note 2), 54–5. On the reign in general see Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (1889), II, 480–88, and C. Diehl, *Byzantine Portraits*, trans. H. Bell (New York, 1927), 73–104.

[2] Theophanes, A.M. 6284 (p. 467).

reported that he had died as a result (19 August).[3] In fact he was exiled to Prinkipo, and died some years afterwards (before 806).

The coinage of the reign reflects in some measure the vicissitudes in Constantine VI's relations with his mother as they are described in the written sources, but it also shows that in some respects the sources have exaggerated their constitutional significance. Theophanes implies that Irene was removed altogether from even nominal authority between December 790 and January 792; other writers give Constantine a second series of regnal years beginning in 790, when he was regarded as having belatedly come of age, so that the regency of Irene came to an end. It is clear from the coinage that Irene remained effective co-empress throughout; she figures on all denominations in all metals throughout the reign, and on most of them managed to secure some kind of precedence over her son. Only on the miliaresion is this last not the case: here the order of precedence is invariably Constantine first and Irene second. A very evident mark of the subordination in which Constantine was always held is the fact that he is never shown as bearded, though this would have been the conventional manner of indicating that he had arrived at man's estate. It was of course very unusual for a woman to appear on the coinage at all. It had not occurred since the time of Martina, wife of the Emperor Heraclius, and she had never been shown on the gold. The last empress to have gold coins struck in her name had been the Empress Ariadne, wife in turn to Zeno and Anastasius I.

There are two main classes of solidi, the first dividing into two sub-classes. Class I has on the obverse the facing busts of Constantine and Irene, on the reverse the seated figures of Leo III, Constantine V, and Leo IV. Class II has on the obverse the bust of Irene and on the reverse that of Constantine, the ancestors of the latter being dispensed with. The subdivisions of Class I depend upon whether or not the empress carries a globus cruciger, which had by now become a regular symbol of authority, as well as a cross scepter, and whether the inscription begins on the obverse or the reverse of the coins. Class Ia can be dated 780–90, Class Ib, which is much less common, 790–2, and Class II, 792–7. The events of 787, which saw the condemnation of Iconoclasm, did not affect the coinage, since while the doctrine and its chief ecclesiastical protagonists were anathematized the Council of Nicaea was careful not to include the names of the Iconoclast emperors, and indeed, at its sixth session, went out of its way to praise their great qualities.[4]

The details of the classes of solidus are as follows:

Class Ia. Empress holds globus cruciger, inscription begins on the reverse. Since Irene was effectively in power during the years 780–90 and this series evidently continues that of the preceding reign, the dating is not open to serious doubt. The abnormal arrangement of the inscription was perhaps devised to ensure that Irene's name came on the obverse of the coin, in what was technically the more honorable position,[5] or which

[3] Theophanes, A.M. 6289 (p. 472), gives Saturday, "the fifteenth of the same month"—the manuscripts have αὐτοῦ, not Αὐγούστου as in de Boor's emended text—which in the context of his account should be July but which he evidently intended as August (cf. p. 468). The fifteenth was a Saturday in neither month, however, and Saturday the nineteenth is more probable.

[4] Above, pp. 290–1,

[5] Cf. Pope Paul V's arrangement of the inscription on the facade of St. Peter's at Rome.

at least would have been so had the inscriptions been more legible than they generally are. They are in fact usually blundered, often incomplete, and not at all easy to construe. A legible and fairly typical example would run as follows: (Rev.) CONSTANTINOS C′ b′ Δ′ (Obv.) S IRINI AVΓ′ MI′ AVTOY. The chief variants are (a) C′ b′ b′ or C′ R′ b′ for C′ b′ Δ′, (b) AΓ′ for AVΓ′, and (c) MITRI AV′ for MI′ AVTOY, though many intermediate forms also occur.

Class Ib. Empress without globus cruciger; inscription begins on the obverse. This class is best dated 790–92, since Irene has been deprived of the chief symbol of power and the inscription is properly arranged, with Constantine's name occurring on the obverse of the coin. The inscription, once again often blundered and only partially legible, runs typically as follows: (Obv.) CONSTANTINOS CA′ b′ Δ′ (Rev.) SVN IRINI AVΓ′ M′ AVTOY. Once again there are many variants: instead of b′ Δ′ and SVN there may be bASIL′ and S, AVΓ may be reduced to AΓ, MITRI (or MITHR) may be written in full and AVTOY omitted.

The meaning of these inscriptions has been much discussed.[6] It is clear that the sense of both, in general terms, is essentially the same: the name of Constantine, followed by his titles, followed by the phrase "with (or sometimes *and*) the Empress Irene his mother" (σὺν Εἰρήνῃ αὐγουστῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ). The variants go far toward explaining the words sometimes abbreviated to a single letter, and they show which suggested readings are impossible and which can be regarded as certain. The AΓ after Irene's name cannot be ἀρία (Veglery and Zacos), since it is normally written AVΓ; the terminal AV′ cannot be αὐγουστῇ (Veglery and Zacos), since it is sometimes completed as AVTOY; the C′ cannot be κύριε (Bellinger) since it sometimes has the form CA′; b′Δ can only be βασιλεύς δεσπότης since the b′ is sometimes extended to bAS′ or bASIL′.[7] Some suggested interpretations are probably based on nothing more than faulty readings: e.g., a supposed EV (for εὐσεβής) after Irene's name or an S IR (for καὶ Ἰρήνη) after Constantine's. Only the C′ in C′ b′ Δ′ remains uncertain, but since it sometimes becomes CA′ it is perhaps best interpreted as καῖσαρ. It is true that this word, taken by itself, implied a rank lower than that of *basileus*, but up to Heraclius' time it had been a regular part of the imperial title and sovereigns named Constantine were at any time likely to revert to the terminology of an earlier and more distinguished age.[8]

Class II. The final coinage of the reign, which can best be dated from Irene's return to power in January 792, was entirely different. Constantine's ancestors were

[6] See especially G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "Enigmatic Inscriptions on Byzantine Coins," *N.Circ.*, 63 (1955), 107–11, 166, and Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, 2. The End of the Isaurians," *MN*, 13 (1967), 126–31.

[7] The fact that in b′Δ′ the b′ can be R′ and the Δ′ be b′ is due to variant letter forms; R is a regular way of writing *beta* (above, p. 187), and b is a development of the ᒐ or ϭ used for D very generally in coin inscriptions in the seventh and early eighth centuries (above, p. 185, and *DOC*, II. 104).

[8] Bellinger's arrangement of the gold differs somewhat from that proposed here. He would put my Class Ib first, from 780 to 790, and make Class Ia a brief issue about 790, when Irene was attempting to deprive her son of what little authority he possessed. This would leave no coinage at all for the year of her temporary eclipse (Dec. 790 – Jan. 792), and the scheme worked out here seems to me more satisfactory. In the Levis Sale (Naville VI, 18. vi. 25), lot 1118, there was a mule between Class Ia and Class Ib, with Irene's name on both sides of the coin and Constantine's on neither.

dispensed with; on one side of the coin there is a bust of Constantine VI, on the other one of Irene. The coins are in higher relief and much better executed than those of Class I, with inscriptions in large, bold letters. Irene has recovered her globus cruciger, and in three other respects her effective preeminence over her son is emphasized. Constantine is still shown as beardless; it is he who occupies the reverse of the coin, for it is his inscription and not that of Irene which is followed by the control letter; and while Constantine's name is in the nominative (CONSTANTINOS) Irene's is in the dative (IRINI AΓOVSTI), as the object of some acclamation (e.g., "To the Empress Irene, many years") whose precise terms are left to be understood. The coins are very uniform in appearance, the only noteworthy variant being one on which Irene's name is spelled HRHNI, this being sometimes linked with the spelling AVΓYSTH.

The silver coinage of the reign requires little comment. The obverse inscription is sometimes followed by a cross, very rarely by a pellet or a short bar. The module is usually small, the circle of the innermost dotted border having a diameter of about 17 mm., but some specimens are large (*c.*20 mm.). The coins were presumably struck throughout the reign, though there was no formal coronation during it at which they might have been distributed.

The classes of follis correspond to those of the gold, but have no inscription. On Class 2 the subordinate position of Constantine is even more evident than it is on the gold, since his bust is placed above the mark of value. The weight of the follis corresponds to that of the lighter issue of Leo IV.

No Sicilian or other provincial coinage of Constantine VI's reign is known.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Constantinople		
					SOLIDUS		
					Class I		
					Inscription On l., bust of Constantine VI facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr. On r., bust of Irene facing, wearing loros and crown with cross, four pinnacles and pendilia. In l. hand, cross scepter	Inscription Three figures, Constantine V, Leo III, Leo IV, bearded, seated facing, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross	780–790
					(a) Irene holds gl. cr. in r. hand; inscr. begins on rev.		
*1.1	Ꝗ	4.46	20	↓	SIRIПIΛVΓ′ ꟽI ƬHR′	COПSƬ[ ]ƬIПOS[ ]R′b′ Same die as 1.6 and 1.8	
1.2	Ꝗ	4.42	21	↓	SIRIПIΛVΓ′ꟽI [	COПSƬ [ ]ПOS [ ]b′Δ′	
1.3	Ꝗ	4.42	20	↓	SIR I ПIΛVΓ′ꟽ I ƬR Same die as 1.7	COПSƬ ΛПƬIПOS C′b′b′ Same die as 1.7	
*1.4	Ꝗ	4.41	21	↓	SIR[I]ПI ΛVΓ′ƬIꟽI ƬRI	COПS ƬΛПƬI ПOSC′ B′Δ′	
*1.5	Ꝗ	4.41	21	↓	SIRIП IΛVΓ′ꟽI [ ]HR The face of Constantine obliterated	COПS ƬHПOS C′b′Π′	

1.1 Friend 1957
W. 3, T. 5–7, R. 1774
1.2 Shaw 1947
1.3–4 Whittemore
1.5 Schindler 1960 from J. Schulman 4. xi. 33
A similar obliteration on T. 9

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1.6	N 4.38	23 ↓	SIRI[ ]VΓ'MI T[	CONSTANTINOS CA [ ]'R'b' Same die as 1.1 and 1.8	780–790
*1.7	N 4.33 pierced	21 ↓	SIR I NIAVΓ'M I TR Same die as 1.3	CONST ANTINOS C'b' b' Same die as 1.3	
1.8	N 4.32	20 ↓	SVNIRIN I[ ]Γ'MI THR	CONST [ ]NOS [ ]R'b' Same die as 1.1 and 1.6	
			(b) Irene without gl. cr.; inscr. begins on obv.		790–792
2a.1	N 4.49	21 ↙	CONSTANTINOS[	]IRI NIAΓ'M[	
*2a.2	N 4.36	20 ↙	CONSTANT[ ]Δ'	SIRINI AVΓ'AV MITHR'	
*2b	N 4.46	20 ↙	CONSTANTIN[	SVNIRI N[ ]MI' AVTOY	
			Class II		
			IRINH AΓOVSTI Bust of Irene facing, wearing loros and crown with cross, pinnacles and pendilia. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	CONSTAN TINOSbAS' Bust of Constantine facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	792–797
3a.1	N 4.47	20 ↙	Same die as 3a.2	At end, Θ	

1.6 Peirce 1948 acq. ii. 28
1.7 Peirce 1948
1.8 Whittemore
2a.1 Whittemore
W. 1, T. 1, R. —
2a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. —, R. —
2b Peirce 1948 from Schulman viii. 32
W. —, T. —, R. —
3a.1 Peirce 1948 acq. in Sofia x. 27
W. 5, T. 10, R. 1775
T. 19 is a strike in copper of the reverse of a solidus of this class, the other side being flat. Its purpose is unknown. It is the weight of a semissis (2.2 g.), but this denomination had by then ceased to be struck and in any case the object has not the appearance of a coin weight.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3a.2	N 4.45	19 ↘	Same die as 3a.1	At end, Θ	792–797
*3a.3	N 4.45	20 ↙		At end, Θ	
3a.4	N 4.41	21 ↓		At end, Θ	
3a.5	N 4.39	19 ↓		At end, Θ	
3a.6	N 4.36	20 ↙		At end, Θ	
	pierced and plugged				
3a.7	N 4.36	20 ↙		At end, Θ	
3a.8	N 4.36	21 ↙		At end, Θ	
*3a.9	N 4.28	22 ↓		At end, Θ	
*3b.1	N 4.48	21 ↓	Same die as 3b.3	No letter	
*3b.2	N 4.42	20 ↓		No letter	
	pierced				
3b.3	N 4.40	19 ↓	Same die as 3b.1	No letter	
*3c.1	N 4.38	20 ↓	HbHΠI AVΓYSTH	No letter	
*3c.2	N 4.34	20 ↙	HRHΠI AVΓYTH	No letter	
			MILIARESION		
			CONS TANTINO SSIRINE COEYbA SILIS within a triple circle of dots	IhSYSXRIS TYSΠICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within a triple circle of dots	780–797

3a.2 Whittemore
3a.3 Schindler 1960 from Balvin 18. xi. 53
3a.4–7 Whittemore
3a.8 Peirce 1948
3a.9 Whittemore
3b.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
3b.2–3 Whittemore
3c.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 27
3c.2 B. A. Seaby 1959 ex Lockett Sale (Glendining 26. v. 59, lot 272)
W. 4, T. —, R. —
Wroth has misread the final H of Irene's inscription as R.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) No cross after obv. inscr.		780–797
*4a.1	Æ 2.26	22 ↑			
4a.2	Æ 2.26	24 ↑	Double struck		
4a.3	Æ 2.17	21 ↑			
*4a.4	Æ 2.17	20 ↑			
4a.5	Æ 2.11 pierced	24 ↑			
4a.6	Æ 2.07	22 ↑			
4a.7	Æ 1.66	23 ↗			
4a.8	Æ 1.62	23 ↑			
4a.9	Æ 1.55 very worn	21 ↑			
4a.10	Æ 1.54	22 ↑			
*4a.11	Æ 1.50	21 ↑			
			(b) Cross after obv. inscr.		
*4b.1	Æ 2.20	21 ↑			
4b.2	Æ 2.20	22 ↑	Double struck. Same dies as 4b.3		
4b.3	Æ 2.18 plugged	21 ↑	Same dies as 4b.2		
4b.4	Æ 2.17 pierced	23 ↑			
4b.5	Æ 2.17	21			
*4b.6	Æ 2.11	22 ↖			

4a.1–3 Whittemore
W. 6, T. 14, R. 1776
Most of the miliaresia here are somewhat clipped.
4a.4–5 Whittemore
4a.6 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
4a.7–9 Whittemore
4a.10 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29
4a.11 Whittemore
4b.1 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
W. 6, T. 14, R. 1778
4b.2–3 Whittemore
4b.4 Schindler 1960 from Egger 8. ii. 15
4b.5 Whittemore
4b.6 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4b.7	Æ 2.01 pierced	23 ↑			780–797
4b.8	Æ 2.00	20 ↑			
*4b.9	Æ 1.90	22 ↑			
4b.10	Æ 1.56	20 ↑	Same die as 4b.11		
4b.11	Æ 1.45	20 ↑	Same die as 4b.10		
			FOLLIS		
			Class 1		
			No inscription On l., bust of Constantine facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr. On r., bust of Irene facing, wearing loros and crown with cross and pinnacles. In l. hand, cross scepter	No inscription Above horizontal line, busts of Constantine V, Leo III, and Leo IV facing, bearded, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. To l. and r. two pellets. Below line, M To l., X To r., N Beneath, A	780–790
			(a) Irene holds gl. cr. in r. hand		
*5.1	Æ 2.86	26 ↓			
*5.2	Æ 2.39	20 ↓			
5.3	Æ 2.11 broken	19 ↓			

4b.7–9 Whittemore
4b.10 Peirce 1948 from Spink v. 28
4b.11 Whittemore
5–6 Irene's cross scepter is usually off flan, the condition of most of the coins here being poor, but since there can be no doubt of its presence on the dies I have not noted the cases where it cannot be seen.
5.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 8, 9, T. 16, R. —
5.2 Whittemore
5.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Irene without gl. cr.		790–792
*6.1	Æ	3.02	20	↓			
*6.2	Æ	2.48	18	↓			
6.3	Æ	2.22	19	↓			
6.4	Æ	1.76	17	↓			
6.5	Æ	1.66	19	↓			
					Class 2		
					No inscription Bust of Irene facing, wearing loros and crown with cross, pinnacles, and pendilia. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	No inscription Above horizontal line, bust of Constantine facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr. In field r., cross. To l. and r., pellet. Below line, M To l., X To r., N Beneath, A	792–797
*7.1	Æ	3.57	20	↓			
7.2	Æ	3.16	19	↓			
7.3	Æ	3.08	21	↙			
7.4	Æ	2.95	19	↙			

6.1 Schindler 1960 from Bertelè 1938
6.2–4 Swiss Collection 1956
6.5 Whittemore
The lower part of this coin is corroded, so that one cannot see whether a globus cruciger was present or not.
7.1 Schindler 1960 from Dr. F. Stefan 1935
W. 10–11, T. 17, R. 1779
Most of the following coins are in poor condition, and it is rare for the pellets on both sides of the bust of Constantine to be visible.
7.2–3 Whittemore
7.4 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*7.5	Æ	2.77	18	↓		2 pellets to r., only 1 visible to l.	792–797
7.6	Æ	2.54	20	↙			
7.7	Æ	2.51	20	↙			
7.8	Æ	2.34	19	↓		2 pellets on each side	
7.9	Æ	2.34	20	↙			
7.10	Æ	2.22	20	↓			
7.11	Æ	2.09	17	↓			
*7.12	Æ	1.85	18	↓		No pellet on either side	
*7.13	Æ	1.77	19	↓			
7.14	Æ	1.74	18	↓			
*7.15	Æ	1.62	19	↓			

7.5 Whittemore
7.6–7 Swiss Collection 1956
7.8 Whittemore
7.9 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
7.10 Peirce 1948
7.11 Swiss Collection 1956
7.12 Whittemore
7.13 Shaw 1947
7.14 Swiss Collection 1956
7.15 Shaw 1947

IRENE

19 August 797 – 30 October 802

Irene's sole reign lasted from the deposition and blinding of her son Constantine VI on 19 August 797 to her own deposition at the hands of the partisans of Nicephorus I on the night of 30 October 802.[1] She died in exile on the island of Lesbos on 9 August 803.[2]

The accession of Irene, both as a woman and as sole ruler, created several problems for those in charge of the mint. On the solidus she is given the title of βασίλισσα—it is in the dative, an accompanying acclamation being understood—though in her legislation she terms herself *basileus*.[3] The obverse was naturally occupied by her own bust, but for the reverse she could not fall back on the expedient employed since the reign of Constantine V of representing the effigies of one or more of her predecessors. Instead of reviving the ancient cross-on-steps type she preferred to have herself depicted a second time, thus creating a precedent which was occasionally followed in the future. The two faces of the coins are thus virtually identical, but the reverse may be distinguished by the fact that its inscription is followed by a control letter. This was not perceived by Wroth, who transposes the obverse and reverse. The control letter is either a Θ having the curious form ⊕—the normal Θ does occasionally occur—or an X. The coin is much less rare than is usually supposed.

No fractional gold or silver is known, but a follis exists. It has an obverse similar to that of the solidus, but with a slightly shortened inscription ending in bAS′, which might stand indifferently for either *basileus* or *basilissa*. The reverse type, a large M flanked by XXX and NNN, revives one used under Leo III. All specimens known to me are large and heavy, weighing 6 g. or over, twice the weight of the light follis which had been the only denomination struck under Constantine VI.

Two types of solidus, both of extreme rarity, are known for Sicily. The basic design is the same as that used at Constantinople, but the details differ. On one side, on both types, there is a facing bust of the empress wearing a loros and holding a cross potent on base instead of, as at Constantinople, a globus cruciger and cross scepter. On the other side there is always her facing bust, but on one type she wears the loros and holds a globus cruciger, on the other she wears a chlamys and holds an akakia, while there are two curved lines projecting upward from her shoulders into the field. This type was probably the earlier of the two, for the lines appear to be a reminiscence of those of the lyre-backed throne of the last issue of folles—or perhaps of a still unknown type of Sicilian solidus—of

[1] Theophanes, A.M. 6295 (ed. de Boor, I. 476).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[3] Εἰρήνη πιστὸς βασιλεύς (J. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I [Athens, 1931], 45).

Leo IV and Constantine. This implies that the side of the coin with Irene holding a cross potent on base should be regarded as the reverse. With an effigy of the same person on both sides of the coin the distinction was difficult to make, and from Nicephorus I onward a bust holding a cross potent on base was to mark the obverse instead of the reverse of the solidus. On the first type of solidus Irene has the title of *augusta*, on the second that of *basilissa*.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			·ЄIRIΠH bASILISSH Bust of Irene facing, wearing loros and crown with cross, pinnacles, and pendilia. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	Same inscr. as obv., but, at end, ⊕ Same type as obv.	797–802
*1a.1	Ɐ 4.44	19 ↓			
1a.2	Ɐ 4.39	18 ↘	No initial pellet		
1a.3	Ɐ 4.39 pierced	19 ↓			
1a.4	Ɐ 4.39	21 ↘	No initial pellet		
*1a.5	Ɐ 4.32	20 ↓	No initial pellet		
			Same	Same, but at end, Θ	
*1b	Ɐ 4.46	20 ↓	No initial pellet		
			Same	Same, but at end, X	
*1c	Ɐ 4.40	18 ↓	Initial pellet (if present) off flan		

1a.1 Friend 1957
W. 1, T. 20, R. 1780
1a.2 Whittemore
1a.3 Schindler 1960 from Egger 23. x. 15
1a.4 Peirce 1948
1a.5 Peirce 1948 from Baldwin
1b Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
1c Whittemore
W. —, T. 21–22, R. —
There is a modern forgery of this variety in the Whittemore Collection.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					FOLLIS		
					ЄIRI ПHbAS′ Bust of Irene as on solidus	M Above, cross. To l., X X X To r., N N N Beneath, A	797–802
*2.1	Æ	6.95	26	↓			
2.2	Æ	6.94	24	↓	] ПHbAS′		
*2.3	Æ	5.67	23	↓			
2.4	Æ	5.65	22	↓			
					Syracuse		
					SOLIDUS		
					Class I		
					IRЄП AΓOSƬ Bust facing, wearing chlamys and crown with pendilia and cross on semicircle between two pinnacles. R. hand not shown; in l., akakia. Two curved lines (of throne) project above Irene's shoulders	AΓOVSƬ Bust facing, wearing loros and crown as on obv. In r. hand, cross potent on base; l. hand not shown	
*3	AV	3.89	20	↓	Cross of crown off flan	Base of cross potent off flan	

2.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 2, T. 23, R. 1781
2.2 Whittemore
2.3 Peirce 1948 from Spink viii. 28
2.4 Whittemore
3 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1663
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti 200

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
*(4)		19	ЄIRIПH bASILISI Bust facing, wearing loros and crown as on Class I. In r. hand, gl. cr.; l. hand not shown (Glendining 7. vii. 39, lot 31 = Schulman 27. ii. 39, lot 113)	]NH bASILIS[Bust facing, as on obv., but in r. hand, cross potent [on base]	797–802

The letters on this coin and on the obverse of No. 4 are so small and badly formed that their intended meaning can only be presumed. This specimen was published by Pfaffenhoffen in *RN* (1865), 288, No. 3 (Pl. XII. 3). Another, from different dies, is illustrated by Ricotti; its whereabouts is not stated.

NICEPHORUS I

1 November 802 – 26 July 811

Colleague: Stauracius (from 25? December 803)

Nicephorus was crowned emperor on the morning after the deposition of Irene. Though his motives and policy are consistently misrepresented by Theophanes and succeeding chroniclers, who were unwavering partisans of the empress, he proved a masterful and conscientious ruler. Like Anastasius I he had been minister of finance before his accession, and his reforms in this sphere of government earned him an unenviable reputation for avarice.[1] But he was unlucky in war: defeated by the Arabs in 806 and compelled to pay an annual indemnity of 30,000 solidi and six pieces of gold as "ransom" for himself and his son,[2] he was killed in the terrible defeat of the Byzantines at the hands of the Bulgarian Khan Krum on 26 July 811.[3] He was succeeded by his son Stauracius, whom he crowned co-emperor in December 803, presumably on Christmas Day.[4]

The coinage of the reign falls into two periods, that of Nicephorus alone (802–3) and that of Nicephorus and Stauracius (803–11). It continued in all essentials that of the preceding reigns. A notable feature is the absence of any silver coinage, for one would expect miliaresia to have been struck on the occasion of Stauracius' coronation. Possibly the explanation is to be found in Nicephorus' penurious habits. A novel feature was the reopening of a mint on the Italian mainland, probably at Naples.

Constantinople

The solidus of Nicephorus' sole reign abandons Irene's device of using the imperial bust on both obverse and reverse, adopting instead for the reverse the type and inscription of the miliaresion. The repudiation of Irene's precedent was probably deliberate, for on the obverse Nicephorus is shown wearing a chlamys and holding a cross potent and an akakia, departing thus in every detail from the representation of Irene and reproducing the effigy of Leo III as it appeared on the solidi of Constantine V. The control letters on the reverse are X and Θ (in the form ⊕); Є is perhaps still to be found. No semissis is known, and only two specimens of the tremissis have been recorded, one in the Hermitage

[1] Cf. G. I. Brătianu, "La politique fiscale de Nicéphore Ier (802–811) ou Ubu roi à Byzance," in his *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris, 1938), 183–216. Nicephorus' financial policy is admirably discussed by Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 187–91.

[2] Theophanes, A.M. 6298 (ed. de Boor, I. 482).

[3] *Ibid.*, A.M. 6303 (pp. 490–1). The date 26 July is preferable to that of 23 July given by an anonymous account of the expedition (I. Dujčev, "La chronique byzantine de l'an 811," *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines*, I [1965], 205–54, esp. 238).

[4] Theophanes, A.M. 6296 (p. 480).

(T. 4) and the other in the Foreign Prince Sale, lot 129. The type is that of the solidus. The follis, which is rather rare, is of the same type as that of Irene, the bust of Nicephorus replacing that of the empress. A decanummium with illegible inscription which was ascribed to Nicephorus by Sabatier (*Description*, II. 74, No. 3, Pl. XLI. 16) and Tolstoi (No. 6) may be a coin of Constantine V (above, p. 305, note to Nos. 9–10).

The solidus of the joint reign reverts to the Isaurian pattern of showing the bust of the junior emperor on the reverse, Stauracius having the title of *despotes*. Both emperors wear the chlamys and carry an akakia, but Nicephorus has in his right hand a cross potent and Stauracius a globus cruciger. The obverse legend is sometimes preceded by a pellet and the control letters on the reverse are X, Θ (not Φ), and Є.

In addition to the normal type of solidus, there exist some specimens struck with larger dies than usual (*c.* 20 mm. as against *c.* 18 mm. across the circle of beading) and on a broader flan (*c.* 23 mm. as against *c.* 20 mm.). The bust of Stauracius is exceptionally small, and so far as my records go the control mark is always Є. Wroth suggested that they might be Italian, but the style and lettering, and the use of such a control mark, make it difficult to ascribe them to any mint save Constantinople. Probably they are the earliest of the Constantinopolitan series, prepared for distribution at the coronation of Stauracius in 803. There is no known fractional gold, though some may yet come to light.

Wroth ascribed no Constantinopolitan copper coinage to the reign, but such a gap of eight years in mint activity at this particular period is most unlikely. The lacuna is best filled by a group of anonymous folles, early ninth-century in style and having on the obverse two facing busts, which are commonly assigned to Leo V and Constantine. The absence of inscription is to be explained by the presence of two busts on a flan of this size, which made the insertion of an inscription rather difficult, and since there were no similar coins in circulation at the time, there was no need to label them specifically in any way.[5]

SICILY

No Sicilian gold coins of the sole reign of Nicephorus have so far been recorded, but they may well exist. A follis in Naples Museum (below, No. 9) has ИIKH on both obverse and reverse, and Ricotti attributes it to Nicephorus alone. The figure on the reverse is beardless, however, when one would expect it to be bearded, and since it corresponds in every detail to that of Stauracius on the coinage of 803–11 it could conceivably be a coin of the later period on which a die-sinker has carelessly engraved the wrong inscription. But the same combination of a bearded and a beardless bust of the same person occurs on the Sicilian folles of Michael I's sole reign (below, p. 369, No. 9), so we are probably justified in accepting this coin as one of 802–3.

No solidi of the joint reign were listed by Ricotti, who presumably rejected a specimen doubtfully recorded by Wroth (No. 11), but several specimens came on the market in 1960, evidently from a hoard. The inscriptions are usually in part off flan and not very

[5] See Grierson, "The Copper Coinage of Leo III (717–41) and Constantine V (720–75)," *NC*[7], 5 (1965), 195.

legible; Nicephorus has his title shortened to b while the name of Stauracius is normally misspelled and the title confused (e.g., SƬAV RACIbLSd, SAƬЧ RAC). Semisses and tremisses have long been known, though they are rare and not always easy to recognize, since even when the letters are not on the flan they are badly formed and difficult to decipher.

There are two types of follis. The first presents no problems, since NIKH is legible on the obverse and CTAЧ on the reverse. The second is a rather smaller coin, as those of the next reign were to be, and has on the obverse [N ?] ΔЄC and on the reverse CTA. A specimen was attributed by Ratto (No. 1763) to Constantine V and Leo IV, by Ricotti to Leo IV and Constantine VI. The type and style, however, belong to the early ninth century rather than to the eighth, and despite the unusual use at this period of *despotes* for the senior emperor and the illegibility of any letter preceding ΔЄC on such specimens as are known to me, it is to Nicephorus and Stauracius that it is best provisionally assigned.

Naples

Wroth and Tolstoi agree in attributing to Italy a group of base gold solidi which copy the Constantinopolitan issues of Nicephorus and Stauracius but are of very crude design and have badly blundered inscriptions. The interpretation of these inscriptions is something of a problem. The reverse normally reads something like ƬAV IOЄƧPOHЄ, and the presence of the Ƭ leaves no doubt that it comes from the SƬAVRA CISδЄSPO′ of the Constantinopolitan coins. The obverse is usually ΛVC IOЄƧPOHЄ (or IƧOЄƧPOHЄ), which would seem to be the same with the Ƭ omitted—it is *never* present—but two specimens in the British Museum start ΛIC, which Wroth assumed to be a corruption of NIC(iforos), as one would expect it to be. On the other hand, the terminal IOЄƧPOHЄ can scarcely be derived from the bASILЄ′ that followed Nicephorus' name on Eastern solidi; the elements of δЄSPO are clearly present. It looks as if the die-sinker, while taking as his model a coin of Nicephorus and Stauracius—this is evident from the types—has tried to reproduce the name of Stauracius on *both* sides of the coin, as if Nicephorus were no longer alive. In any case, neither inscription will account for the HЄ which follows the PO (of the Constantinopolitan δЄSPO′), and I have suggested in the Introduction (p. 86) that they may stand for NЄ(apolis).[6] The coins would thus have been struck by the duke of Naples, an official still more or less subject to Byzantine authority, who perhaps felt the need for making good a shortage of "gold" coin on the mainland caused by the action of Grimoald IV of Benevento (806–17) in abandoning his predecessors' coinage in this metal and minting only silver denari.

[6] POHЄ, on both obverse and reverse, is the normal reading, though PΛHЄ and POIЄ also occur. Wroth (No. 16) gives a variant PΛMЄ, but the M is an illusion resulting from double striking.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Nicephorus alone		
			ΠICI FOROSbASILЄ' Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent on base; in l., akakia	IhSYSXRIS ƬYSΠICA Cross potent on base and three steps	802–803
*1a.1	AV 4.38 clipped	19 ↓		At end, ⊕	
*1a.2	AV 4.37 pierced	21 ↓	Begins Π ICI	At end, ⊕ Double struck	
*1b	AV 4.43	20 ↓		At end, X	
			Class II		
			Nicephorus and Stauracius		
			Same inscr. and type, but with pellet before inscr.	SƬAVRA CISδЄSPO' Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	803–811
*2a.1	AV 4.38	23 ↓	Broad flan	At end, Є Head small	

1a.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman iii. 28
W. —, T. 1, 3, R. —
T. 1 gives the terminal ⊕ as Θ. T. 3 (= Sabatier, II. 74, No. 1, Pl. XLI. 14) is described as a variety having the letter O or Θ in the reverse field, but it is only a hole in the coin.

1a.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27

1b Swiss Collection 1956
W. 1, T. 2, R. —

2a.1 Glendining 26. v. 59, lot 274 (R. C. Lockett collection)
W. 6, T. —, R. 1784
The small head of Stauracius on this coin and the next indicates an early date.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2a.2	Ꝗ 4.00 trace of mount	23 ↓	Broad flan (double struck)	At end, Є Head small	803–811
2a.3	Ꝗ 4.46 with ring	20 ↓		At end, Є	
*2a.4	Ꝗ 4.45 clipped	20 ↓		At end, Є	
2a.5	Ꝗ 4.37	19 ↓		At end, Є	
*2a.6	Ꝗ 4.33 clipped	20 ↓		At end, Є	
*2b.1	Ꝗ 4.45	21 ↓		At end, Θ	
2b.2	Ꝗ 4.42	20 ↓		At end, Θ	
*2b.3	Ꝗ 4.33	20 ↓	No pellet	At end, Θ	
*2c.1	Ꝗ 4.47	21 ↓		At end, X	
2c.2	Ꝗ 4.43	22 ↓	No pellet	At end, X	
2c.3	Ꝗ 4.42	20 ↓		At end, X	
*2c.4	Ꝗ 4.42	21 ↓		At end, X	
2c.5	Ꝗ 4.41	21 ↓	No pellet	At end, X	
2c.6	Ꝗ 4.40	20 ↓		At end, X	
*2c.7	Ꝗ 4.36	19 ↓	No pellet	At end, X	

2a.2 Whittemore
2a.3 Dame Una Pope Hennessy 1948
W. 4, 5, T. 7, R. 1783
2a.4 Peirce 1948
2a.5 Whittemore
2a.6 Schindler 1960 from Egger 21. ix. 16
2b.1 Whittemore
W. 7, T. 8, R. 1785
2b.2–3 Whittemore
2c.1 Peirce 1948 in Sofia x. 27
W. 8–10, T. 9, R. 1786
2c.2–4 Whittemore
2c.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
2c.6–7 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					TREMISSIS *Class I* Nicephorus alone		
*(3)	N	1.5	13		ΠICI[Same type (T. 4)	IhSYSXRIS [Same type as No. 1	802–803
					FOLLIS *Class 1* Nicephorus alone		
					ΠI CIFOR' bAS' Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent; in l., akakia	M Above, cross. X N To l., X To r., N X N Beneath, A	
*4.1	Æ	6.89	24	↓	ΠI CIF[		
*4.2	Æ	6.64	23	↓			
4.3	Æ	5.39	23	↓	ΠI CIFOR[		
4.4	Æ	4.93	23	↓			
4.5	Æ	4.83	23	↓	ΠI CIFOR'bAS'		
4.6	Æ	4.25	22	↓			
4.7	Æ	4.16	26	↓	Double struck		

(3) There was another specimen in the Foreign Prince Sale, lot 127, described as a semissis.
4.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 2–3, T. 5, R. 1782
4.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956
4.4–5 Whittemore
4.6 Swiss Collection 1956
4.7 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 2 Nicephorus and Stauracius		
					No inscription Two busts facing, Nicephorus on l., bearded, Stauracius on r., beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Hands not shown. Above head, cross	M Above, cross. X N Tol., X To r., N X N Beneath, A	803–811
*5.1	Æ	6.90	24	↓			
*5.2	Æ	5.93	25	↓			
5.3	Æ	5.36	23	↓			
5.4	Æ	4.20	23	↓			
*5.5	Æ	4.19	23	↓			
*5.6	Æ	3.84	23	↓			
5.7	Æ	3.81	25	↓	Double struck		
5.8	Æ	2.95	22	↓	Restruck on unidentifiable coin	]PAVC of under-striking legible	

5.1 Peirce 1948
W. (Leo V) 12–14, T. (Leo V) 20, R. 1802 (as Leo V)
5.2–3 Whittemore
5.4 Swiss Collection 1956
5.5 Whittemore
5.6 Schindler 1960 from Klagenfurt 1935
5.7–8 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Syracuse		
					No gold coins corresponding to Class I are known		
					Class II		
					Nicephorus and Stauracius		
					SOLIDUS		
					Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing crown and loros. In r. hand, cross potent	Blundered inscription Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	803–811
*6	N	3.80	21	↓	]FOROSbA	STAY RACIbLJS	
					SEMISSIS		
					Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	Inscription Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent on globe; in l., akakia	
*7	N	1.51	15	↓	NIC FOROSbA Akakia not visible	ST[	
					TREMISSIS		
					Similar inscr. and type	Similar inscr. and type, but Stauracius holds cross potent on base	
*(8)	N	1.3	13		(T. 15 = Ricotti 203)		

6 Münzen and Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a Sicilian hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —

7 Schindler 1960 from Kallai 1935
W. 12 (as tremissis) = T. 14, 13 (as tremisses), R. —, Ricotti 202
Despite the weight, the type shows this to be a semissis, not a tremissis. Other specimens usually weigh *c.* 1.8 g.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			FOLLIS		
			Class 1		
			Nicephorus alone		
			Bust facing, bearded, wearing crown and loros. In r. hand, cross potent. In field, ИI K H	Bust facing, *beardless*, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr. In field, ИI K H	802–803
*(9)	Æ 3.90	21	(Ricotti 201)		
			Class 2		
			Nicephorus and Stauracius		
			Same inscr. and type, but N for И	Same type, but in field, C T A V	803–811
*10.1	Æ 6.26	23 ↓			
*10.2	Æ 3.85 pierced	24 ↓			
10.3	Æ 3.39	23 ↓	Letters illegible	Only C and A legible	
10.4	Æ 2.45	19 ↓	Letters off flan	C T A	
*10.5	Æ 2.31	21 ↓	Only K H legible		

(9) See above, p. 353. The specimen in Naples Museum, cited by Ricotti, is that illustrated on Pl. XVI.

10.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 13–14, T. 16–18, R. 1787–8, Ricotti 204
Abnormally heavy

10.2 Swiss Collection 1956

10.3 Swiss Collection 1956

10.4 Whittemore

10.5 Schindler 1960 from Egger

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 3		
			Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent. In field, [N] Δ Є C	Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr. In field, C T A	803–811
11.1	Æ 2.61	19 ↓	N off flan	A not legible	
*11.2	Æ 2.14	20 ↓	N off flan	TA not legible	
*11.3	Æ 1.91	20 ↓	N off flan		
			Naples (?)		
			SOLIDUS		
			Blundered inscr. Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent, in l., akakia	Blundered inscr. Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	
*12	N 4.11 (base)	20 ↘	ΛVC ICЄƧPOHЄ	ƬΛVC HOЄƧPOHЄ	

11.1 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan 1935
W. —, T. —, R. 1763 (as Constantine V) = Ricotti 199 (as Leo IV)
The attribution is discussed above, p. 354.

11.2 Whittemore

11.3 Swiss Collection 1956

12 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan 1935
W. 15–18, T. 10–12, R. —
The inscriptions on these coins are of varying degrees of corruption. They are both based essentially on the SƬAVR ACISƐSPOS of the Constantinopolitan reverses, with HЄ (= *Neapolis*?) added. See above, p. 354.

STAURACIUS

811 (26 July – 2 October)

Stauracius was severely wounded in the battle in which his father was killed, but succeeded in escaping to Adrianople, where he was immediately proclaimed *autocrator*.[1] He had no children, and his brief reign was occupied with the problem of the succession, for the injuries he had sustained made it plain that he had not long to live. The problem was settled by the coup d'état of his brother-in-law Michael I Rangabè, who was proclaimed emperor on 2 October and caused Stauracius to be tonsured the same day.[2] The deposed emperor died after severe suffering on 11 January 812.[3]

No coins of Stauracius are known, but the discovery of nomismata of Zoe and Theodora (1042) shows that a reign of two months was long enough, though only just, to allow the mint to produce coin in the name of a new sovereign. It is therefore possible that specimens of Stauracius' sole reign may yet come to light, though it may equally well be that the emperor, with no hope of life, simply continued to strike coin in his father's name.

[1] Theophanes, A.M. 6303 (ed. de Boor, I. 492). Bury conjectures (*History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 16, note 2) that the proclamation may have taken place on 28 July, since Theophanes reckons Stauracius' reign as lasting 2 months and 6 days (p. 495). Theoph. Cont. (Bonn ed., p. 11) gives 2 months and 8 days.

[2] Theophanes, A.M. 6304 (p. 493).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 495.

MICHAEL I Rangabè

2 October 811 – 11 July 813

Colleague: Theophylact (from 25 December 811)

Michael was crowned on the day of Stauracius' deposition, but his reign proved to be short. Like his predecessor, he suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Bulgarians (22 June 813). Less than three weeks later the general Leo was proclaimed emperor by the army, and on 11 July entered Constantinople in triumph. Michael abdicated and assumed the monastic garb the same day, leaving the way free for the crowning of his rival.[1] He died many years later, as the monk Athanasius, on 11 January 840, the anniversary of the death of Stauracius whom he had himself deposed.[2]

Michael's son Theophylact was crowned emperor by the patriarch on 25 December 811.[3] He was mutilated and tonsured on the day of his father's abdication, and as the monk Eustratios he died on one of the Princes Islands on 15 January 845.[4]

Michael's coinage is similar to that of his immediate predecessors, but he revived the miliaresion for the coronation of his son Theophylact after it had not been struck during the preceding two reigns. The coinage of the reign falls into two phases, that of Michael I alone (October–December 811), specimens of which are very rare, and that of Michael and Theophylact (December 811 – July 813). The attributions of the coins involve certain difficulties, since they have been confused with those of Michael II and even Michael III. There are no coins in Michael's name attributable to Naples.

Constantinople

No solidus of Michael's sole reign is known, though specimens may still come to light. If they do, they will probably show a reversion to Irene's practice of exhibiting the imperial bust on both faces of the coin, and resemble the solidus assigned below to Michael II save that the inscription will be preceded by a pellet, or by nothing at all, instead of by a star. Sabatier assigned to Michael I a solidus bearing the bust of Christ, but this and the corresponding semissis, as Wroth pointed out, belong to Michael III.

The obverse of the solidus of the joint reign of Michael I and Theophylact is the same as that of Nicephorus and Stauracius, but Theophylact wears the loros and holds a globus cruciger and cross scepter. Control letters are Є or X. No semisses are known, but there is a unique tremissis in the former Goodacre collection, now deposited on loan in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[1] Theophanes, A.M. 6305 (ed. de Boor, I. 502).
[2] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., p. 20.
[3] Theophanes, A.M. 6304 (p. 494).
[4] Theoph. Cont., *loc. cit.*

The miliaresion revives the type employed by the Isaurians, but the emperor is given for the first time the full title of *basileus Romaion*. This was a subtle way of indicating that the title of *basileus* alone, which Michael had been compelled to accord to Charlemagne, carried with it no rights of sovereignty over the "Romans."[5] There are generally two or three circles of dots on the coins, the precise number being often difficult to ascertain owing to clipping or weak striking, but Tolstoi 4 appears to have only two on the obverse and one on the reverse.

Whether or not folles should be attributed to Michael I, and to the co-rulership of Michael I and Theophylact, has several times been discussed. Folles exist having a single bust (wearing loros) with the inscription MIXAHL bASILE^{S}, and others having two busts, wearing chlamys and loros respectively, with the inscription MIXAHL S ΘEOF'. De Saulcy attributed the first series to Michael I and the second to Michael II, but with a note saying that the latter might also belong to Michael I. Wroth (p. 406 and note 2) gave both series to Michael I, his reason in the second case being that, while ΘEOF' was ambiguous, there existed a series of large module coins with ΘEOFILOS in full; to attribute the ΘEOF' coins to Michael II would leave Michael I with no Constantinopolitan folles at all, to which one may add that this abbreviated form would be ambiguous only in the reign of Michael II, not in that of Michael I. Tolstoi reverted to de Saulcy's view, apparently because the inscription on a specimen of the two-bust series in the Hermitage seemed to end ΘEOFIL'.[6] Metcalf attributed both series to Michael II, mainly for iconographical reasons.[7] The coins of Michael I alone revive a loros-clad bust not used for a senior emperor since Irene, and he suggests that this may have been a counter-manifesto to the rebel Thomas' claim to be Constantine VI. As for the two-bust series, similar ones of preceding reigns had shown both emperors wearing the chlamys, while the chlamys-loros combination on these coins corresponds to that of the large-module folles of Michael II and Theophilus and those of Theophilus and Constantine.

These iconographical arguments, and more especially the supposed political implications of the use of a loros-clad bust, are not altogether convincing, but the conclusion seems to me correct. That the ΘEOF' coins belong to Michael II is shown by the fact that one specimen at Dumbarton Oaks reads ΘEOFI, like the Hermitage one, and so cannot refer to Theophylact, while the shape of the M on the coins, normally very tall and narrow, is identical with that of the M on the large-module folles of Michael II and Theophilus and quite different from the shorter and broader M of the folles of Irene and of Nicephorus and Stauracius. This can be seen by comparing Pl. xx. 7.2–8.6 with Pl. xx. 9.2–10.1 on the one hand and with Pls. xv. 2.1, 2.3 and xvi. 4.1–5.6 on the other. The transition from the one form to the other occurred during the seven-year reign of Leo V, under whom both varieties are found (Pl. xviii. 6.2–7.5), and the occurrence of the tall and narrow one on the folles of Michael alone, and of the two-bust ones with ΘEOFI, shows that both these series must be dated after 820, and not before 813. There

[5] See Introduction, p. 64.

[6] Tolstoi, p. 997, note to No. 5; p. 1020, No. 26. The coin is illustrated as No. 26 on Pl. 70, and the reading looks more like ΘEOFI, with a bar through the last letter.

[7] D. M. Metcalf, "The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus before his Reform," *HBN*, 21 (1967), 21–3.

are in consequence no copper coins of Constantinople definitely attributable to the reign of Michael I, though the anonymous ones of Nicephorus and Stauracius may have continued to be struck during the greater part of it.

Sicily

Michael I's Sicilian coinage is rare, especially in gold. There is no justification for confusing it with the coinage of Michael III (842–67), though this has sometimes been done, for the Sicilian gold of the mid-ninth century is badly debased and the design of the imperial bust, with a long emaciated face and hollow cheeks, is quite different from what it had been earlier. As between Michael I and Michael II (820–29), where the mutual resemblance is much closer, a decisive criterion is in most cases the module, since this was reduced toward the end of Leo V's reign and solidi of Michael II are 3 or 4 mm. smaller than those of Michael I. Other criteria are details which link Michael II's coins with those of Theophilus and the later issues of Leo V.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			· MIXA HLbASILES Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent; in l., akakia	ΘEOFVLA CTOSδESPS Bust facing, beardless, wearing crown and loros. In r. hand, gl. cr; in l., cross scepter	811–813
*1a.1	N 4.48	20 ↙		At end, X	
1a.2	N 4.44	20 ↓	Same die as 1a.1	Same die as 1a.1	
1a.3	N 4.41	20 ↙	Same die as 1a.1 Double struck	Same die as 1a.1	
*1a.4	N 4.38	21 ↓	Same die as 1a.1	Same die as 1a.1	
*1b	N 4.44	20 ↓		At end, E	
			TREMISSIS		
			· MIX AHLbASILS Same type	ΘEOFVL [ACT]OSδES Same type	
*(2)	N 1.33 (pierced)	16 ↓	(Goodacre coll.)	At end, E	
			MILIARESION		
			+MIXA HLSΘEOFV LACTEECΘS bASILISRO MAION within triple circle of dots	IhSYSXRIS TYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within triple circle of dots	

1a.1 Whittemore
W. p. 405, note 1, T. 2, R. 1790
The fact that this coin and the next three are from the same pair of dies does not seem to be purely a matter of chance. The material in my photofile shows much die duplication, as if the coins formed a relatively small issue on the occasion of Theophylact's coronation.

1a.2 Whittemore

1a.3 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916

1a.4 Whittemore
The flan is larger than usual, and the coin is perhaps analogous to the "large flan" issues of Nicephorus I and Leo V.

1b Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 1, T. 1, R. —

(2) Publ. by H. Goodacre, "Notes on Some Rare Byzantine Coins," *NC*[5], 11 (1931), 155, Pl. XI. 8.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3.1	Æ 2.17	23 ↑			811–813
3.2	Æ 2.08 pierced	22 ↑			
3.3	Æ 2.08	23 ↖			
*3.4	Æ 2.01	22 ↑	Double struck. Only one circle of dots	Only two circles of dots visible	
3.5	Æ 1.78 pierced	23 ↑			
*3.6	Æ 1.73 clipped	22 ↑			
			Syracuse		
			Class I		
			Michael I alone		
			SOLIDUS		
			Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent on base	Inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In l. hand, gl. cr.; in r., akakia	811
*4	Æ 3.82	17 ↓	MIX(?)[	MI(?)[	

3.1 Whittemore
W. 2–3, T. 4 (2 circles of dots on obv., 1 circle on rev.), R. 1792
3.2 Whittemore
3.3 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
3.4 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
Cf. T. 4, as noted above.
3.5 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
3.6 Whittemore
4 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —
The attribution of this coin is not certain. Since the inscription is mainly off flan and the reading of the opening letters conjectural, it could be a coin of the sole reign of Nicephorus I.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			SEMISSIS		
*5	Æ 1.82	16 ↓	MIX AHLbASIL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	M IXA [HL]ƏESPOT Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent on globe; in l., akakia	811
			TREMISSIS		
*(6)	Æ 1.23	13	Same inscr. and type (W. 10 = Ricotti 204 ter; T. Michael II 4)	Same inscr. and type, but Michael holds cross potent on base	
			Class II Michael I and Theophylact		
			SOLIDUS		
*(7)	Æ 3.85	20	MI XAHLbA Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent. In field r., globule (W. 8, not in Ricotti)	ΘEO EYLACT[Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia Inscr. blundered	811–813

5 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. (Michael II) 3, R. —, Ricotti 204 bis

(7) I give the inscription from another specimen of this rare coin, which I saw in a dealer's hands some years ago, since the reading of the one in the British Museum is imperfect. Ricotti presumably omitted the BM specimen because he doubted the reading and attribution. W. 7, which Wroth treats as a coin of the same type, belongs to Michael II (below, p. 400, No. 13).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			SEMISSIS		
			MIX AHLbA′ Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	Inscription Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent on globe	811–813
*8	Æ 1.83	16 ↓	MI[ ]LbA′	TH[ ]ЧLAC	
			FOLLIS		
			Class 1		
			Michael I alone		
			Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent. In field, M I X A	Bust facing, *beardless*, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr. In field, M I X A	811
*9	Æ 1.79	18 ↘	M I off flan	M illegible, I off flan	
			Class 2		
			Michael I and Theophylact		
			Same type and inscr.	Same type. In field, ΘЄ ΟΦΙΛΑ	

8 Schindler 1960 from Schulman 30. iv. 36
W. 9, T. 3, R. 1791, Ricotti 205

9 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Michael III) 20–21, T. (Michael II) 5, R. 1848 (this coin, as Michael III), Ricotti 204 quater (217 on pl.)
The module and general appearance of this coin correspond exactly to those of the next group (Michael II and Theophylact), and there can be no doubt as to its attribution; it cannot belong to either Michael II or Michael III. It is surprising, as Wroth points out, that on the reverse the emperor should be represented as beardless, but the same feature is found on coins of Nicephorus I alone (above, p. 360, No. 9) and was evidently a convention acceptable to the mint.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*10.1	Æ	2.02	18	↓	No letters legible	ΘЄ and Λ illegible	811–813
*10.2	Æ	1.86	19	↘	M off flan	Only Λ legible	
10.3	Æ	1.58	17	↓	Only M and X legible	Only Θ legible	

10.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 12, T. 6, R. 1793, Ricotti 206
R. 1764 (= Ricotti 198), attributed to Leo IV and Constantine VI, is probably another specimen of this coin. The letters on the obverse are off flan, and on the reverse one can distinguish only]ЄO[, which Ricotti would interpret as N]ЄO[S. But the type is not that of Leo IV's reign, and I think it represents only a different arrangement of the letters Θ] ЄO[ΦV.

10.2 Peirce 1948

10.3 Swiss Collection 1956

LEO V the Armenian

11 July 813 – 25 December 820

Colleague: Constantine (from 25 December 813)

Leo V's reign dates from his coronation on 11 July 813. He proved a good ruler, but his reign was much troubled by revolts, to one of which he finally fell victim. He was murdered by the partisans of his successor Michael II on Christmas Day 820,[1] and Michael, who had been arrested the previous day and was under sentence of death, was immediately crowned as his successor. Leo had had as a colleague Smbat, his eldest son, who had been crowned under the name of Constantine exactly seven years earlier, on Christmas Day 813.[2] In company with his three brothers the boy was mutilated after the murder of Leo and exiled to the Princes Islands. Nothing is known of his subsequent fate.

Leo's coinage follows very closely the pattern of that of the preceding decade. There are two series for the reign, one struck in the name of Leo V alone (July–December 813) and the other in the names of Leo V and Constantine (December 813–December 820). The fact that Leo gave his son the name of Constantine—the choice represented a political program in itself—meant that his reign reproduced a combination already found under Leo III and Constantine V (720–41) and Leo IV and Constantine VI (776–80). Some of the difficulties thus created for numismatists have already been discussed in the context of the reigns of these rulers.

Constantinople

The Constantinopolitan gold coinage of Leo V's reign presents no problems. It consists entirely of solidi, though fractions are likely to have been struck for ceremonial purposes and may yet come to light. Solidi of Leo alone are very rare; none were known to Wroth, and the only recorded specimens are those in the Hermitage (= Tolstoi 1) and the Garrett collection at Baltimore (= Ratto 1794). The solidi of the joint reign of Leo and Constantine show only two emperors and so cannot be confused with those of Leo IV and Constantine VI. They fall into two classes, an earlier one with a pellet preceding the obverse inscription and a later one, much rarer, on which this is absent. The pellet was carried over from Michael I's reign and appears on the rare solidi of Leo I alone, while under Michael II the space left blank on Leo's latest solidi was filled by a star. A few solidi of both classes are known which have slightly larger flans than usual, like those of Nicephorus I and Stauracius (above, pp. 355–6, Nos. 2a.1, 2), but their significance is unknown.

[1] Genesius, Bonn ed., 24–6.

[2] *Scriptor incertus de Leone Bardae filio* (ed. Bekker in the Bonn ed. of Leo Grammaticus, 346). The allusion is certainly to Christmas Day.

The control mark Λ occurs instead of the customary Є or X on a few coins of the group having a pellet before the inscription.

There are two varieties of miliaresion. They are distinguished from those of Leo III/Constantine V and Leo IV/Constantine VI by the presence in the inscription of *basileis Romaion*, which had only been introduced on the coinage under Michael I. One variety, the earlier, has a single border of dots on both sides and an unbroken reverse inscription, the lettering being unusually large. The other, which is later in date and rather rarer, has the customary three circles of dots and a broken inscription with smaller lettering. The order of striking is determined by the affinities of the first class with the miliaresia of Michael I, where the inscription of the reverse was tending to close up and the circles of dots are sometimes reduced in number. The second class, with the two halves of the inscription widely separated and the upper bar of the cross reaching almost to the innermost circle of the beading, is closely related to the miliaresion of Michael II. Some years ago I suggested that the miliaresia of Class I might belong to Leo III and Constantine V, but a more satisfactory identification of these later coins has since been reached by Veglery and Zacos.[3]

The folles of Leo's sole reign require no comment, but those with two busts, on which he is associated with Constantine, have been a source of difficulty. Wroth attributed to the reign three types of follis and one half follis with K, to which Tolstoi added a fourth type of follis. The reverse in each case shows a large M between XXX and NNN, usually with an A, rarely with a B, below. Only one of these types really belongs to Leo V; two are much earlier—they still use officina letter B and have corresponding half folles with K—and belong to Leo III, while the anonymous series can best be attributed to Nicephorus I and Stauracius. The revised attributions are summarized in the accompanying table:

W	T	Inscription and Details of Type	Attribution and Reference
7–11	16–19	LЄON SC ONST (or variant). Hands not shown	Leo V and Constantine (p. 378, No. 7)
12–14	20	No inscr. Cross above heads. Hands not shown	Nicephorus I and Stauracius (p. 358, No. 5)
15–16	13	LЄON S CON (or variant). Each figure holds akakia	Leo III and Constantine V (p. 261, Nos. 38–39)
—	14	No inscr. Figures hold a cross potent	Leo III and Constantine V (p. 260, No. 36)

On the folles which are definitely attributable to Leo V and Constantine the inscription varies slightly in its ending—it may end CONSTA′, CONST′, or CONS′—and quite considerably in the ways in which it is broken (LЄON SC O NST′, LЄO N SC ONST′, etc.). These varieties have been treated below, for convenience of reference, as if they were distinct sub-classes, but they were evidently determined by the size and placing of the

[3] Above, p. 63.

two busts and do not reflect any organizational pattern in the mint. Some of the rarer varieties may be amongst the earliest in date, before the pattern had settled down to that of Class 2a, which is more common than the others. The die features of a number of specimens in various collections have been described by Metcalf.[4]

SICILY

The Sicilian coinage of Leo V, more particularly the copper, is common and was evidently struck in quantity. A surprising feature is the absence of any coins of Leo's sole reign, which lasted for five months, but since his Constantinopolitan issues of the same period are rare, some Sicilian coins may turn up in due course.

The gold coins are uniform in their general design, but the later issues are of smaller module than usual and mark the beginning of the transition from solidi of normal size to the semi-globular ones of the reigns of Michael II and Theophilus. The solidi all show Leo wearing a loros and holding a cross potent, Constantine wearing a chlamys and holding a globus cruciger and an akakia. Only the top of the latter is visible and often its existence has to be surmised. The semisses and tremisses show each emperor wearing a chlamys; Leo holds a globus cruciger by its globe and Constantine either a cross potent on globus (semissis) or a cross potent on base (tremissis), the object in either case being held by the shaft. The design of the hands is very curious. Leo's forefinger, on the solidus, does not point at his head, as it does on Constantinopolitan solidi, but curves over and downward like an eagle's beak, so that it has sometimes been mistaken for part of the edge of a globus cruciger. On the tremissis the fingers of Constantine's hand holding the cross potent are shown as short, straight strokes pointing diagonally outward, while the thumb and two lines of the edge of the chlamys do the same inward, so that taken together they have a feather-like appearance.

All denominations of Class I of the gold have Λ (for Λέων) in the obverse field, K (for Κωνσταντῖνος) in the reverse one. These letters are scarcely necessary, since the inscriptions are usually clear, but their presence may have been ordered because of the obscurity of the inscriptions in the immediately preceding reigns. The same device had been earlier used on coins of Leo III and Constantine V attributed to Naples (above, p. 271, Nos. 60–61). Class II is without letters in the field, but the semissis and tremissis have a cross on the reverse. The later solidi of Class II, which are smaller in module, are of two varieties, one having three pellets instead of one in the V of Leo's loros, the other having a pellet on either side of the globe of Constantine's globus cruciger. Since both features are found again on coins of Michael II it is possible that two separate officinae were at work: the coins are too alike for separate mints to be conceivable. Mules between Classes I and II are known. Semisses and tremisses of late eighth-century rulers have sometimes been attributed to Leo V in error, but Leo V's coins always have well-formed letters and a substantial part of their inscriptions on flan.

The Sicilian folles show much variation in lettering and spelling and in the arrangement of the inscription in the field. One is naturally tempted to reattribute some of them, on

[4] "How Extensive was the Issue of Folles During the Years 775–820?" *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 288–95.

the analogy of the Constantinopolitan issues, to the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V or of Leo IV and Constantine VI, which are very ill supplied. Two of the groups of rough workmanship which employ the letter-form N in their inscriptions, instead of the Ν which is consistently used on the gold, are obvious candidates for such a transfer, particularly since the letters C and I in the reverse field of one of them would link with that on gold coins ascribed to Leo III (above, pp. 265–6, Nos. 44, 47, 49). But the design of the busts, many of the details (e.g., the eyes formed by a pellet with an inverted V above and nothing below), and the general fabric belong to the early ninth century. The class having two busts side by side, which is of greatly improved design and fabric and has the eyes quite differently formed, could also be envisaged as belonging to Leo IV and Constantine VI. The coins are quite close, however, to those of Michael II, and since there is no positive evidence, such as might be provided by hoards, in favor of either of these reattributions, I have preferred to leave everything provisionally to Leo V.

The coins form two main groups. The first consists of a series of poorly struck pieces on irregular flans, like those of the reigns of Nicephorus I and Michael I, having a bust on both obverse and reverse. The second consists of much better struck pieces having no inscriptions, two busts on the obverse closely modelled on those of the folles of Constantinople, and the letters Λ and K occupying the whole field of the reverses. A provisional order of issue is set out in the accompanying table, but since it is based on no more than reasonable probabilities—no overstrikes are known and no hoards have been recorded—it cannot be regarded as certain. The coins with ΛK are in general heavier than those of the

Sicilian Folles of Leo V and Constantine

Class	Obv. Inscr.	Rev. Inscr.	Comment
1	Λ Ε Ο Ν	K Ο Ν C	Arrangement analogous to that of preceding reigns
2	Λ Ε Ο ✱	K Ο C I Π C T	Rev. inscr. follows circumference; CI, for Σικελία, added[5]
3	L Λ Ε Ο Π +	C Ο K + Π C T	Both inscrs. follow circumference; Λ and K added in field to facilitate identification
4	None	Large ΛK	Represents final effort at clarity

earlier classes, but it has been suggested that some, of unusually low weight, may be half folles.[6] These lighter coins are generally struck with normal dies on small, irregularly shaped flans, so that much of the design is absent, but there are those on which the letters ΛK are smaller than usual, *c.* 7 mm. tall instead of *c.* 11 mm.

[5] Wroth (p. 412, note 1) failed to interpret CI, suggesting that it might stand for CVRIE.

[6] C. Davies Sherborn, "Seven New Byzantine Bronze," *N.Circ.*, 27 (1919), 253.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Leo V alone		
			· LЄ ONbASILЄYS Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent on base; in l., akakia	· LЄONƋЄ SPOƬIS✱ Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; l. hand not shown.	813
*(1)	Ꞡ 4.45	19	(T. 1, R. 1794)	At end, X	
			Class II		
			Leo V and Constantine		
			Same inscr. and type	CONSƬ AƝƬˢƋЄSPˢ Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	813–820
			(a) Pellet before obv. inscr.		
*2a.1	Ꞡ 4.45	20 ↙		At end, Є	
2a.2	Ꞡ 4.44	19 ↓		At end, Є	
2a.3	Ꞡ 4.39 plugged	20 ↙		At end, Є	
*2b.1	Ꞡ 4.43	21 ↓		At end, X	

2a.1 Peirce 1928 from Baldwin ii. 24 from Spink's *Numismatic Circular* list No. 25044 (Nov.-Dec. 1923) from Foreign Prince Sale, lot 131
W. 1 = T. 2, R. 1796
2a.2–3 Whittemore
2b.1 Whittemore
W. 2, T. 3, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*2b.2	N	4.41	20	↓		At end, X altered from Є	813–820
2b.3	N	4.37	20	↓		At end, X	
*2c	N	4.41	20	↙		At end, Λ	
					(b) No pellet before obv. inscr.		
*3a.1	N	4.49	21	↙		At end, Є altered from X	
3b.1	N	4.41	21	↓	Same die as 3b.2	At end, X	
*3b.2	N	4.35 pierced	23	↓	Same die as 3b.1. Broad flan	At end, X altered from Є	
					MILIARESION *Class I* With single circle of dots		
					+LEON SCONSTAN TINEECOЄY bASILISRO MAION within single circle of dots	IhSYSXRISTYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within single circle of dots	

2b.2 Peirce 1948 from Egger vi. 29

2b.3 Friend 1957 from Lagbe hoard (E. T. Newell, *The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe*, NNM, No. 105 [New York, 1945], No. 58)

2c Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. —, R. —
The only other specimen of this coin known to me was in Auction VIII of Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel, 8. xii. 49, lot 1013. From the illustration, which is not very clear, the coins appear to share a common obverse die, but the reverse dies are certainly different.

3a.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman xii. 27
W. —, T. —, R. —
There was a specimen with Є, struck on a very broad flan (24 mm.) in a Glendining sale, 17. vi. 64, lot 283.

3b.1 Peirce 1948 from Vogel Sale, lot 1034, from Horsky Sale, lot 4831
W. —, T. —, R. —

3b.2 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.1	Æ 2.20	23 ↑			813–820
*4.2	Æ 2.19	24 ↑			
*4.3	Æ 2.09	23 ↑			
4.4	Æ 1.99 chipped	25 ↑			
4.5	Æ 1.80	24 ↑			
			Class II		
			With triple circle of dots		
			Same inscr., but lettering much smaller	Same, but inscr. broken XRIS TYS and lettering much smaller	
*5	Æ 2.02 cracked	24 ↗			
			FOLLIS		
			Class 1		
			Leo V alone		
			LE ONbASILS Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent; in l., akakia	M Above, cross. X N To l., X To r., N X N Beneath, A	813

4.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
W. 4–5, T. 10–11, R. 1799
4.2–3 Whittemore
4.4 Schindler 1960 from Mayreder
4.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
5 Peirce 1948
W. 3, T. —, R. 1798

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.1	Æ 5.87	23 ↘			813
*6.2	Æ 5.59	23 ↓			
6.3	Æ 5.20	22 ↓			
	worn				
6.4	Æ 5.19	22 ↓			
*6.5	Æ 5.07	22 ↓			
	broken				
6.6	Æ 5.05	23 ↘			
	corroded				
			Class 2		
			Leo V and Constantine		
			LEON SC O NST′ (or variant) Two busts facing, Leo on l., bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, Constantine on r., beardless, wearing crown and loros. Hands not shown	Same	813–820
			(a) With LEON SC O NST′		
*7a.1	Æ 6.31	23 ↓			
7a.2	Æ 5.92	22 ↓			
7a.3	Æ 5.73	23 ↓	] SC O NST		

6.1–2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 6, T. 12, R. 1795
6.3 Swiss Collection 1956
6.4 Whittemore
6.5 Schindler 1960 from Ball (Berlin) 1936
6.6 Swiss Collection 1956
7a.1 Schindler 1960
W. 9–10, T. —, R. —
7a.2 Whittemore
7a.3 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1928

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*7a.4	Æ 5.45	22 ↓			813–820
*7a.5	Æ 5.26	23 ↓			
7a.6	Æ 5.24	23 ↘			
7a.7	Æ 5.11	24 ↓			
7a.8	Æ 4.73 worn	24 ↘			
7a.9	Æ 4.02 corroded	24 ↘			
			(b) With LEOn SC OnST'		
7b.1	Æ 5.48	24 ↓		Double struck	
*7b.2	Æ 5.34	23 ↘			
*7b.3	Æ 4.43	23 ↓			
			(c) With LEO n SC O nST'		
*7c.1	Æ 5.46	24 ↘	Ends T		
7c.2	Æ 4.36 worn	22 ↓			
			(d) With LEO n SC OnST'		
*7d	Æ 4.36	22 ↓			

7a.4 Shaw 1947
7a.5 Peirce 1948
7a.6 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
7a.7 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29
7a.8 Swiss Collection 1956
7a.9 Whittemore
7b.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. 1801
7b.3 Swiss Collection 1956
7c.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, T. 17, R. —
7c.2 Whittemore
7d Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(e) With LEON SC ONS'		
7e.1	Æ 5.30	22 ↙	Same die as 7e.2		813–820
7e.2	Æ 4.24 worn	22 ↓	Same die as 7e.1		
7e.3	Æ 4.21 corroded	21 ↓	LE[ ]NS'		
			(f) With LEON SCO N STAN'		
*7f	Æ 4.50	24 ↓			
			(g) With LEO N SC ONSTA'		
(7g)	Æ 4.47	22	(W. 7)		
			(h) With LEON SC O NSTA'		
(7h)	Æ 5.42	24	(W. 8)		
			(i) With LEO N SCO N STA'		
(7i)	Æ	21	(R. 1800)		
			Syracuse		
			Class I		
			With Λ and K in field		
			SOLIDUS		
			LE ONbASILEY Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent. In field r., Λ	CON STANTINO Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. In field r., K	

7e.1 Whittemore
W. 11 (ends ONS), T. —, R. —
7e.2 Schindler 1960
7e.3 Whittemore
7f Whittemore
W. —, T. 16, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*8	Ⱥ 3.89	23 ↓			813–820
			SEMISSIS		
*(9)	Ⱥ 1.81	16	LEO ΠbASILEY Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. In field r., Λ (W. 18 = Ric. 208; T. 6)	CO ΠSTΛΠTI Similar type, but Constantine holds cross potent on globus	
			TREMISSIS		
*10	Ⱥ 1.19	14 ↙	Same inscr. and type LEO [b]ASILE[Y]	Same inscription Similar type, but Constantine holds cross potent on base	
			Class II		
			With no letters in field		
			SOLIDUS		
			With nothing in field		
			LE ΟΠbASILE As No. 8, but nothing in field	CONS TΛΠTIΠOS As No. 8, but nothing in field	

8 Peirce 1948 from Schulman iii. 29
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —

10 Peirce 1948
W. 19 (as semissis), T. —, R. 1797, Ricotti 209 bis

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Large flan, one pellet beneath Leo's neck		813–820
*11a	Ⱥ	3.88	22	↓	ПLЄ [OП]bASILЄ		
					(b) Smaller flan, two pellets beside gl. cr. on rev.		
*11b	Ⱥ	3.89	18	↓	LЄ OПbASI[	CON STAПTINO	
					(c) Smaller flan, three pellets beneath Leo's neck		
*11c	Ⱥ	3.88	18	↓	·LЄ OПbASILЄ	CON STAПTINO Akakia not visible	
					SEMISSIS		
					With cross in rev. field		
*(12)	Ⱥ		15		LEO ПbASILЄ As No. 9, but nothing in field (Ratto 26. i. 55, No. 1291)	CO ПSTAПTI As No. 9, but cross in field r.	

11a Peirce 1948 from Spink viii. 28 ex Larizza Sale, lot 816
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —
The П before LЄ, which is present on all specimens of Class IIa known to me, is perhaps a die-sinker's revival of a [D]П from an earlier type whose meaning he no longer understood. Two specimens in Reggio Museum of this rather rare coin were published by I. Novaco Lofaro, "Monete auree di Leone V e Constantino," *Klearchos*, 2 (1960), 76–80.

11b Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. 4 = Ricotti 207, R. —
There were two coins of this variety in the hoard in question. A specimen in a Glendining sale of 27. xi. 62, lot 224, is of slightly larger module (20 mm.) and has only a single pellet to the left of globus cruciger, but I hesitate to make a separate group out of only a single example.

11c Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. 5, R. —, Ricotti —
The pellet before LЄ occurs on both the D.O. and Tolstoi specimens, which are from different dies. The D.O. specimen was the only one in the hoard. This variety, with ⁝ instead of a single pellet beneath Leo's neck, links up with a similar one of Michael II (below, p. 401, No. 15).

(12–13) The cross in field provides a link with the folles of Class 3, but the reverse of No. 15 (without cross in field) presumably indicates the existence of semisses and tremisses of Class II with no symbol in field.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TREMISSIS		
			With cross in rev. field		
*(13)	N 1.30	14	LEO ΠbASILE As No. 10, but nothing in field (W. 20–1 = T. 7 = Ricotti 209)	CO ΠSTAΠTI As No. 10, but cross in field r.	813–820
			Mules of Classes I and II		
			SOLIDUS		
*14	N 3.75	21 ↓	Inscr. and type as No. 8] bASILEYS	Inscr. and type as No. 11a CONS TAΠTIΠOSb	
			SEMISSIS		
*(15)	N	15	Inscr. and type as No. 9 (ANS Museum) LEO ΠbA SILEY	Inscr. and type as No. 12, but without cross in field CON STAΠTIΠOS	
			FOLLIS		
			Class 1		
			Λ Є (usually partly off flan) O N Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, cross potent	K O (usually partly off flan) N C Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.	

(13) Wroth reads the S in bASILE as a C. It is somewhere between the two, with a large upper curve and a çedilla-like lower one.

14 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
16.1	Æ	2.53	19	↓	Λ off flan	K and C off flan	813–820
*16.2	Æ	2.24	19	↙	Λ Є off flan	K off flan	
16.3	Æ	2.23	20	↘	Є and N illegible	ONC illegible	
*16.4	Æ	2.22	19	↓	Inscr. illegible	NC off flan	
16.5	Æ	2.20	17	↓	Λ Є off flan	C off flan	
*16.6	Æ	2.10	18	↓	Inscr. off flan	K off flan	
16.7	Æ	1.81	19	↙	Λ illegible	NC off flan	
					Class 2		
					Λ Є O ✱ (usually partly off flan) Same type	K ONCT (usually partly off flan) Same type, but C and I in field	
17.1	Æ	4.17	20	↙	Λ Є off flan	ON off flan	
*17.2	Æ	3.44	20	↓	Λ off flan	Inscr. off flan	
*17.3	Æ	3.43	20	↙			
17.4	Æ	3.32	20	↘	Λ Є illegible	K O illegible	
*17.5	Æ	3.25	21	↘	Λ off flan		
17.6	Æ	2.87 worn	19	↘	Λ Є off flan	K off flan	
*17.7	Æ	2.82	19	↙	Λ off flan		

16–18 The inscriptions on these classes are almost never complete, but they are consistent within each class and not in doubt. Because of their partly vertical layout, it is easier to note which letters are absent than those which are present. When a trace of any letter is visible it has been treated as present.

16.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 36–7, T. 25–6, R. —, Ricotti 211 (rev. incorrectly described)

16.2 Whittemore

16.3 Swiss Collection 1956

16.4 Whittemore

16.5–7 Swiss Collection 1956

17.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 27–34 = T. 24, 25 (incorrectly described: the final T on rev. misread as +), R. 1806–7, Ricotti 212

17.2 Schindler 1960

17.3 Whittemore

17.4 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32

17.5–6 Whittemore

17.7 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 1935

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
17.8	Æ 2.63	20 ↘	Λ Є off flan	ON illegible	813–820
*17.9	Æ 2.47	17 ↓		ONCT off flan	
			Class 3		
			L ЄON (usually partly off flan) Same type, but in field r., Λ and cross	C ONST (usually partly off flan) Same type, but in field l., K; in field r., cross	
18.1	Æ 5.68	22 ↙		ONST off flan	
18.2	Æ 3.84	22 ↙	L Є off flan	ON off flan	
*18.3	Æ 3.05	20 ↓	L off flan		
18.4	Æ 2.69	18 ↙	L Є off flan	K and inscr. off flan	
*18.5	Æ 2.54	20 ↙	L Є off flan		
18.6	Æ 2.33 broken	20 ↓	Inscr. off flan	K, C, and T off flan,	
*18.7	Æ 2.30	19 ↙		ST off flan	
18.8	Æ 2.11	20 ↙	Inscr. off flan	Inscr. off flan	
			Class 4		
			No inscription Busts of Leo V, bearded, and Constantine, beardless, facing, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between heads, cross	ΛK Above, cross	

17.8–9 Swiss Collection 1956
18.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 35, T. —, R. 1808, Ricotti 213
Wroth and Ricotti failed to distinguish between the K in the rev. field and the initial C of CONST. They are very clear on the Ratto specimen.
18.2–3 Whittemore
18.4 Swiss Collection 1956
18.5 Peirce 1948
18.6 Schindler 1960
18.7–8 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Heavy series		813–820
19a.1	Æ	5.34	23	↓			
19a.2	Æ	5.32	25	↓			
*19a.3	Æ	5.08	23	↓			
19a.4	Æ	5.04	19	↓			
19a.5	Æ	4.80	22	↓			
19a.6	Æ	4.06	23	↓			
19a.7	Æ	4.05	21	↓			
*19a.8	Æ	3.91	21	↓			
19a.9	Æ	3.36	19	↓			
					(b) Light series		
19b.1	Æ	1.91	20	↘			
*19b.2	Æ	1.72	18	↓			
19b.3	Æ	1.65	18	↓			

19a.1 Whittemore
W. 22–5, T. 22–3, R. 1803–4, Ricotti 210
19a.2 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1928
19a.3 Peirce 1948
19a.4 Swiss Collection 1956
19a.5–6 Whittemore
19a.7 Schindler 1960
19a.8 Peirce 1948 acq. 10. vi. 39
19a.9 Swiss Collection 1956
19b The first two coins of this group are struck from normal dies on small, thin, irregular flans, like many of those employed for Classes 1–3. Only the reverse die of No. 19b.3 is smaller than the others, the K being about 7 mm. high and cut to fit the reduced diameter of the coin, like those which Davies Sherborn suggested might be half folles (above, p. 374). The coin is in too poor condition to warrant reproduction.
19b.1–3 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. 1805, Ricotti —

MICHAEL II the Amorian

25 December 820 – 2 October 829

Colleague: Theophilus (from 12 May 821)

Michael II's reign dated from his coronation on Christmas Day 820. He died on 2 October 829.[1] The first three years of his reign were almost entirely taken up with the rebellion of Thomas of Gaziura, which came near to success and involved a prolonged siege of Constantinople by the would-be emperor. The fact that there is no coinage of Thomas, who was crowned emperor by the Patriarch Job of Antioch and is said to have claimed to be the deposed Emperor Constantine VI, is striking testimony to the importance attached to the actual occupation of the capital.[2]

The marriage of Theophilus to Theodora and his coronation took place together on a Whitsunday early in Michael's reign.[3] It was certainly before April 824, when the names of both emperors figure in the superscription of a letter to Louis the Pious, and the dating formula of a Venetian document of the late 820's proves that the year must have been 821 or 822. Brooks, who has been followed by all subsequent writers, opted for Whitsunday (i.e., 12 May) 821, partly because of the rarity of coins in Michael's sole name and partly because the coronation of a co-emperor in the year after his father's accession was the normal practice of the time.[4] These arguments are not conclusive, for Nicephorus I waited fourteen months before crowning Stauracius, and since the coins are less rare than Brooks supposed, the coronation may really have taken place on Whitsunday (i.e., 1 June) 822. Without more definite evidence, however, it is best to leave the accepted date as it is.

The gold and silver coinage of Michael II continued with little change the general pattern of the preceding decade, but the small folles of his predecessors were replaced by much larger pieces of neater fabric which prepared the way for the revolution in design carried out under Theophilus.

Constantinople

A. *Michael II alone* (Dec. 820 – May 821). The gold coinage of this period is represented by a solidus first published by Tolstoi and known in only a very few specimens. It adopts

[1] Grierson, "Tombs and Obits," 56. Theoph. Cont. (Bonn ed., p. 84) gives early October for the beginning of Theophilus' reign.

[2] On this rebellion, which came nearer to success than did most such attempts, see P. Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines*, 1 (1965), 255–97.

[3] Pseudo-Symeon, i. 1 (Bonn ed., p. 625). The author misunderstood his source in placing the marriage soon after the accession of Theophilus as sole ruler in 829, when in reality it was soon after his father's accession in 820.

[4] E. W. Brooks, "The Marriage of the Emperor Theophilus," *BZ*, 10 (1901), 540–5.

the customary practice of showing the emperor with different costumes, insignia, and titles on the two faces of the coin. On the obverse he wears a chlamys, holds a cross potent and akakia, and is styled *basileus*; on the reverse he wears a loros, holds a globus cruciger and cross scepter, and is styled *despotes*. The attribution is not in doubt, for the obverse inscription is preceded by the same six-pointed star found on the later solidi of the reign.

No miliaresia are known of Michael II's sole reign. It is theoretically possible that the miliaresia of Michael III with the title of *basileus Romaion* (instead of *megas basileus Romaion*) could be attributed to Michael II, who would thus have been the first emperor to break with the century-old custom that miliaresia were not struck before a co-emperor was associated on the throne. Considerations of style and lettering do not help, since no appreciable change took place between the 820's and the 850's, but on the whole it seems likely that both types belong to Michael III. Though they are rare, too many specimens are known to make Michael II probable, and this ruler's difficulties in the first months of his reign are unlikely to have resulted in pointless numismatic innovations. The title *megas basileus* is also known to have been much in favor under Michael III.

The folles of Michael II alone are those commonly attributed to Michael I. The grounds for the reattribution have already been discussed.[5] The tall, narrow M of the reverse type, quite different from the shorter and broader M of the first decades of the century, associates them closely with the large-module two-bust folles of Michael II and Theophilus.

At a time when no copper coins were assigned to the sole reign of Michael II, Sherborn proposed to attribute to it a follis having on the obverse a single bust and the inscription MIXA I LOSbASI, on the reverse an M flanked by XXX and NNN vertically and with a Θ beneath.[6] Although he does not say so, the coin, which is now in the British Museum, is Sicilian, not Constantinopolitan, and the unexpected pattern—Θ could not be present before the association of Theophilus on the throne—is due to its being one of Theophilus overstruck on Michael II and Theophilus. The inscription actually reads MIXA[ ]I LOSbASI, and most of the coin—the bust and the latter part of the inscription (for ΘΕΟFI LOSbASI)—represents the second striking, that of Theophilus. On the left-hand side, however, the beginning of the earlier inscription (MIXA HL SΘEOE) has survived, and since the two strikings happened to be on the same plane, it has the appearance of accompanying the single bust. Traces of the earlier striking—the Θ, parts of the XXX, and the left vertical of the M—are visible in the corresponding position on the reverse.

B. *Michael II and Theophilus* (821–29). The solidus has as usual a bust on each face of the coin, Michael wearing a chlamys and holding cross potent and akakia, Theophilus wearing a loros and holding globus cruciger and cross scepter. The obverse inscription is preceded by a six-pointed star. Four varieties occur, three relatively rare and the other common. Two have the obverse inscription ✱ MIX AHL bASILEϹ, and are differentiated

[5] Above, p. 364.

[6] C. Davies Sherborn, "Twelve New Byzantine Bronze," *N.Circ.*, 30 (1922), 502. He refers incidentally to a second specimen of the coin. This is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and is an overstrike similar to that described in the text.

by one (rare) having a semicircular ornament beneath the crosses on the emperors' crowns, as occurs on coins of Michael alone, while the other (also rare, but less so) does not. The other two have the star differently placed, MIXAHL unbroken, A for A in *basileus*, and the latter word spelled out in full, with a final S instead of a mark of suspension: ✱MIXAHL bASILЄYS. They are differentiated by one group (rare) having a cross before the reverse inscription, while the other, the main issue of the reign, lacks one. The reverse inscription on all groups ends with a cross and a control letter, normally Є but sometimes X, the one having sometimes been altered to the other on the die.

No fractional gold has been recorded for Michael II and Theophilus, and the miliaresion of the joint reign is of the usual type and requires no comment.

Two series of folles are known. Both have on the obverse the facing busts of the two emperors, one wearing a chlamys and the other a loros, but they differ in their module and weight, in their obverse inscriptions, and in the letter beneath the M on the reverses. The first series corresponds to the general type of the preceding two decades, the coins being about 20 mm. in diameter and 5.5 g. in weight and the letter beneath the M being the immobilized officina letter A. Though the obverse inscription is ambiguous and the ΘЄOF' with which it normally ends could refer to either Theophylact or Theophilus, the form ΘЄOFI also occurs, and its existence, coupled with the tall, narrow shape of the M, determines the attribution of the coins.[7] The second series differs from the first in its larger module (*c.* 27 mm.) and higher weight (*c.* 7.5 g./8 g.), in having the name ΘЄOFILOS spelled out in full, and in having a Θ instead of an A beneath the M. The date of its introduction is unknown; it was presumably after the end of the civil war (824) and may have been close to the end of the reign, since the coins are not obviously commoner than the earlier series. One may conjecture that they were intended to be struck 42 to the lb., though the weights of individual specimens vary so widely that it is difficult to be sure. They were probably revalued at the same time in relation to the solidus, the subsequent reckoning of 24 folles to the miliaresion and 288 to the solidus dating from this reform.[8] The coins vary somewhat in detail, some rare specimens corresponding to group (a) of the solidi in showing Michael's crown with a semicircular ornament beneath the cross. An isolated coin, presumably very late in date, shows both emperors bearded, instead of Michael only. Metcalf has classified the folles into three groups differentiated by small details of design and style, and speculated on the possibility of their attribution to two or perhaps three mints, but without reaching any certain conclusion.[9]

One minor innovation on the coinage, the Θ instead of A on the reverse, requires a word of comment. It is to be explained by the fondness of late Roman and Byzantine moneyers for using a symbol or letter in two senses at once. The fact that the large M could be taken indifferently as the mark of value or as the emperor's initial evidently suggested the replacement of the now meaningless A by a small Θ, the initial of the junior emperor. The change was first made in Sicily, where it was inspired by the fact

[7] Above, p. 364.

[8] See Introduction, p. 17.

[9] D. M. Metcalf, "The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus before His Reform," *HBN*, 21 (1967), 21–31.

that the latest Syracusan folles of Leo V and Constantine had had as their reverse type ΛK, the initials of the two co-emperors. In the new reign it would be natural to replace these by M and Θ, but instead of placing these side by side they were arranged one above the other. When the large-module "reformed" folles were introduced at Constantinople this initially provincial design seemed appropriate and was taken over for the new coins.

Sicily

A. *Michael II alone* (821). The solidus of Michael II's sole reign, with a bearded bust of the emperor on both faces of the coin, raises no problems of attribution. It is distinguished from that of Michael I's sole reign by its fabric and smaller size, as well as by having a pellet on either side of the globus cruciger held by the emperor on the reverse. This links it with a similar variety of Leo V (No. 11b).

No other coins of this brief period are known, but since the solidus exists—though only a single specimen is recorded—other denominations may still come to light. They must have been struck in very small numbers, for although Michael II came to the throne in December the news of the event would not have reached Sicily before April or May, while that of the accession of Theophilus (May) could well have arrived by July.

B. *Michael II and Theophilus* (821–29). Apart from the earliest stage of the solidus, which links up with that of Michael alone and so can be classified without difficulty, the gold coinage of the reign presents a number of complications. There was very early an improvement in general design, so that half the lettering is no longer off the flan as it had been on coins of the preceding decade, but since the module continued to contract, the inscriptions were shortened by the cutting off of the final letters of the imperial titles, till ultimately these disappeared altogether. Scholars have sometimes disagreed as to which emperor should be regarded as the senior, since the mustache, which does duty for the beard which it had become impossible to delineate clearly, itself becomes scarcely visible. The ambiguity normally affects only the solidus, since on the semissis the mark of value—which characterizes the reverse—is a cross *potent* on globe (not a globus cruciger) and is held by the shaft, while on the tremissis it is a cross potent held from behind and not from the front. But on one group of semisses (Class IV) a globus cruciger held by the globe has been substituted for the usual mark of value, so the distinction is not an absolute one.

Three combinations of the names of Michael and Theophilus are theoretically possible: (a) Michael II (bearded) with Theophilus (beardless), (b) Theophilus (bearded) with his father Michael II (also bearded), since Theophilus had revived the Isaurian practice of associating his father with himself on his coins, and (c) Theophilus (bearded) with his son Michael III (beardless). The third possibility, however, need not be taken into consideration here, since by the end of Theophilus' reign a marked change in the design of the emperors' faces had occurred and there had also been an appreciable loss of fineness in the gold, neither of which features are found on coins having the joint names of Michael and Theophilus. These must all, therefore, be attributed to either Michael II and Theophilus or Theophilus and Michael II (deceased). Since all the coins show Michael bearded and

Theophilus unbearded, Wroth attributed them en bloc to the reign of Michael II.[10] Ricotti on the other hand proposed to transfer a group which differed noticeably from the others to the early years of the reign of Theophilus.[11] He admitted that this ran contrary to the convention that the reigning emperor should be shown with a beard, but other exceptions to this rule are known to exist, and he considered that the separation of the two groups of coins was required by the differences in style and by the fact that on the coins that he assigned to Theophilus it was this emperor who occupied the "place of honor" on the coins.

This theory has some obvious attractions, but it cannot stand up to examination. The only cases in this period where a reigning emperor is shown beardless on his coins are those in which he was still a minor under the guardianship of his mother or still strongly under her influence—Constantine VI with Irene, Michael III with Theodora—while Theophilus was the offspring of his father's first marriage and was old enough by 822 to take an active part in the defense of Constantinople.[12] Ricotti's statement that Theophilus occupies the "place of honor" on the coins is also incorrect. The distinction between obverse and reverse cannot be made on the evidence of the solidus alone, and on the semissis and tremissis it is Theophilus who holds the mark of value (cross potent on globe or simple cross potent) and therefore occupies the reverses. It is to the reign of Michael II that all Michael/Theophilus coins must be assigned.

Their many variations in detail and occasional vagaries of style and fabric, however, raise a real problem, even when allowance is made for the fact that the decline in module was not a completely uniform process, for Theophilus' reign shows that when new issues were started there could sometimes be temporary reversions to coins of larger size. The explanation may lie in the temporary existence of a second mint, perhaps Catania or Palermo, on the island. The administration of Sicily was thrown into confusion in the second half of Michael II's reign by the revolt of Euphemius (826), who proclaimed himself emperor and was for a time in occupation of Syracuse (826–7), and by the invasion of the Arabs (827), who blockaded Syracuse (827–8) and at the end of the reign were still maintaining a few garrisons in the island. Catania was for a brief moment in 826 the official seat of government, after Euphemius' capture of Syracuse, while Palermo was one of the centers from which the resistance to the usurper was organized. The suggestion that one or more of these places may have served as a temporary mint is, however, no more than conjectural, and until further work has been done it seems best to leave everything provisionally to Syracuse. Coins of exceptionally careless design and fabric, which are unusually common in one series, show every appearance of having been struck at temporary mints, staffed by untrained personnel, during the civil war, but hoard evidence shows that they circulated together with regular issues and cannot be dismissed as simple counterfeits.

The main features of the three classes of the coinage of Michael and Theophilus (Classes II–IV of the reign) are set out in Table 18. Whether they can properly be termed

[10] Wroth, p. 416, note 1.

[11] Ricotti, nos. 222–3, 226–7, 229–31; he discusses the attribution on p. 59, notes 28, 29.

[12] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., p. 107.

TABLE 18

MICHAEL II AND THEOPHILUS: CLASSES OF SICILIAN GOLD

Class I, not included here, is of Michael alone.

II. Theophilus as *basileus*, one pellet above loros

III. Theophilus as *despotes*, one pellet above loros

IV. Theophilus as *basileus*, three pellets above loros

The last letters of the inscriptions are often blundered or absent, both on the lower denominations and on the solidus when this becomes globular.
C = Chlamys; L = Loros, the numeral referring to the number of pellets above it; Cr. pot. = Cross potent

Class	Denomination		Costume	In r. hand	Inscription
II	Solidus	Obv.	L(1)	Cr. pot.	MI XAHLIb
		Rev.	C	Gl. cr. and 2 pellets	ΘE OFILIbA
	Tremissis	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	MIX AHLbA
		Rev.	C, + in field	Cr. pot.	ΘE OEILIb
III	Solidus	Obv.	L(1)	Cr. pot.	MI XAHLbA
		Rev.	C	Gl. cr.	ΘEO EILOƆESP
	Semissis	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	MI XAHLb
		Rev.	C	Cr. pot. on globe	ΘE OEILOSE
	Tremissis	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	MI XAHLbA
		Rev.	C	Cr. pot.	ΘE OEILOSE
IV	Solidus	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	MI XAHLbA
		Rev.	L(3)	Cr. pot.	ΘE OEILbA
	Semissis	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	MI XAHLb
		Rev.	L(3)	Gl. cr.	ΘE OEILb
	Tremissis	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	MI XAHL
		Rev.	L(3)	Cr. pot.	ΘE OƆIL

"classes," with the implication that the designs of the several denominations in each were determined by a single mint instruction, is not clear, and their proper study requires more material than I have at my disposal. It may well be that Classes III and IV were not consecutive issues from the same mint but parallel issues from different ones. A few comments on details may be useful.

Class II. The solidi of this class are characterized by two pellets beside the globus cruciger held by Theophilus. This detail, carried over from the coins of Michael alone,

points to their being early in date, a conclusion borne out by their large size (15/17 mm.). Both Michael's and Theophilus' names are in the genitive (MIXAHLI, ΘEOFILI), and on specimens with full inscriptions that of Theophilus is followed by bA(sileus). The reverse inscription sometimes breaks ΘEO FIL instead of ΘE OFIL, which is regular later. The F usually has this form, not Ꞗ or Ꞗ.

No corresponding semissis is known, but one may provisionally put into this class the tremissis with a cross in the right field of the reverse, a feature also found on some coins of Leo V (Nos. 12, 13). In favor of such a classification is the fact that the inscription on these coins also ends bA or b, that Theophilus' name is in the genitive, and that the F has the same form as on the solidus.

Class III. This class includes coins of very varying size, the solidi starting at about 16 mm. and declining to 12 mm. It is characterized by Theophilus being styled *despotes* instead of *basileus*. The most complete inscriptions, as found on the larger coins, are MI XAHLbA and ΘEOF ILOƆESP, but the die-sinkers were uncertain about the word *despotes* and often assimilated it to ΘEOFILOS in various ways (ꞖILOSEI, FILOSE, etc.). The use of *despotes* would suggest making these coins earlier than Class I, but their size is against it and their diversity indicates an issue extending over some space of time.

The corresponding semisses and tremisses are normally of small module (*c.* 10 mm.), so that there is little room for anything after the emperor's name. Sometimes Theophilus has no title at all, but more often there is an E, all that remains of ƆESP(otes), after ΘE OꞖILOS.

Class IV. The main feature of this class is the group of three pellets (instead of a single pellet) occupying the triangular space at the emperor's neck above the loros. The solidi are occasionally large (16 mm.) but are normally very small and thick. The reverse inscriptions on the larger specimens end bA(sileus), but on the smaller specimens Theophilus is without title and on the tremisses he is shown holding the cross potent incorrectly, from the front, presumably under the influence of the solidus type. It is in this class that the proportion of coins of very crude workmanship is at its highest.

The Sicilian folles of Michael II and Theophilus are common. They break with Syracusan tradition in adopting the Constantinopolitan pattern of a large M—though without the accompanying XXX and NNN—on the reverse. Specimens vary in size, ranging from 24 mm. down to 17 mm., and there may have been two distinct issues, one large and the other small, but the differences in module are unrelated to those in weight.

Sabatier illustrates a follis of another type, having on one side the facing bust of Michael II with the inscription +MIX AHL[, on the other that of Theophilus with]EO FILOSbA.[13] He attributes it to Theophilus and Michael III, but since Michael is shown bearded and Theophilus beardless it should, if it exists, belong to the reign of Michael II, and presumably to its beginning. The arrangement of the inscription, however, would be unusual for a Syracusan follis of this period, and it seems possible that Sabatier's design is a misreading of something else.

[13] *Description*, II. 96, no. 25 (Pl. 44.6) = T. 50 = Ric. 233, as a coin of Theophilus. The details of costume and insignia are not clear.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Constantinople		
					SOLIDUS		
					Class I		
					Michael II alone		
					✱MIX AHbASILEˢ Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, cross potent on base; in l., akakia	MIXAH LbASILEYˢ Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	821
*1	Ꝗ	4.43	22	↓		At end, Є	
					Class II		
					Michael II and Theophilus		
					Similar inscription Same type	ΘEOFI LOTOESPˢ+ Bust facing, beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	821–829
					(a) Obv. inscr. ✱ MIX AHL bASILEYˢ		
(2a)	Ꝗ	4.48	21		(W. 1 = T. 7)	At end, Є	
*2b	Ꝗ	4.44	22	↓		At end, X	

1 Bank Leu 1957
W. —, T. 1, R. —
This coin is of extreme rarity. In addition to the one here and that in the Hermitage (T. 1, ex Ponton d'Amécourt Sale, lot 949), there is one in the Goodacre collection now on loan to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (see H. Goodacre, "Notes on Some Byzantine Coins," *NC*[6], 5 [1945], 39 and Pl. v. 9).

2 A variety ending Єˢ also exists (e.g., *BNC*, p. 519/06), these being perhaps mules with Class I.

2b Peirce 1948 from Bourgey iii. 24
W. 4 = T. 9, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Same obv. inscr.; no circlets on crowns		821–829
*3a	Ꝗ	4.44	21	↓	Ends ϵˢ	At end, ϵ	
(3b)	Ꝗ	4.34	20	↓	(*BNC*, II. 519/01)	At end, X	
(3c)	Ꝗ	4.37	21	↓	(BM, acq. 1924) Ends ϵˢ	At end, B̲	
					(c) Obv. inscr. ✱MIXAHL bASILEYS no circlets on crowns; rev. inscr. preceded by +		
*(4)	Ꝗ	4.43	19	↓	(*BNC*, II. 519/03)	At end, ϵ	
					(d) Same obv. inscr.; no circlets on crowns; no + before rev. inscr.		
*5a.1	Ꝗ	4.46	21	↓		At end, ϵ	
5a.2	Ꝗ	4.42	20	↓		At end, ϵ	
*5a.3	Ꝗ	4.40	21	↓		At end, ϵ	
(5b)	Ꝗ	4.37	21		(W. 3, T. 8)	At end, X	
					MILIARESION		
					+MIXA HLSΘEOFI LEECΘEY bASILISRO MAION within triple circle of dots	IhSYSXRIS ƬYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within triple circle of dots	

3a Schindler 1960 from Bourgey 1936
W. —, T. —, R. —
(3b) The control letter is an X recut as ϵ, not a B as in the published catalogue.
(3c) The letter B̲, though most unusual as a control letter at this period, is clear.
(4) No specimen with X instead of ϵ is known to me, but such probably exist.
5a.1 Whittemore
W. 2, T. 6, R. 1809
5a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
5a.3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.1	Æ 2.21 plugged	24 ↑	Double struck		821–829
6.2	Æ 2.18	23 ↑			
6.3	Æ 2.16	23 ↑			
*6.4	Æ 2.11	23 ↖			
*6.5	Æ 2.11	23 ↑			
6.6	Æ 2.11 pierced and gilded	23 ↑			
6.7	Æ 2.09 pierced	24 ↑			
6.8	Æ 2.09 plugged	24 ↖			
6.9	Æ 1.96 pierced	23 ↑			
6.10	Æ 1.88 clipped	21 ↖			
6.11	Æ 1.87 pierced	23 ↑			
			FOLLIS *Class 1* Michael II alone		
			MIXA HLbASILЄ' Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	M Above, cross. X N To l., X To r., N X N Beneath, A	821

6.1 Acq. 1938. Said to have been found in a tomb in Asia Minor in company with two folles of Michael II and Theophilus, as well as other objects.
W. 5, T. 21, R. 1811
6.2–3 Whittemore
6.4 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
6.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
6.6–9 Whittemore
6.10 Schindler 1960 from Hollschek (Vienna)
6.11 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7.1	Æ	5.86	23	↙			821
*7.2	Æ	5.54	23	↙	Ends L′		
7.3	Æ	5.43	24	↓			
7.4	Æ	4.42	24	↓	Double struck		
					Class 2		
					Michael II and Theophilus Small module		
					MIX A HL S ΘEOF′ Two busts facing, Michael on l., bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, Theophilus on r., beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross. Hands not shown	Same	821–829
*8.1	Æ	7.71	25	↓	MIXA HL [Very irregular flan		
8.2	Æ	5.39 worn	22	↓	MIX A HL [		
8.3	Æ	5.39 worn	22	↓	MIXA HL SΘEO′		
8.4	Æ	5.27	23	↓			
*8.5	Æ	4.72	22	↙	A for A		
*8.6	Æ	4.64	23	↓	Ends Θ EOFI		

7.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. p. 406 (as Michael I), T. (Michael I) 5, R. 1789
7.2 Peirce 1948
7.3 Whittemore
7.4 Schindler 1960 from Trinks
8.1 Whittemore
W. (Michael I) 4–6, T. 24–26, R. —
8.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956
8.4 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
8.5 Peirce 1948
8.6 Schindler 1960 from Hollschek 1932

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 3		
					Large module		
					MIXAHL SΘ ЄOFILOS Same type, but cross between heads	Same type, but Θ instead of A beneath	821–829
					(a) Circlet beneath crosses on crowns		
9.1	Æ	8.35	30	↓			
*9.2	Æ	8.19	29	↓			
*9.3	Æ	7.85	29	↓			
9.4	Æ	7.79	30	↓			
*9.5	Æ	7.59	31	↓			
9.6	Æ	7.51	30	↓	A for A		
9.7	Æ	7.25	28	↓			
*9.8	Æ	7.02	31	↓			
9.9	Æ	6.79	29	↓			
9.10	Æ	6.05	29	↓	A for A		
	pierced						
					(b) No circlet on crowns		
*10.1	Æ	8.33	31	↓			
*10.2	Æ	8.16	30	↓	A for A		
10.3	Æ	7.84	31	↓			
10.4	Æ	7.81	29	↓			

9.1 Whittemore
W. 6, T. 22, R. 1812–13
9.2 Whittemore = R. 1812
9.3 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 24
9.4 Peirce 1948
9.5–6 Whittemore
9.7 Schindler 1960
9.8 Schindler 1960 from Kallai 1935
9.9 Schindler 1960
9.10 Whittemore
10.1 Whittemore
W. 7–10, T. 23, R. —
10.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29
10.3 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
10.4–7 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					821–829
10.5	Æ 7.81	29 ↓			
10.6	Æ 7.76	30 ↓	A for A		
10.7	Æ 7.65	30 ↓			
*10.8	Æ 7.58	31 ↓			
10.9	Æ 7.56	32 ↓	MIXA illegible		
10.10	Æ 7.17	32 ↓			
*10.11	Æ 7.11	30 ↓	A for A		
*10.12	Æ 7.08	30 ↓			
10.13	Æ 5.97 clipped and pierced	25 ↓			
			(c) Theophilus bearded		
*11	Æ 7.56	30 ↓			
			Sicily		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Michael II alone		
			MI XAHL[Ib] Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, cross potent	MIX AH[Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In l. hand, gl. cr. with pellet to l. and r.	821
*(12)	Ꞓ 3.80	16	(T. 2 = Ric. 214)		

10.8 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
10.9 Whittemore
10.10–13 Whittemore
11 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class II		
					Michael II and Theophilus Theophilus as *basileus*, one pellet above loros		
					Same inscr. and type	ΘЄ OFILIbA Same type, but bust (of Theophilus) beardless	821–829
*13	Ꞡ	3.84	16	↓	b off flan	A off flan	
					Class III		
					Theophilus as *despotes*, one pellet above loros		
					MI XAHLbA Same type	ΘЄOF ILOδЄS Same type, but no pellets by gl. cr.	
*14a.1	Ꞡ	3.82	15	↓	Ends b	ΘЄO FILOSЄ	
*14a.2	Ꞡ	3.82	16	↓	Ends b	ΘЄOF ILOδЄSP	
*14b.1	Ꞡ	3.85	14	↘	Smaller module. Trace of letter visible after b	ΘЄO FILOSЄ	

13 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. 7, T. —, R. —, Ric. 218 bis
The hoard from which this and a number of other coins in the collection are derived was unfortunately never published. It included at least fifty Sicilian coins, mainly of the reign of Michael II and that of Theophilus. See below, p. 420. The complete inscription is given from a specimen in the Spahr collection.

14 The correct reverse ending δЄSP(otes) occurs only on the specimen of larger module than normal (16 mm.). The ordinary diameter is 13–14 mm., and it often falls to 11 mm., such coins being correspondingly thicker. The rev. inscr. sometimes breaks ΘЄO FIL. The "letter" usually found after the O first resembles the mark of suspension ʃ and later develops into an S, but is really a deformed δ.

14a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 13, T. 10–11, Ric. 218, R. 1810

14a.2 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
Of the last letter of the rev. inscr. only the lower part of the vertical stroke is visible. I have assumed that a P was intended, though I know no specimen on which it is legible. The δ has the form of a Ɔ slightly curled up at the bottom.

14b.1 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. 12, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*14b.2	Æ	3.58	13	↓	Smaller module. Ends b	ΘEO ƚILOSE	821–829
					Class IV		
					Theophilus as *basileus*, 3 pellets above loros		
					MI XAHLbA Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.	ΘE OƚILObA Bust facing, beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, cross potent	
*15a	Æ	3.89	17	↓			
*15b	Æ	3.80	14	↓	MI XAHL	ΘE OƚIL	
*15c	Æ	3.71	11	↓	MI XAHLb	ΘE OƚIL[	
					SEMISSIS		
					Class III		
					Theophilus as *despotes*		
					MI XAHLbI Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.	ΘE OƚILOSE Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, cross potent on globe	

14b.2 Bank Leu 19. v. 59

15 Coins of this class are not stylistically very uniform, since the smaller and thicker ones are of poor fabric and have inscriptions so abbreviated as sometimes to dispense with all imperial titles, but the ⁘ above the loros suggests that they are best classified together.

15a Swiss Collection 1956
W. 11 = T. 13 = Ric. 222, R. —

15b Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ric. —

15c Schindler 1960 from R. Ball (Berlin) 31. iii. 34
W. 12 = T. 14, T. (Theophilus) 47 = Ric. 223 (as Theophilus), R. —
Small, globular flan with a hole drilled from the edge into its interior in order to mount it on a pin.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*16.1	Æ	1.90	11 ↘		Ends S	821–829
*16.2	Æ	1.86	11 ↘	Ends b		
				Class IV		
				Theophilus as *basileus*, 3 pellets above loros		
				Same inscr. and type	ΘЄ OЄILOb Bust facing, beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, gl. cr.	
*17	Æ	1.77	10 ↘	Ends b		
				TREMISSIS		
				Class II		
				Theophilus as *basileus*, + in r. field		
				MIX'AHLbA Same type	ΘЄ OЄILIb Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on circlet. In r. hand, cross potent. In field r., cross	

16 The numbering of classes follows that of the solidi, though I know of no specimens of either Class I or II. My attribution of No. 16 to Class III is made on the assumption that the Є after ΘЄOFILOS is a survival from ∂ЄSP(otes).

16.1 Schindler 1960 acq. Grabow 7. iv. 40
W. —, T. 15 = Ric. 219, 219 bis, R. —

16.2 Peirce 1948 acq. Rome 1924

17 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. 14 = T. 16 = Ric. 226, R. —
The substitution of a globus cruciger for the customary cross potent on globe of the semissis type is quite unusual.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*(18)	Æ	1.28	12	↓	(*BNC*, II. 521/03, Ric. 220 bis)		821–829
					Class III		
					Theophilus as *despotes*		
					Same inscr. and type	ΘЄ OЄILOSЄ As last, but no cross in field	
*(19)	Æ	1.26	11	↓	(W. 17–19 = T. 18–20 = Ric. 220)		
					Class IV		
					Theophilus as *basileus*, 3 pellets above loros		
					Same inscr. and type	ΘЄ OЄILOb As last, but Theophilus wears loros	
*(20)	Æ	1.30	11	↓	(W. 15–16 = T. 17 = Ric. 229; T. (Theophilus) 48 = Ric. 230) Ends bl		
					FOLLIS		
					MIX A HL SΘЄOЄ Two busts facing, Michael on l., bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, Theophilus on r., beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross. Hands not shown	M Above, cross. Beneath, Θ	

(18) This coin, with a cross in rev. field, is somewhat anomalously placed in Class II, but it has the reading ΘЄOFILI associated with this class and uses the title *basileus*.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
21.1	Æ	5.91	24	↓	Inscr. illegible		821–829
		worn					
21.2	Æ	5.62	22	↓			
21.3	Æ	5.47	26	↘			
*21.4	Æ	4.55	23	↓	MI illegible		
*21.5	Æ	4.44	25	↙	MIX illegible		
21.6	Æ	4.27	22	↓	] A HL SΘEO[		
21.7	Æ	4.21	18	↓	MIXA HL [	Small M	
					Small die and flan		
*21.8	Æ	4.18	19	↓		Small M	
*21.9	Æ	3.94	21	↓		Small M	
21.10	Æ	3.91	19	↓	MIX A HL [	Small M	
21.11	Æ	3.88	20	↓	MIX A HL SΘ[	Small M	
					Small die		
21.12	Æ	3.85	24	↓	] HL [Overstruck		
21.13	Æ	3.67	23	↓	MIXA HL [		
		worn					
21.14	Æ	3.44	22	↙	MI illegible		
21.15	Æ	3.43	22	↓	MIXA off flan.		
					Irregular flan		
21.16	Æ	3.41	22	↓	]XA HL [		
21.17	Æ	3.11	21	↙	]EOE		

21 These coins vary greatly in size and weight, and some have notably smaller obv. or rev. dies than the main series. Small obv. dies, however, do not always match up with small rev. dies or with low weights, so that it does not seem feasible to treat such coins as half folles, as one would otherwise be tempted to do for, e.g., Nos. 19, 20, and 22. Presumably it is a phenomenon parallel to the reduction in size of the gold coinage during the reign.

21.1 Whittemore
W. 20–27, T. 27–30, R. 1814–16, Ric. 221
W. 27 is described as a variety having a pellet between the cross and the M on the reverse, but this is only the mark made in centering the design on the die.

21.2 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 1935
21.3 Whittemore
21.4 Peirce 1948 from Egger
21.5–6 Swiss Collection 1956
21.7–8 Whittemore
21.9–10 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
21.11–14 Whittemore
21.15 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
21.16 Schindler 1960
21.17 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
21.18	Æ	2.97	19	↓	] HL SΘЄO[	Small M	821–829
21.19	Æ	2.91	19	↓	] HL SΘЄOЬI Same die (small) as 21.21	Same die (small) as 21.21	
*21.20	Æ	2.87	22	↘	]L SΘЄOЬ		
*21.21	Æ	2.85	19	↘	Same die (small) as 21.19	Same die (small) as 21.19	
21.22	Æ	2.26	15	↓	Small die and flan, inscr. off flan		

21.18 Swiss Collection 1956
21.19 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
21.20 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928 (from Platt)
21.21 Swiss Collection 1956 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1816
21.22 Whittemore

THEOPHILUS

2 October 829 – 20 January 842

Colleagues: Constantine, 830 or 831

Michael III, from 840 (? 16 May)

Background and Chronology

The transition from Michael II to Theophilus, as Bury pointed out, resembles in many respects that from Justin I to Justinian. In each case the founder of the new dynasty was a soldier, provincial, coarse, and illiterate, and each had a successor who was a remarkable contrast to himself. "After the rude Justin, came his learned and intellectual nephew Justinian; after the rude Michael, his polished son Theophilus." In both cases the second member of the dynasty was effective ruler during much of the nominal reign of his predecessor, but while Justin I formally created Justinian co-emperor only four months before his own death, Michael II promoted Theophilus to the same dignity not many months after his accession. Theophilus was crowned emperor and married to Theodora on Whitsunday 821 or 822.[1]

The reign of Theophilus forms a landmark in the history of Byzantine coinage. He was the first for many centuries to issue ceremonial coins, and though the extent to which he did so has probably been exaggerated, the practice was carried on by his successors, making the coinage of the Macedonian period much more interesting iconographically than that of the Isaurians had been. He revived the Isaurian custom of placing the effigy of his predecessor on the coins, though he did so in a manner which departed from theirs in a number of respects. In silver he temporarily increased the weight of the miliaresion and made it a more regular element in the currency by striking it in his name alone and not merely in association with a colleague. In the copper he carried out a major reform, abolishing the old follis type with M, a mark of value now totally without meaning, and replacing it by an inscription in several lines across the field. He thus created a type which was to dominate Byzantine coinage for the next century and a half.

The chronology of Theophilus' reign and coinage involves a number of difficulties, and although it has been extensively discussed—Theophilus' reign is one of the few in which Byzantine historians have made serious use of the numismatic evidence—there are many points that still remain uncertain.[2] We know, with a high degree of probability,

[1] Above, p. 387.

[2] See E. W. Brooks, *art. cit.* (above, p. 387, note 4); B. Melioranskii, "Iz Semeionoi istorii Amoriiskioi dinastii," *VV*, 8 (1901), 1–37, esp. 34–7; Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 465–8; G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein, "Die Krönungsordnungen des Zeremonienbuches," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 185–233, esp. 224–33; Wroth, I. xlii–xliii; A. R. Bellinger, "The Emperor Theophilus and

the date of Theophilus' accession, and, with certainty, that of his death (20 January 842).[3] A monogram on one of the doors of Saint Sophia, when taken in conjunction with a scholion in a manuscript of Genesius, enables us to fix the date of Michael III's birth as 9 January 840,[4] and he was crowned later in the same year, probably on Whitsunday (16 May), while still "in his cradle."[5] We know from the coins and from a reference in the Book of Ceremonies to the boy's "small coffin"[6] that Theophilus had another son Constantine who died in infancy. We know from the Logothete[7] and the Continuator of Theophanes[8] that the emperor had five daughters, Thecla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria, and Maria; that Maria, who is—probably wrongly—described as the youngest, was married or at least betrothed to a certain Alexius Musele with the object of ensuring the succession; and that Alexius was promoted first to the rank of *magister* and then to that of Caesar, but that under circumstances on which our authorities differ he fell into disgrace, and, his wife being dead, retired into a monastery. We can deduce from an official account of the triumph celebrated by Theophilus on his return to Constantinople from a Cilician campaign—this can be dated 831 from the Arab sources—that at that time Constantine was not alive, for the emperor was received by the Augusta Theodora, no mention being made of any colleague, and that he was accompanied by an unnamed Caesar, who can only be Alexius Musele, on his state ride through the capital.[9] One rare issue of solidi confirms the existence of three of Theophilus' daughters, Thecla, Anna, and Anastasia, who are shown as crowned and so presumably, like their mother, had the rank of Augusta. The coin does not show either Pulcheria or Maria. The absence of the latter is only explicable on the supposition that she was already dead; the coin's very existence, indeed, implies that Alexius Musele was no longer heir presumptive. Pulcheria, whom we know to have been only a child late in the reign, was either still unborn or had not been given the rank of Augusta.

the Lagbe Hoard," *Berytus*, 8 (1944), 102–6; A. I. Dikigoropoulos, "The Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 353–61, and the review of this by D. M. Metcalf in *HBN*, 20 (1966), 680–2.

[3] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 139.

[4] C. Mango, "When Was Michael III Born?" *DOP*, 21 (1967), 253–8 (at ten o'clock on the night of 9/10 January, according to the scholion).

[5] One of Photius' homilies refers to Michael having been emperor "from the very cradle" (*The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. C. Mango, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, III [Cambridge, Mass., 1958], XVIII. 3, p. 309). Whitsunday was a day generally favored for such ceremonies. The evidence of the *Annales Cavenses*, cited by Mango as showing that the coronation took place during the third indiction, i.e., before Sept. 840, is inadmissable, since the entry is referring to Michael III's actual accession in 842 and the annals are for some reason two indictions wrong for a whole series of imperial accessions.

[6] *De ceremoniis*, ii. 42 (Bonn ed., I. 645).

[7] Georgius Monachus, Bonn ed., 794–6, 823.

[8] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 90, 107–8.

[9] *De ceremoniis*, I, appendix (Bonn ed., I. 503–8). One triumph is described in detail; the other is merely referred to, with a note to the effect that the ceremonies were much the same. The first triumph followed the Cilician campaign in 831, the second one the Armenian campaign of 837. Cf. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 127–9, 254, 261–2, and A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (Brussels, 1935), 105–9, 141. Dikigoropoulos and others have argued, I think wrongly, that the descriptions of the two triumphs have been interchanged.

An unusual number of coin types were struck during the reign—five in gold, five in silver, and three in copper—and they have been variously arranged by scholars. The order of issue is obvious for the copper, though not the precise dating; for both the gold and the silver even the order is uncertain. The problems can best be discussed in the context of the Constantinopolitan mint, and what I believe to be the correct sequence of issues is set out in the accompanying table. Since it agrees neither with Wroth's arrangement, which is that usually followed, nor with that of Dikigoropoulos, on whom

TABLE 19

THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN COINAGE OF THEOPHILUS

N	Ꞧ	Æ
829–830/1 I. Bust of Theophilus / Patr. Cross	829–830/1 I. Inscr. w. only ЄC ΘЄЧ	829–830/1 1. Bust of Theophilus / M
830 or 831 II. Bust of Theophilus / Bust of Const.	830 or 831 II. Inscr. w. Theophilus and Const.	830 or 831 2. Two Busts / M
830/1–840 III. Bust of Theophilus / Busts of Michael II and Constantine	830/1–*c*.838 III. Inscr. w. ƆЧLOS XRISƬЧ	
Date uncertain IV. Busts of Theophilus, Theodora, and daus.	*c*.838–840 IV. Inscr. w. PISƬOS	830/1–842 3. Half-figure of Theophilus / Inscr. across field
840–842 V. Bust of Theophilus / Bust of Michael III	840–842 V. Inscr. w. Theophilus and Michael III	

Mme Morrisson in her Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue largely relied, it is necessary to justify it in some detail. Two errors, I would suggest, have to be overcome before we can properly understand the coinage. One is the view, for which I have been in part responsible, that most of the issues of solidi were ceremonial in character. The other is the belief that the solidi with Michael II[10] and Constantine were minted while Constantine

[10] It should scarcely be necessary to point out that the bearded figure of an Emperor Michael on the reverse is Theophilus' father, Michael II, and not either Michael III or an imaginary elder brother of Constantine. But archaeologists, particularly in Eastern Europe, often tend to rely on Sabatier in preference to later works, and even recent publications have sometimes been in error over the identification.

was still alive. Once these errors are eliminated, the coinage of Theophilus will be found to conform much more closely to that of other emperors of the early ninth century than at first sight appears.

There are five classes of solidi. Class III is extremely common, and represents the main issue of the reign. Class I is moderately common, but was rare up to about fifty years ago. Classes II, IV, and V are of extreme rarity, less than half a dozen specimens being known of each. As long as it was believed that Michael III was born in 838 or 839, or according to another tradition as early as 836, and crowned shortly afterward, coins of the rarity of Class V could not possibly be regarded as a regular issue lasting several years, and the natural conclusion was that they were struck simply for distribution at his coronation. The same would be the obvious explanation for the very rare coins of Class II if Constantine's co-rulership with his father extended over as many years as the commonness of Class III implied. Class IV, because of its rarity and unusual design, would fall into the same category, and to these Metcalf suggested adding Class I on the ground of its former rarity.

An alternative hypothesis and a much more satisfactory one, fitting in with the immediate precedents provided by other emperors, is to treat none of these, with the exception of Class IV, as ceremonial issues, but as regular issues whose rarity is due to their each having been struck for an extremely short space of time. This cannot be completely true of the solidi of Theophilus and Michael III, whose co-rulership may have lasted for as long as eighteen months, but the rarity of the coin would have been enhanced by the unusual overstriking of solidi which marked the early months of the reign of Michael III and would have affected the last issues of Theophilus.[11] It must, however, be true for Class II. It is certain, from the silence of the literary sources, that Constantine cannot have been alive during most of Theophilus' reign, and, if he had been, the normal coinage for such a joint reign would have been that of Class II or, if Michael II had to be included, one showing the busts of Theophilus and Constantine together on the obverse and that of Michael II alone on the reverse. Class III must in fact represent a memorial coinage, analogous to that struck under the Isaurians, and Constantine must have been dead when it began.[12] Since in recent years no junior emperor had died before his father, there was no obvious precedent for what to do on his death. Constantine could have been dropped from the coinage altogether, as was indeed done with the silver and copper, but his bust alone could not be left on the reverse of the gold, for this would imply that he was still alive. The obvious solution was to add the bust of Michael II, so that the coins would show the two deceased members of the new dynasty. This possibility has been generally ignored by numismatists because they have thought of Isaurian coins as commemorating the ancestors of the ruling emperors, not as forming a picture gallery of all male members of the family, living and dead, who had held the imperial title. To have shown a living and a dead emperor side by side would surely have come up against ordinary human prejudice—might it not have been considered unlucky?—as well as

[11] Below, p. 457.

[12] This solution is not original; it was proposed by Ostrogorsky and Stein, *art. cit.*, 228.

running contrary to Isaurian precedent, where from Constantine V onward the senior emperor had always had his junior colleague at his own side, not elsewhere.

This leaves Classes I and IV. Class IV is so rare, and so unusual in type, that it may well be a ceremonial issue, since it is hardly likely to have been a substantive one cut short by the birth of Michael III. As for Class I, Metcalf is correct in insisting on its essential rarity,[13] though the successive explanations he proposed for this—that the coin was intended for circulation in the East, while Class III was for the West,[14] or alternatively that it was a ceremonial issue[15]—seem to me unacceptable. The regional circulation of gold is possible only where the coins concerned are differentiated in weight or module, variations in design being not enough, and these solidi exhibit none of the peculiarities in type or inscription that a special issue implies. It is more natural to suppose that they represent the first issue of the reign, when Theophilus ruled alone, and that they are rare for the same reason that the solidi of Michael II alone, and of Leo V alone, are rare, because the period during which they were minted was very short. That they belong to the opening months of the reign, preceding Class III in date instead of following it, as Dikigoropoulos argued and as I once supposed, can be taken as certain. All previous discussion failed to take account of the control marks on the various classes, the evidence of which is decisive. During the three reigns of Michael I, Leo V, and Michael II only two letters, Є and X, had been in normal use, with Є predominating under Leo V and Michael II. The only other letters found are Λ, *lambda* rather than *alpha*, and Ꞓ, but both are of extreme rarity. This pattern—Є predominant, X fairly common, Λ (but not Ꞓ) very occasionally found—continued unchanged under Class I of Theophilus. The few known solidi of Class II all have Λ. With Class III a new pattern appears: a predominant Θ, an occasional X, Λ, or nothing at all, but *never* Є. This places Class I firmly at the start of the reign, as common sense requires—it is the order found under Theophilus' predecessors—and as Wroth and most earlier scholars assumed. Its correctness is confirmed by the evidence of the Lagbe hoard from Asia Minor, which included thirty-five coins of Class I as against one of Class III, the hoard having evidently been buried just after the minting of the latter had begun.[16] The absence of any specimens of Class II is presumably due to the meager quantities of this that had gone into circulation.

With these considerations in mind, the issues can be discussed in greater detail.

[13] As an illustration of its relative rarity one may cite the evidence of the Archaeological Museum at Split, which owns sixteen solidi of Theophilus of varying provenance. One of these is Italian, fifteen are of Class III, and there are *none* of Class I. See I. Marović, "Zlatnici cara Theofila u Numizmatičkoj Zbirci Arheologoškog Muzeja u Splitu," *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku*, 55 (1953), 213–16.

[14] "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," *MN*, 10 (1962), 96, note 29.

[15] In his review of Dikigoropoulos (cited above, p. 407, note 2), 681–2.

[16] E. T. Newell, *The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe*, NNM, No. 105 (New York, 1945), and the articles of Bellinger and Dikigoropoulos cited above, note 2. Metcalf, in reviewing Dikigoropoulos, argued that the hoard must be incomplete and its proportions cannot therefore be used as evidence. It is certain that a number of the specimens of Class III now scattered through various collections are from the hoard, since the ANS has now only fifteen out of the thirty-five coins originally there, but others, to judge from their appearance, are from a variety of sources and there seem to me no adequate grounds for doubting the original figures.

CONSTANTINOPLE

Class I. The solidi have on the obverse a facing bust of Theophilus, wearing crown and loros and holding globus cruciger and cross scepter. The type continues the representation of Theophilus from the solidus reverse of the preceding reign, but the emperor is now shown bearded and more mature in age. The inscription is preceded by ✱, as had now become customary. The reverse type is a patriarchal cross on base and steps, with the inscription CVRIЄ bOHΘH TO SO ƆOVLO (Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ) followed by ✱ and a control letter (Є, X, or rarely Λ). This is essentially a reversion to the type of Nicephorus I alone, but with a patriarchal cross replacing a Latin one. The role of the emperor as servant of God and the symbol of the patriarchal cross were to figure constantly on Theophilus' coinage.

A corresponding semissis was struck, having the same design as the solidus but with shortened inscription and no control mark. It is of extreme rarity.

The miliaresion of this group follows directly on that of Michael II and Theophilus, the emperor having the same qualification ЄC ΘЄЧ (i.e., without the PISƆOS which occurs later), but since Michael's name is no longer there the singular bASILЄЧS is substituted for the plural bASILIS. The only remarkable feature of the coin is its existence. It is the earliest miliaresion to be struck in the name of one emperor alone, before the association of a junior colleague, so that its issue marks the formal adoption of this denomination as a regular feature of the coinage and the abandonment of its theoretically ceremonial status.[17]

The follis carries on directly from the large-module coin of Michael II, on which specimens are sometimes found to be overstruck (e.g., *BNC*, II.527/02). Theophilus is shown wearing a chlamys and holding a patriarchal cross and akakia, the type being basically that of the gold of Michael II, save that the form of the cross is different. The design of the cross is usually incomplete, the lower part of the shaft being omitted, so that it gives the impression of an object balanced uncomfortably on the emperor's forefinger. This strangely incompetent design was to be taken over for the gold and persist throughout the reign. The reverse carries on that of Michael II without change, the M reverting to its role as a simple mark of value insofar as it was still thought of as having any significance at all. The issue has been briefly discussed by Metcalf, who publishes a variant with inscription break ΘЄO–FIL instead of the normal ΘЄ–OFIL.[18]

The duration of Class I is difficult to determine. The account of Theophilus' triumphal procession in 831 shows that the young Constantine was not alive in that year, and the relative rarity of all Theophilus' issues of Class I would indicate that his son's brief reign should be dated before rather than after this occasion. On the assumption that the boy was born before Theophilus' accession on 2 October 829, scholars have generally assumed that, in accordance with precedent, he would have been crowned on the next suitable festival of the Church, Ostrogorsky and Stein[19] proposing 25 December 829 and

[17] Above, p. 63.

[18] "The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus Before his Reform," *HBN*, 21 (1967), 32–4.

[19] *Art. cit.* (above, p. 406, note 2), 231.

Dikigoropoulos[20] preferring the following Whitsunday (5 June 830). Such precision seems to me unjustified, since we are ignorant of the date of Constantine's birth; moreover, the three-month period Oct.–Dec. 829, and perhaps even the eight-month period Oct. 829–June 830, seems to me too short to allow for the issue of Class I. In the present state of our knowledge we can do no more than say that Constantine was co-emperor for a very brief period, probably not more than a few weeks, in 830 or 831.

Class II. The solidi of this class are of the same pattern as the association issues of Theophilus' immediate predecessors, with a bust of the senior emperor on the obverse wearing the chlamys and that of the junior emperor on the reverse wearing the loros. Some specimens show the crown of either Theophilus or Constantine with a circular ornament below the cross, evidently in consequence of their using a coin of Michael II and Theophilus as a model. Theophilus has in his hand a patriarchal cross, since this can no longer form the reverse type. The only recorded control letter is Λ. Two varieties of the coin exist, one with reverse inscription broken and the other with it unbroken. No fractional gold is known for Constantinople, but since a semissis exists for Sicily, a corresponding eastern issue may yet be found.

The rare miliaresion of Theophilus and Constantine abandoned the conventional ЄC ΘЄЧ formula in favor of a more elaborate one embodying the "servant of God" theme used on Class I of the solidus and adding the epithet "faithful" (ΘЄOFILOS S CONSTAN-TINOS ƆЧLЧ XRISƬЧ S PISƬЧ bASIL' ROMAIO'). It also saw an increase in the diameter and the weight of the coin, which went up from *c.* 2 g. (probably 144 to the lb., theoretical wt. 2.27 g.) to over 3 g., perhaps 96 to the lb. (theoretical weight 3.41 g.), though the number of specimens is too small and their condition too varied for one to be sure. The reason for the increase is unknown. A possibility is that since the issue of miliaresia was now on a more regular basis, it was felt that their intrinsic and their legal value should be closer to each other. The higher weight pattern, however, lasted only for Classes II and III.

The rare folles of Theophilus and Constantine reproduce exactly the type used for Michael II and Theophilus, and require no comment.

Class III. After the death of Constantine the close relationship between the coinages in the three metals begins to break down, for while the immediate issues of the new types probably began more or less simultaneously, Class IV in the gold is unrelated to Class IV in the silver and neither of them have any counterpart in the copper.[21] There are also no folles of Theophilus and Michael III corresponding to the solidi and miliaresia of Class V.

Class III in the gold is that which saw the bust of Constantine on the reverse joined by that of Michael II. The obverse continued that of Class II, the emperor's bust being sometimes shown larger and his head correspondingly smaller. Owing to the length of the reverse inscription the control letter was moved to the obverse, though there are a few rare specimens on which it is still on the reverse. The great majority of coins have the new control letter Θ, though X and Λ are recorded and a few specimens have no control

[20] *Art. cit.* (above, p. 407, note 2), 360, 361. He is followed by Mme Morrisson in *BNC*.

[21] Unless the "small-module" copper of Class 3 is really a reduced follis corresponding to the miliaresia of Class IV, as is possible but not perhaps very likely. See below, p. 415.

letter at all. The coin is occasionally found struck on a large flan, as had occurred under Nicephorus I and Michael I. No fractional gold is known.

Class III of the miliaresion continues the module and weight of Class II, but drops the name of Constantine and fills up the space by inserting ЄΠ AVTO before bASILЄY' ROMAIOΠ. A small hoard of twenty-nine miliaresia of this class was discovered during the German excavations on Thera in 1900, in company with a solidus of Michael III alone (i.e., post 856).[22] The absence of any miliaresia of normal weight in a hoard dating from a time when they were in regular circulation is a good illustration of how a heavier variety, even if some years old, might be withdrawn for hoarding.

Class 3 of the follis raises a number of major problems. It ended the long tradition by which the copper bore a mark of value and inaugurated a phase in which, like the silver, the folles were normally to bear an inscription in several lines across the field. That on the follis of Theophilus takes the form of one of the customary coronation acclamations: "Theophilus Augustus, thou conquerest." The obverse has a half-figure of the emperor, instead of the traditional bust, holding a labarum and globus cruciger and wearing a loros and the curious form of headgear known as a tufa. The new design was so striking that it was quickly copied at Naples by Duke Sergius I (840–64), though the duke modestly wears an ordinary crown (with cross) instead of a tufa and avoids the difficulty of finding a suitable adaptation of the reverse inscription by substituting the bust of San Gennaro in its place.[23] Although the acclamation on the Byzantine coins, despite its military form, was not specifically military in usage, and although the emperor does not wear any specific military accoutrements (spear, armor, etc.), the labarum and tufa suggest that the coin was initially struck to celebrate the triumph of 831, as Dikigoropoulos has suggested.[24] Such a date is in any case acceptable on numismatic grounds.

The basic problems presented by Class 3 are two in number: one is that of the mint or mints involved; the other is that created by the existence of two series of coins, one weighing about 8 g. and the other half this figure.

The main series of coins shows considerable variety in weight, style, and fabric. One large group is of very rough style and workmanship, and can without hesitation be attributed to a provincial mint. The others form two major groups, one of good but by no means uniform style and the other of inferior and even less uniform style. There are also smaller groups which exhibit specific divergences in detail: lines instead of panels for the hanging end of the loros, the loros running from Theophilus' left side to his right shoulder instead of vice versa, the presence or absence of streamers hanging from the labarum, the arrangement of dots on the tufa, and so on. Many of these have been studied in detail by Metcalf, who proposed the division of the whole coinage (including the "small-module" and "rough-fabric" coins) into seven groups, which he tentatively assigns to

[22] F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen and P. Wilski, *Stadtgeschichte von Thera* (= *Thera*, III. Berlin, 1904), 13, 200. A follis of Michael II and Theophilus, and another of an undetermined Michael, were found separately. They all mark the last moments of the Byzantine town, which was badly exposed to Arab raids.

[23] *CNI*, XIX, Pl. I. 19–21. These coins are fairly common, and must have been struck in some quantity.

[24] On the tufa, and its association with military triumphs, see above, pp. 129–30.

various mints throughout the empire (Constantinople, two mints near the capital or in Asia Minor, Thessalonica, a mint perhaps in northern Greece, and two mints in central or southern Greece). His first publication on the subject[25] was studied, in relation to the Dumbarton Oaks material, by Dikigoropoulos and Bellinger, who were impressed by its appreciation of style and detail but unconvinced by its conclusions. Dikigoropoulos, whose notes were available to Bellinger, argued that the differences on which Metcalf relied to establish the existence of separate mints were sometimes less than those that can be found on sixth-century coins that we know to have been struck in the same officina, mint, and year. Bellinger felt that they were of such a kind as to be incapable of serving any useful purpose, and thought it more likely that they represented no more than the idiosyncracies of different die-sinkers. If Metcalf had picked other sets of criteria, different groupings would probably have emerged,[26] more particularly since he attached little importance to variations in design, such as the presence or absence of a cross in the field, that in some cases must have resulted from definite mint instructions. The amount of material on which the study was based was in any case too small. Unless there is strong support from other evidence—for instance, a strongly marked localization of find-spots—one cannot predicate the existence of a mint on the basis of half a dozen coins.[27]

Metcalf restated his position in a further article,[28] using substantially more material, and successfully disposed of one of Bellinger's objections. The criteria on which he based his argument are those which seemed best to characterize and identify the products of individual die-sinkers; he had never supposed that they were intended by contemporaries to differentiate between mints or to serve as elements of control, as had been the case with the earlier mint and officina marks. Metcalf's main arguments, however, I still find unconvincing. It is reasonable to assume the activity of more than one mint, since this is a common feature of recoinages—the opening of temporary provincial mints facilitates the withdrawal of old coins and the issue of new ones—but I do not think that we are yet in a position to identify them or even to separate their products in any satisfactory fashion. Considerations of style do not form an adequate basis for mint identification under such circumstances. A recoinage normally means the temporary recruiting of workmen, often relatively unskilled, for making dies, and even within a single mint one can expect to find distinctive groups of dies made by different workmen, especially when their products

[25] "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," *MN*, 10 (1962), 81–98. Cf. his *Coinage in the Balkans, 820–1355* (Thessaloniki, 1965), 25–7.

[26] This point is underlined by a note of M. Marx, "The Stylistic Varieties of the Reformed Folles of Theophilus," *The Voice of the Turtle* (*North American Journal of Numismatics*), 5 (1966), 47–51, who, while taking account of Metcalf's analysis, proposed dividing the whole coinage into two main groups based on the presence or absence of streamers on the labarum, a detail to which Metcalf attached little importance.

[27] Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, 4. Metcalf's Arrangement of the Copper of Theophilus," *MN*, 13 (1967), 136–41. My own scepticism was expressed in "Byzantine Coinage as Source Material," *Proc. of the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (London, 1967), 318–21.

[28] "The Reformed Folles of Theophilus: Their Styles and Localization," *MN*, 14 (1968), 121–53.

are spread over several years and cannot be precisely dated. In view of the present state of uncertainty I have therefore preferred, in the catalogue, to attribute everything to Constantinople, apart from the quite distinctive group of rough fabric which is obviously provincial, while recognizing that future research may well make it possible to distinguish some groups of these coins as the products of mints other than that of the capital.

There remain the small-module coins. Wroth and most scholars regard them as half folles, as I do myself. Metcalf has argued that they represent an issue of provincial folles attributable to Thessalonica. There is a third possibility, that they are "reduced" folles, Theophilus' issue of "reformed" folles having enjoyed as short a life as Justinian's heaviest folles of years 12–15. On this hypothesis the weight of the follis would have been reduced in the late 830's in much the same fashion as was the weight of the miliaresion in the transition from Class III to Class IV. Against this is the fact that the weights of the next series of folles, those of Michael III and Basil struck in 866/7, conform to the weight pattern of Theophilus' heavier coins, which they would scarcely have done if a weight reduction had taken place in the interval, and I prefer to regard them as half folles.

The chronology of Class III is necessarily very indeterminate. The solidi evidently went on being struck till the coronation of Michael III, i.e., till 840 or possibly 841. The silver must have ended in the 830's, probably later rather than earlier to judge by the comparative rarity of Classes III and IV, but since we do not know why Class IV was introduced it is impossible even to guess at the date. The copper probably continued till the end of the reign, since no folles bearing the names of Theophilus and Michael III are known. Such coins may still come to light, but in view of the relative commonness of the miliaresia of the joint reign it seems unlikely. There is even something to be said for the view that the issue of Theophilan folles was immobilized and continued under Michael III, since we have no Constantinopolitan copper for the first twenty-five years of this ruler's reign. It would be contrary to Byzantine tradition for a ruler to strike coins in the name of his predecessor, but a twenty-five year gap in the minting of copper is equally strange and one has to balance one improbability against another. If this continued issue under Michael III were the case, however, it would put out of court the possibility of the small-module coins being the counterparts of Theophilus' lighter miliaresia.

Class IV. Class IV of the solidi consists of those having three busts on the obverse (Theophilus, his wife Theodora, and his eldest daughter Thecla) and two on the reverse (Anna and Anastasia). The coin is of exceptional rarity, the only three recorded specimens being those in Paris, Turin, and Dumbarton Oaks. Apparently all three daughters had been raised to the rank of Augusta, since they all wear imperial crowns with pinnacles and prependulia, though only Theodora and Thecla were to figure on the issues of Michael III's minority. It is impossible to determine when or why they were struck. It must have been after the death of Theophilus' other daughter Maria, the wife of Alexius Musele, since she is not shown on it, and before the birth of Michael III in January 840, but we can give no date more exact than the 830's.[29] Owing to lack of space the rulers

[29] Maria's death is dated 832 by the Pseudo-Symeon (Symeon Mag., Bonn ed., p. 630). Most scholars hold the view that this chronicler's dates are pure invention, and on the supposition that Maria could not have been born before 822 or married before the age of fourteen, i.e., before 836, they place her

are given no titles, and the name of each is placed above his or her head as a mark of identification, so that the order of seniority is preserved in the effigies but not in the inscriptions. There are no control letters.

Class IV of the miliaresion reverts to the traditional module and weight of this coin, and both shortens and modifies the inscription from that of Class III, restoring the ЄC ΘЄЧ of Class I but retaining PIST̀OS from Classes II and III. The position of the class in the sequence of miliaresia cannot be taken as certain—it could conceivably have followed Class I—but it seems more likely that it marked the abandonment of the heavy standard. Hoard evidence may eventually allow for a satisfactory dating.

Class V. The solidus of this class is of extreme rarity, only three specimens having been recorded. The design follows closely that of Theophilus and Constantine, though the obverse inscription is preceded by a cross instead of a star and the reverse one by a pellet instead of a cross. The only anomaly is the A following the reverse inscription. One would not expect it to be a control mark, since a Θ on the obverse already fulfills this role. It might be a revival of the Λ which had served as a control mark on the coins of Theophilus and Constantine and which was misunderstood and modified by the die-sinker. On the other hand, an A is used on some early coins of Class I of Michael III (below, p. 457), so an A at this period is not impossible. Its function must be regarded as uncertain.

There is at Turin a unique semissis of this class. It corresponds to the solidus, but shows Michael holding a globus surmounted by a patriarchal instead of a normal cross. The traditional symbol of the semissis, a cross *potent* on globus held where necessary by the shaft, had by now been evidently forgotten.

The miliaresion of Theophilus and Michael III carried on from that of Class IV, the epithet PIST̀OS being dropped in order to leave room for Michael's name. The coin is surprisingly common for what must have been a quite short period of issue, and the absence of die-links amongst the specimens I have examined shows that they must have been minted in large quantities. No corresponding folles are known, and probably none were struck.

Class V must have been minted over the period between Michael III's coronation and Theophilus' death. It has been suggested above that the coronation probably took place on 16 May 840. An issue extending over a year and eight months would be quite reasonable for the miliaresia of Class V, but is surprising in the light of the extreme rarity of the gold. The evidence of the latter, if taken by itself, would point to a coronation sometime in 841, perhaps even as late as Christmas Day. Historical probability, when joined to the positive evidence of the miliaresion, must be held to outweigh this, and since it is scarcely likely that Class III would have been continued after the coronation of Michael it would seem that Theophilus at the end of his reign was content to mint very little gold—the issues of earlier years had been enormous—and did not feel any need for making plain to the public in this way the identity of his successor.

death in the late 830's, e.g., in 838 (so Dikigoropoulos). This reasoning depends in part on the very uncertain chronology of her husband Alexius Musele's career, in part on various assumptions regarding Theophilus' arrangements for the succession in the event of his having no son. But it is by no means certain that all Pseudo-Symeon's dates are inventions—his statement that Michael III was born in Theophilus' tenth year is almost correct—and that Maria really did not die in 832.

SICILY

Theophilus' Sicilian coinage consisted of the usual three denominations of gold, no silver, and copper folles and half folles. The coins are for the most part common, no doubt as a result of the dispersal of hoards buried during the Arab war and found in recent years. There was a strong tendency for the module of the coins to diminish, like that of the globular solidi of seventh-century Carthage, although the edges, instead of being smooth and rounded as those of the Carthaginian coins had been, are rough and broken. The contraction in size, however, was not a regular process, so module is not a good guide to dating. Nor is it a good guide to denomination; users must have depended on type and weight. A complicating factor is the existence of contemporary imitations with blundered inscriptions and crude designs. On the assumption that they may have been semi-official—e.g., coins issued by the authorities in localities besieged by the Saracens or for some other reason deprived of their regular supply of coin[30]—the specimens at Dumbarton Oaks have been catalogued below. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility of their having been struck by the Arabs, since they are very markedly "globular." Invaders from North Africa would no doubt have occasionally seen seventh-century solidi of Carthage, and might well have thought this fabric appropriate for "imperial" coins.

The classification of the gold coinage has been discussed by Mr. Bellinger,[31] but beyond making clear the main groups he has not pushed the analysis very far. There are two classes struck in the name of Theophilus alone and one in that of Theophilus, Michael, and Constantine, or, in the case of the semisses and tremisses, of Theophilus and Constantine only. The coins of Theophilus alone may be subdivided into two further groups according to whether or not the emperor is accompanied by his title (bASIL, or bA on the fractions). In attempting to establish the chronology there are several further factors to be taken into account. One is the change in the design of the emperor's head on the coins, which is much greater than one would expect in so short a reign. The earliest coins resemble those of Michael II in that the face is more or less egg- or cup-shaped, broader above than below and curving regularly downward, while on later coins it is narrow and emaciated in appearance, with pinched cheeks, as we find it on coins of Michael III and Basil I. The fact of this type being reproduced on coins of the infant Michael III shows that it results from the die-sinker's artistic preconceptions, not from an attempt to delineate Theophilus' increasing age. The tops of the crowns on these later coins are also rounded and dome-like in form. The second factor is the rather complicated relationship between the Sicilian coinage of the reign and that of Constantinople. Minor types (Theophilus and his daughters, Theophilus and Michael III) are not reproduced, but solidi of Theophilus, Michael, and Constantine, which in the East form the main issue of the reign, are very rare for Sicily and can have been only very briefly struck. This is in a way not surprising, since the Isaurian concept of dynastic coinages had never found much favor in the West, but in this case there is the unexpected complication that Theophilus' new follis type was not introduced at all and there are instead quite common folles of Theophilus, Michael, and Constantine, a combination never used on the copper of Constan-

[30] There seem to be no regular Sicilian solidi of Theophilus' later years. See below, p. 420.

[31] "Byzantine Notes, 3. Sicilian Gold of Michael II and Theophilus," *MN*, 13 (1967), 134–6.

tinople. A final consideration that has to be kept in mind is the existence of debasement. The Sicilian gold of the reign is in the main of good quality, but some coins are heavily alloyed with copper, as all those of Michael III were to be. There is therefore good reason to put any issue in which debasement occurs late in the reign.

The denominations of the gold and the features that characterize them are set out in Table 20, but they require a little more detailed study. The types are in each case the bust of the emperor, or of two emperors in the solidi of Class II. A peculiar feature which occurs almost throughout is the deformation of F, in ΘΕΟFILOS, to Ɛ or Ɔ, as if the die-sinker had no idea where to place the horizontal strokes. It should be noted that it is very easy to confuse the obverses and the reverses of these coins, on account of their small size, and several apparent anomalies in catalogues appear on examination to be only two obverses or two reverses inadvertently paired (e.g., T. 12, two obverses; Vinchon 25. iv. 60, lot 704, two reverses).

Class I. 829–*c*. 830. Coins of this class are linked by use of the initial ✱ on all denominations, by the presence of an imperial title, and by a small detail of no consequence which also differentiates them from Class III—one crescent and a dot, instead of two crescents and a dot, at the emperor's neck on the reverse. The ✱ and the inscription are taken from Class I of the solidi of Constantinople, though the details of the type are different and the patriarchal cross type of the reverse is for some reason not adopted. The face is usually somewhat rounded, though very elongated ones, like that of our No. 18.2, also occur. Coins of Class I are rare, although a small number were included in a hoard of Theophilus' coins that came on the European market some twenty years ago.

This class is almost certainly the first issue of the reign, belonging to the period before the accession of Constantine. A case could be made for placing it immediately *after* the coins with Constantine, since there are features which link some of the coins of Class III with the coinage of Michael II; the semissis and tremissis also sometimes have the high domed crown characteristic of the semisses of the last years of the reign. But most of Class III is certainly late, and it does not seem reasonable to divide it into two issues, one struck at the very beginning of the reign and the other, separated from it by two different classes, some few years later.

Class II. *c*. 830–*c*. 831. It is not clear whether this class, specimens of which are extremely rare, is one class or two, though even if they are two they would be very close to each other in date.[32] The semissis and tremissis, on which Constantine is shown as an infant, are obviously inspired by Class II of Constantinople, only solidi of which are known, though the lower denominations probably once existed. The two pellets beside the cross of the globus cruciger on the semissis was a motif already known at Syracuse (above, pp. 373, 392). The childish bust suggests that Constantine was still alive when the coins were struck, and the portrait is notably different from that of the solidus with Michael and Constantine, but there is sometimes inconsistency in such

[32] Bellinger makes them two classes, and in accordance with his general scheme places them at the beginning of the reign. In favor of making them two is the ϽЄ (for δεσπότης) of the fractional gold, which contrasts with the *basileus* of the solidus.

TABLE 20

SICILIAN GOLD COINS OF THEOPHILUS

C = Chlamys, L = Loros, Cr. pot. = Cross potent, Patr. cr. = Patriarchal cross
The numbers in parentheses under the names of the denominations.
are those used in the catalogue.

Class I. Theophilus alone. Obv. inscr. starts ✱, ends bA(SIL)

Denomination		Costume	In r. hand	Inscription
Solidus (18)	Obv.	C	Cr. pot.	✱ΘΕΟFI LOSbASIL
	Rev.	L	Gl. cr.	ΘΕΟFI LOSbASIL
Semissis (19)	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	✱ΘΕΟ ƚILOSbA
	Rev.	L	Gl. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƚILOSbA
Tremissis (20)	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	✱ΘΕΟ ƚILOSbA
	Rev.	L	Cr. pot.	ΘΕΟ FILOSbA

Class II. Theophilus with (Michael and) Constantine

Denomination		Costume	In r. hand	Inscription
Solidus (21)	Obv.	L	Patr. cr.	+ΘΕΟFI LOSbASILE
	Rev.	C	Nothing	+MIXAHLSCONSTANT
Semissis (22)	Obv.	C	Gl. w. patr. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƚILOSbE
	Rev.	C	Gl. cr. and 2 pellets	CON STANTI
Tremissis (23)	Obv.	C	Gl. w. patr. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƚILOSbE
	Rev.	C	Cross in field	CONS TANTIN

Class III. Theophilus alone. No ✱ or bA(SIL) in obv. inscr.

Denomination		Costume	In r. hand	Inscription
Solidus (24)	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƚILOS
	Rev.	L	Cr. pot.	ΘΕ OƚILOS
Semissis (26)	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƈIL(or Λ)OS
	Rev.	L	Gl. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƈIL(or Λ)OS
Tremissis (27)	Obv.	C	Gl. cr.	ΘΕΟ ƈILOS
	Rev.	L	Cr. pot.	ΘΕ OƈILOS

matters and it may be that Michael was omitted from the fractional gold because of the small size of the coins. The solidus is copied from that of Constantinople, but in contrast to this coin it is of extreme rarity and its issue must have been very brief. All the rulers shown on it have rather broad, square heads, the details being an amalgam of Constantinopolitan and Sicilian traditions.

Class III. c. 831–842. This is the chief class of the reign, and it is in it that the main evolution of the imperial head occurred. The coins most obviously differ from those of Class I in having no initial ✱ and in giving the emperor no title. They form three sub-classes.

(a) Solidi, semisses, and tremisses inspired by the coinage of Michael II's reign and apparently marking a conscious reversion to it. The derivation is most evident in the design of the chlamys on the obverse and in the shape of the emperor's face, as can be seen by comparing Pl. XXI.14a.1 with Pl. XXVI.24.1. The solidi have always been fairly common and now are extremely so. In 1961 there was on the market a hoard containing at least forty-five specimens, together with a few solidi of Class I but none of the very rare ones of Class II.

It is to this class that the many contemporary imitations alluded to above belong. They are smaller and thicker than the originals, and normally somewhat lighter in weight. There were apparently none in the hoard of which I was shown part in 1961, but another hoard, on the market a year earlier, from which the specimens described below as Nos. 25.1–4 are derived, contained them in large numbers.

Wroth catalogues a strange variant of this class on which the globus of the obverse type lacks a cross, which is replaced by a large eight-rayed star in the field (W. 33). There are coins of the same type, but from different dies, at Milan and Turin. Although the inscriptions are correct there are anomalies in the designs—the folds of the loros have hatched lines, which are usually limited to the pendants of the fibulae, and the form of the loros was not understood by the die-sinker—so that I am inclined to regard them as contemporary imitations, though quite different in type from that forming our Nos. 25.1–4.

(b) Semisses and tremisses on which the emperor is shown with emaciated face and high domed crown, and with Theophilus' name spelled ΘΕΟΕΙLOS. These are of relatively good metal, and can be dated to the middle 830's. I know of no solidi of this group or of the next, or any of later emperors; so it seems that this denomination was now discontinued.

(c) Semisses of very poor metal, heavily alloyed with copper, having the same type of face and crown as those of Group (b) but with Λ for L in ΘΕΟΕΙΛOS. I know of no tremisses of this group, which passes on directly into the semisses—the only denomination struck—of Michael III's reign. The latter coins, it is true, spell the emperor's name with an L (MIXAHL) and only later pass to a Λ, but Sicily was so strongly Hellenized that the die-sinkers at this period seem to have been thinking in their own language and adopted Greek letter forms naturally whenever they had the opportunity to do so.

There are three classes of copper coins corresponding to those of the gold, though their relationship presents some unusual features and the issues were not quite in phase with each other.

Class 1 has as obverse type the emperor wearing a loros and holding a patriarchal cross, of which the reverse type is an M flanked by XΘX and NΘN, both vertical, with ✱ above and a cross beneath. It is known only in a unique specimen now in the British Museum. The type is surprising, since the folles of Michael II had already dispensed with the meaningless XXX NNN; this revives the old design, but in order to make room for a star, which, as we have seen, is a distinguishing feature of Class I of the gold, the Θ has had to be transferred from its previous central position to the vertical columns beside the M. The design in itself is quite meaningless.[33]

The other two classes are both common, and each must have seen a fairly prolonged period of issue. One consists of folles of Theophilus, Michael II, and Constantine, the design and style being the same as those of Class II of the solidus, though with a star instead of a cross above the emperors' heads on the reverse. The other issue shows the bust of Theophilus alone, wearing a chlamys, and has a reverse identical with that used under Michael II: a large M between XXX and NNN, with a cross above and a Θ below.

If the order of issue was parallel to that of the gold, one would have to treat the coins with Theophilus, Michael, and Constantine as Class 2, but assume that it lasted for a rather longer period—say *c*.831–*c*.835—and have it followed by Class 3, which reverted to the type of Michael II. This would not be inconceivable; we have already seen that a reversion of this sort apparently did occur in the gold. The difficulty is that, while with the gold it is in Class III that the late type of "emaciated face" occurs, in the copper this is in Class 2. Most of the coins in this class have what may be termed a "normal" head of Theophilus, broad and square like that on Class II of the solidus; although some busts are thinner and narrower, no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between them and the broader ones. There are, however, coins of smaller flan where the busts of all three emperors are small and that of Theophilus has a high domed crown, and still others where all the crowns are domed and the faces of all three emperors are "emaciated." Something like a domed crown, as we have seen, does occur on the fractional gold of Class II, and so is not necessarily late, but emaciated faces ought to mean an issue toward the end of the reign.

How these contradictory indications should be reconciled I am unable to explain, and their existence leaves the order of issue of Theophilus' Sicilian folles an open question. Overstriking was unfortunately not common in Sicily at this particular time, so we have no evidence of this type, and no relevant hoards have been published. In default of any satisfactory solution I have thought it best to number the classes on the pattern of the gold, while recognizing that the order of issue which this implies may in due course be reversed.

Naples (?)

There remains one small but quite distinctive group of Theophilan solidi, for the most part of seriously debased gold, which all scholars agree should be attributed to southern

[33] C. Davies Sherborn, who first published the coin ("Two Interesting Byzantine Bronzes," *N.Circ.*, 46 [1938], 5), noted, but without endorsing the suggestion, that the letters might stand for XPISTOS NIKA, ΘEOS ΘANATON, XPISTOS NIKA!

Itály. They form two classes. One is copied from the Constantinopolitan solidi of Class I, with a facing bust of Theophilus and a patriarchal cross. The other takes its inscription from the coins of Class III, with the names of Michael and Constantine, but the design reproduces that of the South Italian solidi of Nicephorus and Stauracius (above, p. 361). The result is highly anomalous, since the reverse inscription refers to two emperors while only one bust is shown.

Class I imitates the type and inscription of its model with reasonable accuracy, but the workmanship is coarse and the letters ill-formed. Most coins have the terminal reverse letter Є, but X also occurs. Occasionally there are objects in the upper reverse field: a star, two stars, two pellets. There are sometimes two or three pellets on the emperor's globus, these being due to the miscopying of the emperor's fingertips, as one can see by comparing them with the design of the globus on coins of Nicephorus I. The initial ✱ of the obverse inscription is sometimes replaced by a bar, the terminal one of the reverse (before the Є or X) by an X or a pellet. The list of varieties given below (Nos. 31a–31g) is by no means exhaustive, though it covers the main ones known to me.

What one may call the "normal" type of Class I is apparently preceded by two transitional pieces of rather better—if odder—style, represented by Nos. 31a and 31b below. I have catalogued No. 31a only with considerable hesitation, since I had long taken it to be an eighteenth-century forgery. Against it are its peculiar style, its excessive weight (4.58 g.), and its provenance, since it comes from one of the Basel sales in which, between 1935 and 1937, the Prince of Waldeck's collection from Arolsen was dispersed. This very important coin cabinet, formed largely in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, included the collection of Tanini, the continuator of Banduri, and Tanini's more unusual coins are often false. On the other hand, debased coins—though this one is not badly debased—are frequently overweight, and the surface of this has been cut and damaged in a way that often occurs when such an object is dug up. More decisive, and perhaps indeed the only cogent evidence, is the existence of No. 31b, which was acquired by E. T. Newell at a Schulman (Amsterdam) sale of 17 June 1924, lot 1030, and is now in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. It is clearly related to the Dumbarton Oaks coin but is from different dies, rather closer in appearance to the main series, and since its existence affords the best guarantee of our piece, I have illustrated it on Pl. XXVII.[34]

Class II of these Italian imitations is copied from the earlier Italian solidi of Nicephorus and Stauracius. It begins (No. 32) with what seems to be actually a mule with an obverse of one of these, having the name of Nicephorus or Stauracius blundered. Theophilus' own bust on the other side, with its sloping shoulders, is also copied from these earlier coins. An inscription more relevant to Theophilus' reign was subsequently substituted for the blundered Nicephoran one and the busts were redesigned, with square

[34] In treating 31a.2 as "transitional" between 31a.1 and the "normal" series, I do not mean that the latter were actually copied from it, only that it marks an earlier stage in the process of copying. Both 31a.1 and 31a.2 have an X terminating the reverse inscription, while the "normal" type seems always to have Є; so each started off with different specimens of Constantinopolitan Class I as their models.

shoulders quite different from those of No. 32. In the new variety there are only trivial variations in the inscription from one die to another.

The attribution of these coins to Naples is, as explained in the Introduction (pp. 85–7), only conjectural. They are certainly South Italian, and were struck in some quantity, for they are fairly common today. Their issue coincided with a gap in the minting of gold by the dukes of Benevento, and the dukes of Naples, who still professed a vague allegiance to the emperors in the East, are the most likely individuals to have taken action to make good a shortage. The coins would thus have been a kind of mainland equivalent to the unofficial imitative Sicilian coins already alluded to which were apparently struck in the 830's, after official issues of solidi in the island came to an end.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class 1		
			Theophilus alone		
			✱ΘЄOFI LOSbASILЄS Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	CVRIЄbOHΘHTOSO ∂OVLO Patriarchal cross above three steps	829–830/1
1a.1	Ⅳ 4.46	22 ↓	Same die as 1a.2, 4, 5	At end, ✱Є Same die as 1a.4, 5	
*1a.2	Ⅳ 4.41	22 ↓	Same die as 1a.1, 4, 5	At end, ✱Є	
*1a.3	Ⅳ 4.39 pierced	21 ↓		At end, ✱Є	
1a.4	Ⅳ 4.39	21 ↓	Same die as 1a.1, 2, 5	At end, ✱Є Same die as 1a.1, 5	
1a.5	Ⅳ 4.38	21 ↓	Same die as 1a.1, 2, 4	At end, ✱Є Same die as 1a.1, 4	
*1b.1	Ⅳ 4.48	20 ↓	Same die as 1b.3	At end, ✱Є	
*1b.2	Ⅳ 4.44	22 ↓		At end, ✱Є	
1b.3	Ⅳ 4.40	21 ↓	Same die as 1b.1	At end, ✱Є	

1 I have followed Wroth in distinguishing between the two methods of placing the star after the reverse inscription (✱ or ✱), though without being convinced of its importance.

1a.1 Whittemore
W. 2 = T. 2, R. 1817 (this coin)

1a.2–3 Whittemore

1a.4 Schindler 1960 from Bertelè ii. 38

1a.5 Friend 1957

1b.1 Whittemore
W. 3, T. —, R. —

1b.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman xii. 29

1b.3 Whittemore
This coin has traces of greyish soil mixed with greenish black copper oxide adhering to the surface, corresponding to features which Newell describes as characteristic of the Lagbe hoard. It seems to me likely that this coin is from the hoard. 1a.1 and 1a.2, both in extremely fine condition, may also be from the hoard, but positive evidence is lacking. The other coins of Class I can, on one ground or another—incrustation, state of surface or edge, wear, or piercing—be definitely excluded.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(1c.1)	N	4.4	21		(T. 3)	At end, ✱X	829–830/1
*1c.2	N	4.32	20	↓		At end, ✱X	
(1d)	N	4.39	22		(W. 1 = T. 1, R. —)	At end, ✱Λ	
					Class II		
					Theophilus and Constantine		
					Same inscription Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, patriarchal cross; in l., akakia	+CONSTANT'ΘЄSP OT'Λ Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, globus with patriarchal cross; in l. hand, cross scepter	830 or 831
*2a	N	4.40	21	↓			
(2b)	N	4.39	20	↓	(*BNC*, II.524/09)	+CONST ANT'ΘЄSP OSΛ Crown has circular ornament below cross	
					Class III		
					Theophilus, Michael II, and Constantine		
					Same inscr. and type	+MIXAHL SCONSTA NTIN' Two busts facing, Michael II on l., bearded, Constantine on r., smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Cross in field above	830/1–840

1c Peirce 1948
W. —, T. —, R. —

2a Hess-Bank Leu sale 45, 12. v. 70, lot 708
W. 11 = T. 38, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
				(a) Control letter Λ on rev.		830/1–840
*(3a)	N 4.44	20	↓	(*BNC*, II.523/01)	Ends 'Λ	
				(b) Control letter Λ on obv.		
*(3b)	N 4.36	20	↓	(*BNC*, II.523/08) Ends ∈'Λ		
				(c) Control letter X on obv.		
3c.1	N 4.39 pierced	19	↓	Ends ∈X	A for A	
*3c.2	N 4.38	21	↓	A for A Ends ∈X	A for A	
3c.3	N 4.35 pierced	20	↓	Ends ∈X		
				(d) Control letter Θ on obv.		
3d.1	N 4.47	21	↓	Ends ∈Θ		
3d.2	N 4.46	21	↓	Ends ∈Θ		
3d.3	N 4.45	21	↓	Ends ∈Θ		
3d.4	N 4.44	20	↘	Ends ∈Θ		
*3d.5	N 4.37	21	↙	Ends ∈Θ		

The obv. of the BM specimen ends, unusually, bASIL^{S}, and there is a circular ornament below Theophilus' crown. There is at D. O. (Shaw 1947) an ancient counterfeit of this rare solidus, cast in base metal (3.88 g.), gilded, and pierced.

3 In classifying the coins of Class III no account has been taken of the placing of the initial star (✱ or ✱), since it seems to be of no consequence.

(3a) Another specimen, sharing the same obv. die, in Kress Cat. 168, 22. vii. 68, lot 680.

(3b) W. 4, T. 31, R. 1831
The specimen here illustrated is incorrectly described in the *BNC* as ending 'X.

3c.1–3 Whittemore
W. 10, T. 33, R. 1834
This group has normally, but not invariably and not on two of the specimens here, a circlet below the cross on Theophilus' crown. The piercing of 3c.1 makes it impossible to ascertain whether there was one on this coin or not.

3d.1 Peirce 1948
W. 6, T. 32, R. 1832

3d.2 Whittemore

3d.3 Peirce 1948

3d.4 Whittemore

3d.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3d.6	Ꝡ	4.36	20	↓	Ends ϵΘ		830/1–840
3d.7	Ꝡ	4.31	19	↘	Ends ϵΘ		
*3d.8	Ꝡ	4.29	21	↓	Ends ϵΘ Overstruck; trace of S+ from earlier striking visible bottom r.	ONS blurred by overstriking. Ends ꞇIN	
3d.9	Ꝡ	4.27	20	↓	Ends ϵΘ		
3d.10	Ꝡ	4.17	20	↓	Ends ϵΘ		
*3e.1	Ꝡ	4.46	21	↓	Ends ϵ′Θ		
3e.2	Ꝡ	4.44	21	↓	Ends ϵ′Θ		
*3e.3	Ꝡ	4.44	20	↓	Ends ϵ′Θ		
*3e.4	Ꝡ	4.42	21	↙	Ends ϵ′Θ Initial ✱ incomplete, having form of X between two pellets		
3e.5	Ꝡ	4.41	22	↙	Ends ϵ′Θ		
*3e.6	Ꝡ	4.40	22	↓	Ends ϵ′Θ		
*3e.7	Ꝡ	4.10	20	↓	Ends ϵ′Θ Large lettering		
3e.8	Ꝡ	3.97	19	↓	Ends ϵ′Θ		
					(e) No control letter		
(3f.1)	Ꝡ	4.44	21		(W. 5 = T. 30) Ends ϵ		

3d.6–7 Whittemore

3d.8 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. ii. 29
The earlier coin was a solidus of Constantine V, Class II, the S being part of the inscription [CON]S and the cross that of the emperor's crown.

3d.9–10 Whittemore

3e.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 27
W. 7, T. —, R. —
A specimen of this coin struck on a very broad flan was in Kress Cat. 132, 8. ii. 65, lot 972. There is also a strike in silver at D. O. (Bank Leu 23. iv. 62; 3.52 g., 18 mm. ↓). It is illustrated by Dikigoropoulos as No. 3 on the plate accompanying his article on the solidi of Theophilus (above, p. 407, note 2).

3e.2–8 Whittemore

(3f.1) It is not very clear whether the BM coin ends ϵ or ϵ′, but there is one clearly ending ϵ in the Glendining sale 120, 30. xi. 61, lot 1101.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(3f.2)	N	19	(Kress sale 120, 30. xi. 61, lot 1101) Ends Є′		830/1–840
			Class IV		
			Theophilus with his wife and daughters		
			ΘЄK′ΘЄOF′ΘЄ′ Three busts facing, Theophilus in center, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, between Thecla on l. and Theodora on r., each wearing loros and crown with triangular ornaments and pendilia. Two crosses in field above	✱AΠΠASAΠSTASIA Busts of Anna and Anastasia facing, each wearing crown with triangles, central cross, and pendilia. Cross in field above	late 830s
*4	N 4.41	21 ↓			
			Class V		
			Theophilus and Michael III		
			+ΘЄOFI LOSbASILS Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In r. hand, patriarchal cross; in l., akakia	· +MIXAHLδЄSPOTIS Bust facing, beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	840–842

4 Whittemore
W. p. 418 (BN) = T. 44, R. —
The only other specimens known to me are in Paris (*BNC*, II.524/11; first publ. by G. Schlumberger, "Une monnaie d'or byzantine inédite," *RN*³, 10 [1892], 1–6 = his *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, I, 141–5) and in the Museo Civico at Turin (*Il medagliere delle raccolte numismatiche torinesi*, ed. A. Serena Fava and others [Turin, 1964], Pl. 38. 9, ex Gariazzo

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*5	N 4.45	21 ↓	At end, Θ	At end, A	840–842
			SEMISSIS		
			Class I		
			✱ΘЄO FILOSbASI'	CVRIЄbOHΘHƬOSO ∂OVL'	829–830/1
			Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., cross scepter	Patriarchal cross above three steps	
*6	N 1.53	18 ↓			

coll. and "Foreign Prince" Sale, lot 140). Both read correctly ANASƬASIA, not (as here) ANSƬASIA, and the Turin one has A for A. Mme Morrisson has listed another specimen from a Bank Leu sale, but in error; the coin in question is one of Class I. An unusual feature of the crowns of Thecla and Theodora on all specimens is that they lack the customary central cross.

5 M. Salton 23. ii. 60
W. p. 420 = T. 45
Only two other specimens appear to be known. One in the Cabinet de Marseille was published by C. Penon, "Médailles byzantines inédites," *RBN*³, 6 (1862), 203–4, Pl. x. 23; it is that cited by Wroth and Tolstoi. It probably no longer exists, for the gold coins in this collection were stolen in the late nineteenth century and are believed to have been melted down. The other, at Vienna, which is pierced, was published by H. Longuet, "Die unedierten byzantinischen Münzen des Wiener Kabinettes," *NZ*, 77 (1957), 46–7, No. 284, Pl. IV. 284. It and the D. O. specimen, and probably the Marseilles one also, are from different dies. Penon's statement that another specimen had been published by Count de Salis is incorrect; his article in *RN*², 4 (1859), 444–8, shows that he believed that such a coin might exist, but he did not know of one. On the anomalous A at the end of the reverse inscription see above, p. 416.

6–7 For the classes of semissis and tremissis I have kept the numbering used for the solidus.

6 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. —, R. —
Despite the low weight this is a semissis, not a tremissis, for the Paris specimen (*BNC*, II. 525/12; ex Soleirol, illus. by de Saulcy and by Sabatier) weighs 2.20 g. They are the only two known; a third, alleged by Mme Morrisson to be at Copenhagen, is a Sicilian coin. The D. O. specimen seems to have been clipped on one side in antiquity, but it is difficult to believe that the weight ever approached 2.2 g. The module and type are identical but the inscriptions slightly different, the Paris one reading ✱ΘЄOFI LOSbASI' and the reverse ending ∂OVLO.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class V		
			Same inscr. and type as No. 5, but Theophilus holds simple cross	MIXAHL ΔЄSPOTIS As No. 5, but Michael holds globus surmounted by patriarchal cross instead of gl. cr.	840–842
*(7)	Æ 2.23	18 ↓	(Museo Civico, Turin)		
			MILIARESION		
			Class I		
			Theophilus alone		
			+ΘЄO FILOSЄC ΘЄYbASI LЄYSRO MAION within triple circle of dots	IhSYSXRIS TYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within triple circle of dots	829–830/1
*8	Æ 1.99	23 ↑			
			Class II		
			Theophilus and Constantine		
			+ΘЄOFI LOSSCONST AhTINOSΔY LYXRISTYS PISTYbASILˢ ROMAIOˢ within triple circle of dots	Same inscr. and type	830 or 831

(7) Publ. in *Il medagliere delle raccolte numismatiche torinesi* (above, p. 428, note to No. 4), p. 126, No. 93, Pl. 38.10. It was in the Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel Sale XIII, 17. vi. 54, lot 854.

8 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, T. 19, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*9	Æ 3.11	26 ↑			830 or 831
			Class III		
			Theophilus alone (ΔΥLOS XRISTY)		
			+ΘΕΟFI LOSΔΥLOS XRISTYSPIS TOSENAVTO bASILEY'RO MAION within triple circle of dots	Same inscr. and type	830/1–*c.*838
*10.1	Æ 3.26	29 ↑			
*10.2	Æ 3.22	27 ↑			
10.3	Æ 3.12 pierced	28 ↑			
*10.4	Æ 3.03	27 ↑			
10.5	Æ 2.96 pierced	29 ↑			
10.6	Æ 2.81	26 ↑			
10.7	Æ 2.63	27 ↑			

9 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1838
W. —, T. 41, R. 1838 (this coin)
10.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29
W. 12–13, T. 20, R. 1820
10.2 Whittemore
10.3 Schindler 1960 from Grabow (Rostock) xi. 41
10.4 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
10.5–6 Whittemore
10.7 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class IV		
			Theophilus alone (PISTOS)		
			+ΘEOFI LOSECΘEY PISTOSbA SILEYSRO MAION within triple circle of dots	Same inscr. and type	*c.* 838–840
*11.1	Æ 2.08	24 ↗			
*11.2	Æ 2.00	23 ↗			
11.3	Æ 1.94 pierced	25 ↑	Worn flat from use as ornament		
11.4	Æ 1.71 pierced and clipped	22 ↗			
			Class V		
			Theophilus and Michael III		
			+ΘEO FILOSSMI XAHLECΘE bASILISRO MAION within triple circle of dots	Same inscr. and type	840–842
*12.1	Æ 2.16	25 ↑			

11.1 Lockett Sale VIII, 26. v. 29, lot 289
W., p. 421, note 2 = T. 21, R. 1821
11.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 27
11.3 Whittemore
11.4 Schindler 1960 from Subotić (Agram) 14. x. 44
12.1 Whittemore
W. 14, T. 49, R. 1839

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
12.2	Æ	2.07	23	↑			840–842
*12.3	Æ	2.03	25	↑			
*12.4	Æ	1.95	24	↑			
	chipped						
12.5	Æ	1.80	25	↑			
*12.6	Æ	1.78	25	↑			
					FOLLIS		
					Class 1		
					Theophilus alone, traditional follis type		
					✱ • ΘЄ ΟFIlbASIlb Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand patriarchal cross, in l., akakia	M Above, cross. X N To l., X To r., N X N Beneath, Θ	829–830/1
13.1	Æ	8.29	28	↓	✱ • illegible		
*13.2	Æ	8.00	28	↓			
*13.3	Æ	7.76	30	↙			
*13.4	Æ	7.55	31	↓			
13.5	Æ	7.45	29	↓			
13.6	Æ	6.98	32	↙			
13.7	Æ	6.86	29	↓			

12.2 Whittemore
12.3 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 9. viii. 35
12.4 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
12.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
12.6 Whittemore
13.1 H. Weller 2. vii. 69
W. 15–16, T. 22, R. 1822
13.2 Whittemore
13.3 Peirce 1948
13.4 Swiss Collection 1956
13.5 Whittemore
13.6 Peirce 1948
13.7 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
13.8	Æ	6.57	30	↓			
*13.9	Æ	5.52	27	↓	Pellet in inscr. off flan		829–830/1
13.10	Æ	5.44	28	↓			
13.11	Æ	3.57	19	↓	Inscr. off flan		
					Class 2		
					Theophilus and Constantine		
					ΘЄΟFILOSSCONSτ ΑΠτ' Two busts facing, Theophilus on l., bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, Constantine on r., smaller, beardless, wearing loros and crown with cross. Above, cross	Same	830 or 831
*14	Æ	7.58	31	↓	ΘЄΟFILOSSCONS[		

13.8 Schindler 1960

13.9 Whittemore

13.10 Schindler 1960 from Hollschek (Vienna) 1920
Unusually thin flan

13.11 Swiss Collection 1956
The flan is very small, so that most of the inscription and much of the reverse design are off it. The worn condition of the edge suggests that the coin was in circulation in its present condition, but whether it was struck on a flan already cut down, or whether the cutting was done subsequently to make the coin into a half follis, or perhaps to reduce it to the size of a Sicilian follis for circulation in the West, there is nothing to show.

14 H. Weller 2. vii. 69
W. 12, T. 43, R. —
This specimen is the same as that in the Glendining sale of 11. iii. 69, lot 191.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 3		
			Theophilus alone, new follis type		
			ΘЄOFILЧ bASILЧ Half-length figure facing, bearded, wearing loros and tufa decorated with pellets, holding in r. labarum with cross and streamers, in l., gl. cr.	+ΘЄO FILЄAVϹ OVSƬЄSV ПICAS	830/1–842
			(a) Normal type		
*15a.1	Æ 9.04	28 ↓	· · · on tufa, ΘЄOFI′ b[		
*15a.2	Æ 8.58	26 ↓	· · · on tufa, L′ for Ч		
*15a.3	Æ 8.58 pierced	28 ↘	·∴· on tufa		

15 The arrangement here of the coins of Class 3 represents something of a compromise between that worked out by Mr. Bellinger for the first draft of this Catalogue and that proposed by Dr. Metcalf. Bellinger in effect amalgamated Metcalf's Groups A, B, and S, on the ground that "the differences [between them] seem to me less conspicuous than the likeness," and classified the remainder—other than the coins put below under "Uncertain Provincial Mint"—according to varieties of inscription. This seems to me too cavalier a treatment of Metcalf's Group S, the coins of which differ markedly from the others in fabric and in lacking the customary streamers on the labarum, and of two other groups which are easily distinguishable from the others. I am also less convinced than Mr. Bellinger of the significance of some of the varieties of inscription, apart from distinguishing between dies. What I have therefore done is to amalgamate these with his main group, but have separated from the latter such coins as seem on objective criteria to belong together and to form, at the least, recognizable die groupings. I have given references to Metcalf's groups where they seem to me clear.

15a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 20–26, T. 25–27, R. 1823–5
Metcalf A. Crude lettering and irregular edges

15a.2 Whittemore
Metcalf A

15a.3 Peirce 1948 from Ciani x. 25
Metcalf B. Rounded flan and good workmanship

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*15a.4	Æ	8.14	29	↘	⁘ on tufa, L′ for ⊔		830/1–842
*15a.5	Æ	8.04	28	↓	··⁘·· on tufa, ⁘ instead of cross on labarum. Ends bASILЄ′		
*15a.6	Æ	7.86	28	↙	··⁘·· on tufa		
*15a.7	Æ	7.83	29	↓	··⁘·· on tufa, L′ for ⊔		
15a.8	Æ	7.57	28	↙	Tufa obscure, L′ for ⊔		
*15a.9	Æ	7.55	28	↙	··⁘·· on tufa, L′ for ⊔		
15a.10	Æ	7.35	28	↓	··⁘·· on tufa, ΘЄOFII′ [b]ASIL′		
*15a.11	Æ	7.26	27	↓	⁘ on tufa, ⁘ instead of cross on labarum, L′ for ⊔		
*15a.12	Æ	6.48	27	↓	··⁘·· on tufa		
*15a.13	Æ	6.48	29	↙	Tufa obscure, ΘЄOFII′ bASI⊔		

15a.4 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vii. 28
Metcalf A
15a.5 Whittemore
Metcalf A
15a.6 Whittemore
Metcalf A
15a.7 Whittemore
Metcalf —. It has the leftward-curving fingers on globus of his Group Γ, but does not resemble this in other respects.
15a.8 Whittemore
Metcalf A
15a.9 Whittemore
Metcalf A
15a.10 Whittemore
Metcalf A (?)
15a.11 Whittemore
Metcalf B (?)
15a.12 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 1935
Metcalf B
15a.13 Schindler 1960
Metcalf A

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*15a.14	Æ	6.22	29	↙	··∴·· on tufa, ΘЄOFIL′ bASIL/		830/1–842
15a.15	Æ	6.01	26	↓	∴ on tufa, ΘЄOFIL/ bASIL′		
*15a.16	Æ	5.87	29	↓	∴ on tufa, L′ for L/		
*15a.17	Æ	4.46	25	↓	· · ·(?) on tufa, ΘЄOFI′ bASIL/		
					(b) Squat figure		
*15b	Æ	6.61	27	↓	∴ on tufa, ∴ instead of cross on labarum, ΘЄOFIL′ bASIL/		
					(c) No loros end		
15c.1	Æ	8.07	29	↓	∴ on tufa, ΘЄO[ ] bASIL′		
*15c.2	Æ	7.97	29	↙	∴. on tufa, ΘЄOEL bASIL/		
*15c.3	Æ	5.70	29	↓	Tufa obscure, ΘЄOEL bASIL′		

15a.14 Whittemore
Metcalf A

15a.15 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
Metcalf A

15a.16 Whittemore
Metcalf B var.

15a.17 Whittemore
Metcalf A

15b Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
Metcalf E. This belongs to a group of closely related dies, as can be seen from Metcalf's illustrations—the design of Theophilus' right arm is extraordinary and quite characteristic—but I see no justification for making it a separate mint.

15c.1 Schindler 1960
Metcalf B var. The end of the labarum which normally hangs over the emperor's left arm is completely absent. Where the inscription is fully legible, as on the next two coins, there is a kind of double abbreviation mark following ΘЄOFI.

15c.2 Whittemore
Metcalf B var.

15c.3 Peirce from Ciani 11. vi. 26
Metcalf B var.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(d) No streamers to labarum		830/1–842
15d.1	Æ	8.64	30	↙	⁘ on tufa, ΘЄOFI bASII		
*15d.2	Æ	7.89	30	↘	⁘ on tufa, ΘЄOF bASI		
*15d.3	Æ	7.39	29	↙	⁘ on tufa, ΘЄOFI bASI Same die as 15d.7	Same die as 15d.7	
15d.4	Æ	7.11	27	↓	Tufa obscure, ΘЄOFI bA[		
*15d.5	Æ	6.79	27	↙	⁘ on tufa, ΘЄOFI bASI		
15d.6	Æ	6.40	30	↓	⁘ on tufa, ΘЄOFII bASII		
15d.7	Æ	6.35	28	↓	⁘ on tufa, ΘЄOFI bASI Same die as 15d.3	Same die as 15d.3	
					HALF FOLLIS		
					Same inscr. and type, but labarum with ⁘ instead of cross		

15d.1–3 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
Metcalf S (in part). Metcalf puts in his Class S a number of variants, not represented here, which I personally would not put in the same group. For the coins here, where peculiarities in design are reinforced by a much rougher fabric, I would be prepared to accept a mint other than Constantinople, though I have no suggestions to make regarding its identity. Although the five coins here are all from the Whittemore Collection, they differ in color and incrustation, and I doubt if any two of them were found together.

15d.4 Swiss Collection 1956

15d.5–7 Whittemore

16 These are Metcalf's Group Δ, which he takes to be folles struck at Thessalonica. I agree with Bellinger that the obvious difference in size must be given precedence over the smaller differences in pattern on which Metcalf insists. Since coins of the two sizes were in circulation together, as the Corinth excavations show them to have been, it is impossible to believe that they had the same value attached to them. Some of the specimens here are noticeably smaller than others, and struck with smaller dies, but they are too heavy to be regarded as quarter or even third folles. Possibly a reduction in weight took place while the coin was being issued.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Normal loros, nothing in field		830/1–842
*16a.1	Æ	5.13	24	↓	∴ on tufa, ΘЄOFIL/ bASIL′		
*16a.2	Æ	4.87	25	↓	··· on tufa, ΘЄOFIL/ bASIL′		
*16a.3	Æ	3.61	26	↓	Tufa obscure, L′ for L/		
					(b) Reversed loros, nothing in field		
*16b.1	Æ	5.07	24	↓	···· on tufa, ∴ on labarum, L′ for L/		
*16b.2	Æ	5.05	24	↓	Tufa obscure, L′ for L/		
*16b.3	Æ	4.34	23	↙	··· on tufa		
*16b.4	Æ	3.35	22	↓	Tufa obscure, ΘЄOFI bASI[		
*16b.5	Æ	3.21	21	↙	Tufa obscure, ΘЄOFI′ bASI[		
*16b.6	Æ	3.01	21	↓	∵ on tufa		
*16b.7	Æ	2.95	22	↓	··· on tufa, ΘЄOFI bASII		

16a.1 Peirce 1948
W. 27–29, T. 28, R. 1826
16a.2 Swiss Collection 1956
16a.3 Schindler 1960
This coin is struck on an unusually thin flan.
16b Metcalf remarks on this variety with the loros going first over the emperor's right shoulder instead of his left, but does not make of it a separate class. The change in design must be purely an error, for the end of the loros continues to hang over the emperor's left arm.
16b.1 Schindler 1966 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 1936
W. —, T. —, R. —
16b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
16b.3–4 Whittemore
16b.5 Swiss Collection 1956
Coarse work and lettering
16b.6–7 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
17.6	Æ 5.00	28 ↙			830/1–842
17.7	Æ 4.10 cut down	20 ↓	] bA[	Outer letters off flan	
			Sicily		
			Class I		
			Theophilus alone, with imperial title, inscr. preceded by ✱		
			SOLIDUS		
			✱ΘEOFI LOSbASIL Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on triangle, holding in r. hand cross potent	ΘEOFI LOSbASIL Similar bust to obv., but wearing loros and holding in r. hand gl. cr.	829–*c.* 830
*18.1	Ꞡ 3.85	17 ↓			
*18.2	Ꞡ 3.85	17 ↘	Elongated face	Elongated face	
			SEMISSIS		
			✱ΘEO ⊢ILOSbA Same type, but gl. cr. in r. hand	ΘEO ⊢ILOSbA Same type	
*19.1	Ꞡ 1.85	13 ↓			
*19.2	Ꞡ 1.79	14 ↓	Elongated face	Elongated face	
*19.3	Ꞡ 1.78	13 ↓		⊏ for ⊢	

17.6 Whittemore
17.7 Swiss Collection 1956
This has been cut down to make a half follis.
18.1 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. p. 424, note 1, T. 9, R. —, Ricotti 224
18.2 Hess-Bank Leu sale 5. v. 65, lot 528
19.1 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. 34, T. 14, R. —, Ricotti 227
19.2 Whittemore
19.3 Schindler 1960 from Schulman 14. i. 37

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*16b.8	Æ	1.97	18	↓	∴ on tufa,]FIL′ bASIL′	Struck with follis die, so outer letters off flan	830/1–842
					(c) Reversed loros, cross in lower obv. field r.		
*16c	Æ	3.59	26	↙	··· on tufa, ΘEOFI bASIL		
					Uncertain Provincial Mint		
					FOLLIS		
					Same inscription and type as follis of Constantinople, but crude workmanship (tufa with ∴, labarum without streamers)	Same inscription as follis of Constantinople, but clumsy lettering	
*17.1	Æ	8.20	28	↓	]EOFIL bASIL		
*17.2	Æ	7.05	29	↙			
*17.3	Æ	6.64	27	↙		Neat lettering	
*17.4	Æ	6.17	27	↙	]L bASIL		
*17.5	Æ	6.17	27	↙			

16b.8 Whittemore
Struck on a very thin flan. It may be a contemporary counterfeit.

16c Whittemore
W. 30, T. —, R. —

17 The crudely designed and executed coins of this class were unknown to Wroth. Mr. Bellinger and I, when classifying the series in 1954, attributed them to an uncertain provincial mint without attempting to identify it. They correspond to Metcalf's Group Z, which he believes may be the product of a mint in central Greece, but I do not think that evidence for localization is sufficient. No. 17.3 is anomalous in that while the obverse is of the same style as the others, the reverse is from a normal die of Constantinopolitan style.

17.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, T. 29, R. —

17.3 Shaw 1947

17.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928

17.5 Peirce 1948 from Ciani x. 25

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscription Same type, but cross potent in r. hand	829–*c.* 830
*20	Ꝗ 1.09	11 ↓		F for Ꝗ	
			Class II		
			Theophilus with (Michael and) Constantine		
			SOLIDUS		
			+ΘЄOFI LOSbASILЄ Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand patriarchal cross, in l., akakia	+MIXAHLSCONSTANT Two busts facing, Michael II on l., bearded, Constantine on r., smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Above heads, cross	*c.* 830/1
*(21)	Ꝗ 3.9	17 ↓	(T. 35, Ricotti 237)		

20 Peirce 1948 from Spink v. 31
W. 41, T. 18, R. —, Ricotti 231

(21) Tolstoi's specimen came from the Montagu collection, and there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. Ricotti illustrates a different specimen, but does not state its whereabouts. There were four in the hoard from which Nos. 18.1, 19.1, and others came. D. O. has a specimen, acquired from Bank Leu 19. viii. 58, which is illustrated by Bellinger, *art. cit.* (above, p. 417, note 31), Pl. XXXII. 4 (pp. 135–6), but in my judgment it is a forgery. The texture of the surface is different from that of genuine coins, the style is wooden and lifeless, and the weight is 4.38 g., much too heavy for a Sicilian solidus of this period. It appears, however, to be from the same dies as the coin illustrated by Ricotti, though the circular border of pellets is complete, which is not the case with his. Whether both are forgeries, or whether the D. O. specimen is made from dies prepared with the help of a genuine coin, I do not presume to say.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			SEMISSIS		
			+ΘЄO ЬILOSbЄ Same type, but globe surmounted by patriarchal cross in r. hand	CON STANTI Bust facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr. with pellet on either side of cross	*c.* 830/1
*22	Æ 1.77	13 ↓			
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	CON STANTIN Same type, but cross in field replaces gl. cr.	
*(23)	Æ 1.23	12	(W. 43, T. 40)		
			Class III		
			Theophilus alone, no imperial title or ✱		
			SOLIDUS		
			ΘЄO ЬILOS Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross on triangle, holding in r. hand gl. cr.	ΘЄ OЬILOS Similar bust to obv., but wearing loros and holding in r. hand cross potent	831–842

22 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —

(23) Wroth, who accidentally describes this coin as a semissis, assumes that there was a globus, off flan, beneath the cross of the reverse, but Tolstoi's illustration makes it plain that there is simply a cross in the field. One would expect Constantine to be holding a cross potent. There is another specimen of this rare coin at Berlin.

24 The style and fabric of these solidi are identical with that of the solidi of Michael II's reign and differ markedly from that of Classes I and II. It is only with much hesitation, therefore, that I place them after these.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*24.1	Æ	3.89	16	↓			831–842
*24.2	Æ	3.88	17	↓			
*24.3	Æ	3.88	16	↓			
					Contemporary Imitations		
					Same inscr. and type, but much blundered	Same inscr. and type, but much blundered	
*25.1	Æ	3.38	16	↓	ΘΕΟ ⊏ΙLOΓ	ΘΕ OCΙLOΓ	
*25.2	Æ	3.39	14	↓	ΘΕΟ ⊏ΙLOΓ	ΘΕ O⊏ΙLOC backwards	
*25.3	Æ	3.63	13	↓	]ΕO ⊦ΙLO′	ΘΕ O⊦ΙL[	
*25.4	Æ	3.44	12	↓	ΘΕ[	ΘΕ O⊦[	
					SEMISSIS		
					ΘΕΟ ⊏ΙLOS Same type as solidus	ΘΕΟ ⊏ΙLOS Same type as solidus, but emp. holds gl. cr. instead of cross potent	
					(a) Face of traditional shape		
*26a.1	Æ	1.77	13	↓			
*26a.2	Æ	1.61	13	↓			

24.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31
W. 31, T. 10, R. —, Ricotti 225

24.2 Peirce 1948

24.3 Swiss Collection 1956

25 These crude coins would normally be excluded from the catalogue, since they cannot be classed as imperial issues, but in this case they come from a hoard associated with a large number of perfectly genuine coins. They are arranged not in the usual order of declining weight but in that of declining module, since this roughly corresponds to their increasing degree of barbarization. On the second two coins, which are very thick and small, most of the inscription and a great part of the type are off flan. The letters are usually badly formed and can be only approximately reproduced.

25.1–4 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel 11. xi. 60 from a hoard
W. —, T. —, R. —, Ricotti —

26–27 The final S of Theophilus' name has on these coins a form approximating to ς, or even to C, with a virtual elimination of the lower loop.

26a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 35, T. 11, 13, R. —, Ricotti 228

26a.2 Schindler 1960 from Schulman 1923

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) Emaciated face		831–842
*26b	Ꝗ 1.79	12 ↓			
			(c) Emaciated face, Λ for L in ΘΕΟCΙΛOS		
*26c.1	Ꝗ 1.78	12 ↓			
*26c.2	Ꝗ 1.74 base gold	13 ↓			
*26c.3	Ꝗ 1.69 base gold	13 ↓		OS off flan	
			TREMISSIS		
			Same inscr. and type	ΘΕ OCILOS Same type, but emp. holds cross potent instead of gl. cr.	
			(a) Face of traditional shape		
*27a.1	Ꝗ 1.27	12 ↓		OS off flan	
*27a.2	Ꝗ 1.23	12 ↓			
*27a.3	Ꝗ 1.23	12 ↓			
*27a.4	Ꝗ 1.15	12 ↓		ꝶ for C	

26b Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. 1818–19, Ricotti —
The gold of this coin has a slightly reddish tinge, from copper in the alloy.
26c.1 Schindler 1960 from Schulman 14. i. 37
W. 36–40, T. 12, R. —, Ricotti —
The gold seems of fairly good quality.
26c.2 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. viii. 29
Heavily alloyed with copper
26c.3 Whittemore
Heavily alloyed with copper
27a.1 Schindler 1960 from Ricotti 1932
W. 42, T. 17, R. —, Ricotti —
27a.2 Whittemore
27a.3 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. viii. 29
27a.4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Emaciated face		831–842
*27b.1	N	1.14	11	↓	OS off flan		
*27b.2	N	1.02	11	↓			
					FOLLIS		
					Class 1		
					Theophilus alone, with ✱ in reverse type		
					ΘEO ƚILOSbAS Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand patriarchal cross	M Above, ✱ X N To l., Θ To r., Θ X N Beneath, cross	829–*c.* 830
*(28)	Æ	4.40	19	↓	(BM = Ricotti 236)		
					Class 2		
					Theophilus with Michael and Constantine		
					ΘEO FILOSbAS Same, but Theophilus holds in r. hand cross potent on base	+MIXAHLSCONST Two busts facing, Michael on l., bearded, Constantine on r., smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Above heads, ✱	830/1–842

27b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. 16, R. —, Ricotti 232
This coin and the next are unusually light, even for Sicilian coins. They seem to be of fairly good quality gold.

27b.2 Whittemore

(28) The ✱ on the reverse links this with Class I of the gold.

29 The distinctions between the busts, and the difficulties over the chronology, are discussed above, p. 421. The base of the cross potent held by Theophilus is usually off flan, but is sometimes visible, e.g., on No. 29a.3.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Normal bust		830/1–842
29a.1	Æ	4.51	20	↓		+MIX[	
29a.2	Æ	3.93	19	↓	ΘЄ[	]MIXAHLSCON	
*29a.3	Æ	3.82	21	↓	Θ[ ]LOSbAS		
29a.4	Æ	3.71	19	↓	]LOSbAS	]CONST	
*29a.5	Æ	3.65	20	↓		+MIXAHLSC[	
*29a.6	Æ	3.01	20	↓	ΘЄO [ ]OSbAS	]MIXAHLSCO	
*29a.7	Æ	2.90	18	↓	ΘЄO [	]MIXAHLSCON[	
					(b) Small busts, Theophilus with domed crown		
*29b	Æ	2.33	16	↓	ΘЄO ЕILOS[	]MIX[ ]ONST ✱ not visible	
					(c) Small busts with domed crowns and emaciated faces		
*29c	Æ	1.86	16	↓	ΘЄ[	+MI [ ]	

29a.1 Whittemore
W. 49–51, T. 42, R. 1835, Ricotti 239
29a.2 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 1935
29a.3 Swiss Collection 1956 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1835
29a.4 Peirce 1948 from Egger
29a.5 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Stefan (Graz) 1935
29a.6 Whittemore
29a.7 Swiss Collection 1956
29b Schindler 1960
W. 52, T. —, R. 1837, Ricotti —
Either a much reduced follis or a half follis. Bellinger believed that there was a cross instead of a star above the heads on the reverse, but this part of the coin is corroded and nothing at all is visible. Wroth (p. 427, note 1) records a variety with a cross, but in error. The coin to which he alludes (Montagu Cat., lot 1216) is the solidus described above, No. 21.
29c Ars et Nummus (Milan) 28. ix. 61
W. —, T. —, R. —
Either a much reduced follis or a half follis. There can never have been a full inscription on the reverse. Probably it had +MI beside Michael's head—this is visible, and is all there is room for—and CON or something similar beside Constantine's. One would expect coins with this type of imperial face only very late in the reign, hence my doubts regarding the order of Classes 2 and 3.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 3 Theophilus alone, traditional reverse type		
					ΘЄOFI LOSbASI Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.	M Above, cross X N To l., X To r., N X N Beneath, Θ	830/1–842
*30.1	Æ	4.72	19	↓			
*30.2	Æ	3.66	20	↘			
30.3	Æ	3.65	20	↓	] LOSbASI		
30.4	Æ	3.38	21	↙			
*30.5	Æ	3.21	20	↓	ΘЄ[ ]ASI		
*30.6	Æ	3.16	19	↓	]FI LOSbASI		
*30.7	Æ	2.97	17	↓	ΘЄO [		
30.8	Æ	2.94	19	↓			
*30.9	Æ	2.45	21	↘	ΘЄOFI LOSb[Thin flan		
*30.10	Æ	2.40	19	↙	ΘЄOFI [		

30 Despite the wide weight range in this series I have preferred, though with some hesitation, to treat them all as folles. The M's of the reverse types vary somewhat in height, and even more in shape, some being narrow and rigidly vertical and others broad, with a tendency for the uprights to splay outward below. The only variety of inscription is on 30.7, where to the left of the crown on the emperor's head there are only the letters ΘЄO (instead of ΘЄOFI), but though this is linked with a small reverse the obverse die must have been of the usual follis size, the impression being in part missing because of the small, irregularly shaped flan. The low weight of some coins is due to their being struck on very coarsely shaped or unusually thin flans.

30.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
W. 44–46, T. 24, R. 1829, Ricotti 242

30.2 Whittemore

30.3 Schindler 1960

30.4 Whittemore

30.5 Peirce 1948 from Raymond viii. 28

30.6 Whittemore

30.7 Schindler 1960

30.8 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1928

30.9 Schindler 1960

30.10 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
30.11	Æ	2.33	21	↘	Thin flan		830/1–842
30.12	Æ	2.11	16	↓	ΘЄOFI L[		
					Naples (?)		
					Class I		
					Theophilus alone		
					✱ΘЄOFI LOSbASILЄ Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., cross	CVRIЄbOHΘHƆOSO ∂OVLO Patriarchal cross above three steps	829–*c.* 831
					(a) Superior style		
*31a.1	N	4.57	21	↓		At end, ✱X	
*(31a.2)	N		22		(ANS Museum)	At end, ✱X	
					(b) Debased style		
*31b	N	3.78 base	22	↘	Λ for A	At end, ✱Є	

30.11 Whittemore

30.12 Peirce 1948 from Raymond viii. 28
Either clipped or struck on a very small flan.

31–32 For the attribution to Naples see above, pp. 421–3. The coins are all of base gold, though without the heavy admixture of copper which is characteristic of Sicilian "gold" coins from the late 830's onward. The color shows that there is some copper present, however, in 31c.2 and 31d.

31a.1 Schindler 1960 from Münzhandlung Basel 4. i. 36
W. —, T. —, R. —
I include this with some hesitation, since its authenticity is open to question. See above, p. 422.

(31a.2) On this coin, see above, p. 422.

31b Whittemore
W. 53 (with Є), T. —, R. —
The C is a die-sinker's error for Є. The cross scepter on this and the following coins is so ill designed that it appears to emerge from the emperor's left shoulder.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*31c.1	Ꝗ 4.19 base	21 ↙	Pellet on globus. A for A	At end, ✱C	829–*c.* 831
31c.2	Ꝗ 4.17 base	23 ↓	Pellet on globus. Form of A obscure	At end, ✱Є	
*31d	Ꝗ 4.10 base	23 ↙	Begins • ✱ Three pellets on globus	At end, • Є	
			(c) Debased style, objects in rev. field		
(31e)	Ꝗ 4.21 base	24	(W. 55 = T. 8) Begins —Є	At end, Є Star in upper l. field	
(31f)	Ꝗ 4.32 base	22	(T. 7) Begins Θ	At end Є Two stars in upper field	
(31g)	Ꝗ 4.06 base	21	(T. 6) Begins —Θ	At end, • Є Two pellets in upper field	
			Class II		
			Theophilus, Michael II, and Constantine		
			ΘЄOFI LO2bA2ILЄ Bust facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr., in l., akakia	Blundered inscription Bust facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand patriarchal cross, in l., akakia	*c.* 831–842
			(a) Mule with reverse of Nicephorus I		
(32)	Ꝗ 3.99 base	20	(W. 58 = T. 46)	ΛIC IOЄ2POHЄ	

31c.1 Whittemore
W. 54, T. 4 (lacks initial ✱ on obv.), 5, R. —

31c.2 Schindler 1960 from Schulman

31d Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —

(31f) This coin, not illustrated by Tolstoi, was in the Consul Weber Sale Cat., II. 3224. Tolstoi gives the weight as 4.4 g.

32–33 On the inscriptions and types of these coins, see above, pp. 422–3. Their workmanship is deplorable. The globus has usually the shape of a horseshoe, with no sign of the hand supposed

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) Michael and Constantine reverses		*c.* 831–842
*33a.1	Ꝗ 4.20 base	20 ↘		MIXΛIILƧC OHƧTΛN TN	
*33a.2	Ꝗ 4.18 base	18 ↘		MXΛIICƧOH ƧTΛNTIN	
*33a.3	Ꝗ 4.11 base	20 ↓	Ends IIЄ	MIXΛHIƧC ONƧTΛHT II	
*33a.4	Ꝗ 3.99 base	20 ↓	Ends Є •	MIXΛHLSC OHƧTΛH TIN	

to be holding it, and the fibula and its three pendants are often quite separate from the chlamys. It is impossible to say whether either of the effigies is meant to be bearded.

(32) Wroth rather hesitatingly accepts Sabatier's attribution of this coin to Theophilus and Michael III, while arguing that the reverse inscription simply reproduces that of Nicephorus (ΛIC IOЄƧPOHЄ, from NIC IFOROSbASILЄ?). I suspect that it is an actual mule, struck with a die of Nicephorus' reign and produced before the mint had decided how best to cope with the "Michael and Constantine" problem.

33a.1 Peirce 1948
W. 56–57, T. 36–37, R. —

33a.2 Schindler 1960 from Schulman 9. v. 36

33a.3 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31

33a.4 Swiss Collection 1956

MICHAEL III the Drunkard[1]

20 January 842 – 23 September 867

Co-emperor since 840 (probably 16 May)

Colleague: Basil I (from 26 May 866)

Background and Coinage

"Michael III," as Bury has aptly written, "reigned for a quarter of a century, but he never governed. During the greater part of his life he was too young; when he reached a riper age he had neither the capacity nor the desire." He was only two years old when his father died on 20 January 842. The regency devolved, by constitutional custom, on the boy's mother Theodora, but Theophilus before his death had appointed two further regents, her uncle Manuel, the chief Magister, and Theoctistus, the Logothete τοῦ δρόμου. Manuel, like other members of Theodora's family, and in particular her highly capable brother Bardas, was kept in the background, and for fourteen years the affairs of the Empire were managed, with a high degree of competence, by Theodora and Theoctistus. Michael was a feeble character, easily dominated by others, and his "minority" was prolonged well beyond the time customarily allowed by Roman law. It was ended in the spring of 856 by a coup d'état organized by Bardas, who murdered Theoctistus, proclaimed that Michael would henceforward rule as sole emperor (μόνος αὐτοκρατορεῖ), and in fact seized power for himself. Theodora remained in the Palace for a further two years, but Bardas feared her influence and in 858 she was immured with her daughters in a nunnery. Eight years later Bardas, who was created Caesar in 862, was overthrown by a plot organized by Basil, an erstwhile groom who had risen by Michael's favor to the rank of High Chamberlain. Bardas was murdered on 21 April 866, and a month later, on 26 May (Whitsunday), Michael crowned Basil co-emperor. Their uneasy joint reign lasted less than a year and a half. Basil had good reason to fear his colleague's inconstancy, and had no desire to see himself supplanted by another favorite, while Michael's own character seems to have so far deteriorated that his continuance in office became a danger to the state. The upshot was his murder on the night of 23/24 September 867 and the accession of Basil to sole power.

The reliability of the traditional picture of Michael's character and reign has been questioned by recent scholars, since we see him almost exclusively through the eyes of writers who on personal or other grounds wished to present Basil's usurpation in a favorable

[1] See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I* (London, 1912), 154–79.

light.[2] The reaction has perhaps gone too far. Much of the material, particularly that of a personal nature, we cannot check, but Michael's political defects are apparent. Assassination as a method of replacing one minister by another was not a normal practice even in Byzantium. The successive murders of Theoctistus and Bardas find their most obvious parallels in the deaths of Stilicho and Aetius, and neither Honorius nor Valentinian III has a high reputation as a ruler. Michael's arrangements for the succession were in the highest degree irresponsible. Theophilus promoted Alexius Musele to the rank of Caesar because he had abandoned hope of Theodora producing a male heir, a justification which Michael lacked when conferring the same rank on Bardas. More foolish still was his treatment of Basil. He created him Augustus, not simply Caesar, and then ostentatiously denied him the place on the gold and silver coinage of the capital to which as co-Augustus he could reasonably aspire. Even if we discount the story of his impulsive threat to replace him as co-emperor by Basiliskianos,[3] this denial alone must have been a permanent reminder to Basil of the precariousness of his position and an encouragement, with a character so unscrupulous, to rid himself of the benefactor to whom he owed his fortune.

Michael, at least in form, had no children, and certainly had none by his lawful wife, but the domestic arrangements of the court were so peculiar that the parentage of the future Emperor Leo VI remains in doubt. In his early teens Michael had a love affair with a lady of beauty and character, Eudocia Ingerina, and in the hope of bringing it to an end Theodora married him, possibly in 855, to another Eudocia, of whom we know virtually nothing. When Michael escaped his mother's tutelage he sought to "regularize" the position by inducing Basil to divorce his own wife Maria and marry Eudocia Ingerina, who thus obtained a formal position at court and in fact remained Michael's mistress. Basil for his part was consoled by the attentions of the Empress Thecla, who had displayed no aptitude for a religious life and had re-emerged from her nunnery sometime in the late 850's. Eudocia Ingerina had two children, Constantine and Leo, born to her before Michael's death, and though they were officially Basil's sons it was generally believed that they were Michael's. Basil's own attitude toward them suggests that he supposed Constantine to be his own son and Leo to be Michael's, and Leo may well have thought the same thing.[4] Such judgments would presumably have been based on personal resemblances and traits of character, matters on which contemporaries were in a better position to judge than we are. In any event, Michael's wife Eudocia never appears on the coinage—since she had no children, she may not have been formally an Augusta—and coins showing Eudocia Ingerina belong to the reign of Basil.

Michael's coinage was struck at three mints, Constantinople, Syracuse, and Cherson. The great bulk, as usual, came from Constantinople. Syracuse continued to mint throughout the reign, and indeed was the only place to issue gold coins on which Basil was associated with Michael as co-emperor, but much of Sicily had by now been lost to the Saracens and the need for coinage was appreciably less. Cherson was added to the number of mints, a distinction which it had not enjoyed since the seventh century, but the character

[2] Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (1969), 223–32, and authorities there cited.
[3] Bury, *op. cit.*, 176–7.
[4] See further below, p. 507.

of its output suggests that local initiative rather than central direction was at work.

Michael's coinage as a whole presents a number of unusual features. At Constantinople there are the coins of the regency, on which Michael is associated first with Theodora and Thecla, then with Theodora alone. There is the revival of a representation of Christ on the coins, which altered the whole appearance of Byzantine coins for the future. On the silver coinage there is the use of a novel title, that of μέγας βασιλεύς. In the copper there is first the total absence of any ascertainable issues for the first twenty-four years of the reign, followed by a brief issue of folles on which Michael and Basil are given the wholly unexpected Latin titles of *imperator* and *rex*.

The coinage of the regency, as it can be loosely termed, does not quite conform to this title. It allowed no role to Theodora's two co-regents, Manuel and Theoctistus, since they had not imperial rank. Coins associating Michael with his mother one might expect, even if the only recent precedent—the joint coinage of Irene and Constantine VI—would hardly have been reassuring. Thecla's presence on the solidi and miliaresia of Class I is more curious, for she seems to have had no particular role assigned to her under Theophilus' will,[5] and when Michael was proclaimed in the Circus in January 842, his name was associated with that of Theodora only.[6] Moreover, although she was the eldest daughter, her title of Augusta was one that she probably shared with her younger sisters.[7] It is possible, however, that she was subsequently, in some formal way, associated as regent, for the *Acta* of the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorium also link her as co-ruler with Michael and Theodora.[8] Her disappearance from the solidi of Class I was in any case a matter of practical convenience—there was no longer room for her on the coin—not one of protocol, for she remained on Class I of the miliaresia, which outlasted Class I of the solidi. Theodora's own place on the coins was limited to the period of her regency. Although she presumably lost her rank of Augusta when she was relegated to a nunnery in 858, she seems to have reassumed it, at least as a courtesy title, when she was subsequently allowed her freedom, but she does not reappear on the coins.

The revival of the bust of Christ on the gold coinage must have required some research on the part of the mint, since the design was copied from that of Justinian II's first reign and, as on the earlier occasion, its use was limited to the gold.[9] It is not clear why the "classical" head of Christ was chosen in preference to the "Syrian" Christ of Justinian's second reign. It may have been a matter of chance—the second type was perhaps not known—or it may have been through a preference, very natural on a coin, for the "ruler" over the "savior" image, more particularly if it was that used for the icon of the Christ of Chalkê.[10] The text of the Acts of the Council of 843 which restored images, and whose

[5] Genesius, Bonn ed., p. 77.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 78. The statement made in some modern works, that the crowd attempted to proclaim Manuel emperor, seems to be without foundation.

[7] Above, p. 407.

[8] *Skazaniya o 42 Amoriiskikh muchenikakh i tserkonovnaya sluzhba im.*, ed. V. Vasilevski and P. Nikitin (*Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*[8], VII. 2 [1905], 52: 6 March 845 is dated βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεωδώρας καὶ Θέκλης).

[9] The few silver coins of Justinian on which it appears were struck with solidus dies.

[10] See Introduction, pp. 160–1.

precise terms might have thrown some light on the subject, has unfortunately not survived. Theodora had moved very cautiously in the matter, since she was anxious to ensure that the bishops did not condemn the memory of her late husband, and the formal restoration of images did not take place until 11 March 843, the first Sunday in Lent, which was to be celebrated in the future as the Feast of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, or the Feast of Orthodoxy as it was more commonly called.[11] We do not know how much time elapsed before the new type appeared on the coins, but it may well have been before the end of 843. The religious appeal of the new coin type is self-evident, and it was no doubt intended to play a part in combatting the prejudices aroused by the Iconoclasts. Its propaganda value might even be effective beyond the imperial frontiers. A curious memorial to the success of the Byzantine mission to Greater Moravia came to light in 1957, when a solidus of Michael's Class III was found in the mouth of a skeleton from the cemetery of the church at Mikulčice, which dates from that period.[12]

The title of μέγας βασιλεύς appears only on Class III of Michael's miliaresia, the second to be issued in his name alone. On the preceding class he uses the epithets ἐκ θεοῦ and πιστός, as his father had done, but at some date unknown, between 856 and 867, he dropped ἐκ θεοῦ and replaced it by μέγας (βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων). This title was one for which Michael seems to have had a certain predilection; it is used in a dated inscription of his reign as early as A.M. 6366 = A.D. 858, and he is addressed as πιστὸς καὶ μέγας βασιλεύς in Photius' homilies.[13] Grégoire's inference from the inscriptions—that it was first used by Michael and was intended to assert his superiority to the Frankish emperors in the West[14]—cannot be sustained, for the term was in use both before and after him, either with the technical meaning of the senior of two associate emperors or in the more general sense of "great." There is no doubt that the miliaresia with the title of μέγας belong to the last years of the reign. Their comparative rarity, coupled with the fact that Basil is never personally mentioned on the silver, where the tradition of association was exceptionally strong, suggests that they were in fact introduced in 866, and that while Michael was asserting himself as senior emperor he was deliberately leaving uncertain the future of Basil. Once again, he was playing with fire.

The absence of any Eastern copper coinage assignable either to the regency or to the sole reign of Michael is difficult to explain. The dated coinage of earlier centuries shows

[11] E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, 1930), 212–17; A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), 203 ff. I am somewhat sceptical of Grabar's suggestion (45, 209–10), on the basis of a reference in the Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Theophilus (143–4), that the solidi of Justinian II were taken for coins of Constantine.

[12] This coin has now been published a number of times. Outside the general archeological studies see J. Poulík, "Byzantská misie ve Velké Moravě," *Časopis Narodniho Muzea*, 132 (1963), 121–4, V. Vavřinek, "'Charónův obolos' na Velké Moravé," *Numismatické Listy*, 25 (1971), 33–41, and the same author's briefer summary in English, "A Byzantine 'Charon's Obol' in a Great Moravian Grave," *Numismatic Review*, 8 (1967), 50–3.

[13] H. Grégoire, "Inscriptions historiques byzantines," *Byzantion*, 4 (1927/8), 446, and cf. 441–2; C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 188, 311. There is a full discussion of the history and significance of the term in G. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I," *DOP*, 15 (1961), 61–3.

[14] Grégoire, "Michel III et Basile le Macédonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre," *Byzantion*, 5 (1929/30), 344–6.

the annual minting of copper to have been customary, even if the quantity issued may have varied greatly from year to year. In the late seventh and early eighth centuries we often cannot establish complete sequences, and later coins are completely undated, so there may have been short gaps, but there can never have been one that lasted for a quarter of a century. The alternative possibilities are that the issues of Theophilus' reformed coinage were so large that no new ones were necessary, or that Theophilus' folles were immobilized and continued to be struck in his name during most of the reign of his successor. Both would have been contrary to precedent, and it is impossible, on the evidence at present available, to decide between them.

The rare Eastern folles of Michael all belong to the years 866–7. They show the bust of Michael on one face, that of Basil on the other, and both emperors wearing the same costume and holding the same insignia but Michael entitled IMPERAT' and Basil REX. The use of Latin in the inscription, and in particular the terms *imperator* and *rex*, led earlier scholars to suppose that the coins must have been struck in Italy, but their fabric, lettering, and style are purely Eastern[15] and their Constantinopolitan origin is now generally acknowledged. The explanation of the inscription, as was pointed out some years ago,[16] was an apparent wish to demonstrate the survival of a knowledge of Latin at the imperial court, which had been cast in doubt, not without reason, in a somewhat impertinent papal letter of 865.[17] The use of *rex* for the junior emperor is a touch as unexpected as it is felicitous, since *Caesar* was excluded by the fact of its having become a specialized title at Constantinople inferior to that of the junior *basileus*.

CONSTANTINOPLE

SOLIDI. Three classes of solidi were issued. Class I has the busts of Theodora, Michael, and Thecla, Class II those of Christ, Michael, and Theodora, and Class III only those of Christ and Michael. The precise chronology is not certain. The transition from Class II to Class III presumably occurred in 856, when Theodora ceased to be regent and was eliminated from any role in government. Wroth suggests "852 (?) or earlier" for the introduction of Class II, since Michael would then have been thirteen years old and he is shown on the coins as an adolescent, not a small child. Such indications of age, however, are never a reliable guide to dating in Byzantine numismatics, and it may be doubted if the authorities would have waited for nine years after the restoration of images (March 843) to place that of Christ upon the coins. Solidi of Class I are fairly common, but the unusual fact of their being very frequently overstruck on older coins points to a large initial issue made in great haste. I am inclined to believe that Class II was introduced before the end of 843.

[15] A Latin capital M (instead of the more customary M) is used in IMPERAT', no doubt intentionally, though a square E and an A with a horizontal cross-bar were apparently beyond the resources or the knowledge of the mint.

[16] "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498–c. 1090," *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1961), 440.

[17] Michael, in a lost letter to Pope Nicholas I, had incautiously referred to Latin as a "barbarous and Scythian tongue." The pope retorted by querying the appositeness of the imperial title, *quia ridiculum est vos appellare Romanorum imperatores et tamen linguam non nosse Romanam* (Pope Nicholas I, *Epist.* 88, in *MGH, Epist. karol. aevi*, IV. 459).

The details of the coins require some comment.

Class I. 842–843? These have on one side the facing bust of Theodora, wearing a loros, and on the other those of Michael and Thecla, wearing chlamys and loros respectively, Michael having the place of honor but being represented as much smaller than his sister. The inscription gives Michael and Thecla no titles; Theodora is described as ƆЄSPVПA (δέσποινα). On a number of coins there is an abbreviation mark after the П (ƆЄSPVП'A), indicating that the A was initially not part of the word but a separate control letter—it was perhaps a continuation of the A on the *reverse* of solidi of Theophilus and Michael III (above, p. 416)—but the omission of the abbreviation mark on many dies shows that it was in fact assimilated to the final letter of δέσποινα. The side with Theodora's bust must in any case be regarded as the obverse. Quite apart from the greater prominence given the empress, her name is preceded by a cross and that of Michael on the other side of the coin by a pellet. The same arrangement had occurred on the solidi of Theophilus and Michael III, with a cross marking the seniority of Theophilus.

Though the coins of Class I are well designed the striking is often careless. The earlier solidi on which they are often overstruck are generally of the reigns of Theophilus or Michael II but sometimes go back as far as that of Leo V. Such overstriking of gold is most unusual, since coins become worn, even if only slightly, in circulation, and the issue of underweight specimens of the standard nomisma was from every point of view undesirable. The regents clearly regarded the coinage as a useful means of propaganda, and by publicizing their own role they hoped to circumvent attempts to set up rivals.

The haste with which the coins were put into circulation is also apparent from the many divergences in detail among the dies. Theodora's bust is sometimes large, sometimes small, while Michael and Thecla vary greatly in their relative sizes. The pinnacles on Theodora's crown may be pointed or rounded, while the central one may have a pellet in its interior or be omitted altogether, so that the cross rests directly on the crown. Thecla's crown is even more variable: sometimes there is a central cross but no pinnacles, sometimes a central cross between two pinnacles, sometimes three plain pinnacles with the central one supporting a cross, sometimes the same but with a pellet inside each pinnacle. Thecla's name is sometimes unbroken at the right-hand side of the reverse (MIXAHLS – ΘЄCLA), but is more often divided, with the Θ or the ΘЄ above her head (MIXAHLSΘ – ЄCLA, MIXAHLSΘЄ – CLA). Letter forms differ: A sometimes replaces A in the reverse inscription, 6 interchanges with Ɔ in Theodora's name. That these changes were ordered from above and distinguish between formal issues, or indeed can be fitted into any chronological sequence,[18] seems to me very doubtful. The most that one can hope to do is to isolate particular groups of dies as being probably early—e.g., those with Thecla's name unbroken—and others as probably late, but beyond this one cannot go. Where there is no close control of the details and an issue is only a brief one, a die-sinker will tend to vary his work and may at any moment revert to a pattern he used some weeks earlier. The distinctions made in the text are a fairly obvious breakdown of the main varieties, and are not intended as anything more.

[18] As is argued by M. D. O'Hara, "An Unpublished and Rare Variety of a Solidus of Michael III, and a Suggested Sequence for his First Issue," in D. J. Crowther *Coin List*, No. 1, 1969 (2 pp.). His analysis of the varieties is quite insufficient.

Class II. 843?–856. Coins of this class have on the obverse the bust of Christ and on the reverse those of Michael and Theodora, with Michael occupying the place of honor but rather smaller than his mother. In contrast to the coins of Class I the design is extremely uniform; the sizes of the busts will vary slightly from one die to another, but there are no differences in the lettering or in the details of the types. The minting of the coins was evidently very carefully controlled.

The bust of Christ, as we have seen, goes back to the classical effigy of Justinian II's solidi, but the execution is cruder—the relief is flatter, there is no attempt to distinguish between the planes of the face or to bring out the details of the eye and eyeball—and the inscription is simplified, with the Latin element in it omitted—IhSYS XRISTOS instead of IhS CRISTOS REX REϹNANTIYM. A notably archaic feature is the design of the book-cover; it is simpler than that of Justinian's coin—four rows of two pellets instead of, usually, four rows of three[19]—but is quite different from the quincunx which was to be the normal pattern in the future. The book is held from below, though its lower edge, and indeed the lower pair of pellets, are usually off flan. On worn specimens the hair on Christ's left shoulder gives the impression of having fused with the lines of the pallium, looking as if it were longer than on the other side and hanging in front of the shoulder. This is the result of wear, however, and not, as Breckenridge supposed, of the die-sinker having misunderstood the original design.[20] On well-preserved specimens the lines of the hair and the pallium are distinct and the hair on the left side, though slightly longer than on the right, always stops above the shoulder.

Class III. 856–867. This class requires no comment. The representation of Christ is identical with that of Class II. Michael is shown bearded, though the hatching of the line around his face is usually blurred by wear. The labarum held by the emperor is borrowed from the folles of the preceding reign, and forms an item in the regalia which after a long period of neglect was coming again into fashion. As with Class II, the dies are extremely uniform and no significant varieties exist.

FRACTIONAL GOLD. The only known specimen is a unique semissis of Class III in the British Museum. The design is the same as that of the solidus, but owing to the smaller size of the coin, the akakia and the emperor's left hand have been omitted and a pellet is substituted for the cross in the labarum.

MILIARESION. Three classes of miliaresion were struck—Class I (842–856) in the names of Michael, Theodora, and Thecla, Class II (856–866?) in the name of Michael alone with the epithets ЄC ΘЄY PISTOS, and Class III (866?–867) also in that of Michael alone but with the epithets PISTOS MЄϹAS. Coins of Class III were known to de Saulcy and Sabatier only from a description in Tanini—a specimen was first properly published by the Vicomte B. de Jonghe in 1898[21]—and remain fairly rare. The order of issue is certain, for Class III

[19] Sometimes three or four rows of four pellets—in any case, a varying design, while that of Michael's coins is uniform. Michael's coins never show Christ's hand supporting the book, while on Justinian's coins this is sometimes visible.

[20] Breckenridge, *op. cit.*, 47. On Justinian's coins the hair is usually not quite symmetrical, being longer on Christ's left side than on his right.

[21] "Un millarès au seul nom de Michel III dit 'le Buveur' ou 'l'Ivrogne,' empereur d'Orient (842–867)," *RBN*, 54 (1898), 135–40.

saw two trivial innovations, the placing of four tiny pellets on the innermost circle of dots on the obverse and of a globule beneath the steps of the cross on the reverse, which carry over into the coinage of Basil I. The four pellets are barely visible and had presumably some technical function, perhaps that of assisting the die-sinker to align the inscription correctly.

FOLLIS. The only folles of the reign, those of Michael and Basil, have been discussed already. Both emperors are shown as bearded, Michael because of his technical seniority, Basil because of his greater age. Specimens are usually in very good condition, as if they are survivors of an issue withdrawn from circulation, for reasons one can understand, early in the reign of Basil I.

SYRACUSE

Michael's Sicilian coinage was limited to two or possibly three denominations, a semissis of base gold and a follis and perhaps a half follis of copper. They are distinguished from coins of earlier Michaels by the emperor's long, emaciated face, which is of a type that developed on the later coinage of Theophilus and was to be continued on coins of the joint reign of Michael III and Basil and on those of Basil himself. The gold coinage is in addition of poor quality metal.

There are three classes of semissis. Class I has on the obverse a bust of Michael wearing a loros and holding a globe surmounted by a patriarchal cross. The reverse type is the same, but Michael wears a chlamys. The inscription on both sides is ΜΙΧΑΗLΘ, the final Θ being a polite gesture to Theodora.[22] As with the semissis of Constantinople there is no specific mark of value, and the fact that the coins are light semisses has to be deduced from their weight. They are too heavy to be tremisses. Isolated debased gold coins are often overweight, but not consistently so, as these are, and their weight (*c.* 1.7 g.) has in any case to be compared with that of the light solidus of Sicily (*c.* 4 g.) and not that of Constantinople. The distinction between obverse and reverse follows from the fact that when Basil is later associated with Michael, it is he who wears the chlamys and Michael the loros. The coins of Class II resemble those of Class I, but the emperor holds a globus cruciger instead of a globe with patriarchal cross and the inscription is ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, without Θ and with Λ instead of L. The class was presumably introduced in 856, when Theodora fell from power, and the globus cruciger and the Λ were continued on coins of Class III. These resemble in all respects those of Class II save that Basil is substituted for Michael on the reverse.

The copper coins are all in the name of Michael alone, having on the obverse a facing bust and on the reverse an M with a Θ beneath it. The reverse type revived that of Michael II and Theophilus, the Θ now referring to Theodora, though it in fact became immobilized and was employed throughout the reign. In addition to the main series of coins there are some of smaller module and low weight which are either half folles or, since like Classes II and III of the semissis they substitute Λ for L in the inscription, reduced folles of the last decade of the reign. I have described the single specimen here as a half follis, but this may not stand up to further examination.

[22] It should be noted that the reading is certain. Wroth gives it as "b (?)," and b is accepted by Mme Morrisson, though Tolstoi had correctly read Θ.

A few other Sicilian folles have been ascribed to Michael III, but in error. Wroth and Ratto attributed to him coins with a bust of Michael on both sides which really belong to Michael I (W. 20–1, R. 1848; above, p. 369, No. 9). The same is true of a coin described by C. Davies Sherborn[23] and ascribed by him to Michael and Basil; both emperors' names are in fact illegible and the coin is probably one of Nicephorus I (above, p. 361, No. 11). The occasional occurrence of overstrikes among Sicilian copper coins of this period can easily create apparent mules between types of different reigns.

CHERSON

Cast coins of two types were issued at Cherson under Michael III. The first has on one face a Π (for πόλις) and on the other an X (for Χερσῶνος). It is presumably a municipal issue, and is datable only by its resemblance to the second type, which has on the obverse the initials of the two emperors (M B) and on the reverse ΠX. The opening of this new mint at Cherson coincides with what is usually construed as a temporary cessation of the minting of copper at Constantinople, which suggests that it was simply intended to make good a local shortage of coin. But it equally coincides with the appearance of a new Slavonic power on the Byzantine horizon—the first Russian attack on Constantinople took place in 860—and new needs may have come into existence at Cherson as a result of the activities of its neighbors. The problem is discussed in the Introduction, pp. 91–2.

[23] "Eight New Byzantine Bronze," *N.Circ.*, 33 (1925), 117. The coin is now in the British Museum.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Theodora, Michael, and Thecla		
			+ΘЄOƆO RAƆЄSPV ПSA Bust facing, wearing loros and crown with pendilia and three pinnacles with central cross. In r. hand, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross; in l., cross scepter	• MIXAHLS ΘЄCLA Two busts facing, Michael on l., wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.; Thecla on r., larger, wearing loros and crown with pendilia, pinnacles, and cross, holding in r. hand long patriarchal cross	842–843(?)
			(a) Thecla's crown w. three plain pinnacles and cross		
*1a.1	N 4.49	20 ↙	Trace of overstriking to r.	A for A	
*1a.2	N 4.45	20 ↙	6 for Ɔ	A for A	

1 I have not attempted to list all the minor combinations of varieties known to me. Details of the inscriptions, and even of the types, are occasionally obscured by double striking or overstriking. Theodora's cross scepter usually starts at her shoulder, as sometimes does the comparable one of Theophilus, with no attempt being made to connect it with her left hand. On some specimens, however, the shaft is indicated by a fine line crossing the loros. The patriarchal cross "held" by Thecla is also very imperfectly represented; it gives the appearance of being somewhat unsteadily balanced on her hand. The outer pinnacles of Theodora's crown are always double, while those of Thecla's are single.

1a.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. 2–3, R. 1840
On the obv., the last letter (A) of the inscr. is obscure, the H of the earlier striking being visible in its place.

1a.2 Shaw 1947

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*1a.3	N 4.25 pierced	20 ↓	Pellet in central pinnacle of crown	A in MIXAHL	842–843(?)
*1b.1	N 4.38	21 ↓	Ends NA	Breaks SΘ — ЄCLA	
*1b.2	N 4.23	19 ↓	No initial cross; ends NA	Breaks SΘ — ЄCLA	
(1c)	N 3.96 pierced	20 ↘	(W. 2, R. 1841) Ends NA	Breaks SΘЄ — CLA	
			(b) Thecla's crown w. three dotted pinnacles and cross; SΘ — ЄCLA		
*1d.1	N 4.45	20 ↓	Ends N^{S}		
*1d.2	N 4.38	21 ↓	Ends NA		
*1d.3	N 4.36	20 ↑	Ends N^{S}A		
*1d.4	N 4.23 chipped	18 ↓	]ƆO RAƆЄSPVNA Crown w. cross between 2 pinnacles		
			(c) Thecla's crown w. cross between two pinnacles; SΘ — ЄCLA		
(1e)	N 3.99	21 ↓	(*BNC*, II.533/03) Ends NA	A in MIXAHL	
			(d) Thecla's crown w. cross only; SΘ — ЄCLA		
(1f)	N 4.41	21 ↓	(Hess-Bank Leu 17. iv. 68, lot 622)		

1a.3 Peirce 1948

1b.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
By "dotted pinnacles" is meant pinnacles having a large dot in the interior. The outline is dotted in any case.

1b.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink xii. 28

1d.1 Whittemore
W. 1, T. 1, R. —
W. 1 and *BNC*, II.532/02 differ from the four specimens here in having a globus beneath the cross on Michael's crown. This feature occurs only very rarely in Class I.

1d.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman viii. 32

1d.3–4 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Michael and Theodora		
			IhSYSX RISTOS✱ Bust of Christ (Type Vc) facing, bearded, with cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body, book held from beneath in l.	+MIXAHLSΘЄ OTOO RA Two busts facing, Michael on l., beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross; Theodora on r., larger, wearing loros and crown with pendilia, two pinnacles, and cross. Above, cross	843(?)–856
*2.1	N 4.45	20 ↓			
*2.2	N 4.42	20 ↓			
*2.3	N 4.37 pierced	20 ↓			
*2.4	N 4.36	20 ↓			
*2.5	N 4.35	20 ↓	Same die as 2.6		
*2.6	N 4.25 plugged	20 ↙	Same die as 2.5		
			Class III		
			Michael alone		
			Same inscription and type	+ MI XAHLbASILЄS Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand labarum with cross, in l., akakia	856–867

2.1 Peirce 1948 from Schulman iii. 29
W. 3–4, T. 4–7, R. 1843
2.2–5 Whittemore
2.6 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*3.1	Æ 4.45	21 ↓			856–867
*3.2	Æ 4.42	21 ↓			
*3.3	Æ 4.42	21 ↓			
*3.4	Æ 4.41	20 ↓			
*3.5	Æ 4.40 plugged	20 ↓			
*3.6	Æ 4.37	21 ↓			
			SEMISSIS		
			Class III		
			Same inscription and type	ⲘIXAHLbA Same type, but l. hand and akakia not shown; labarum with pellet instead of cross	
*(4)	Æ 2.27	17	(W. 7 = T. 9)		
			MILIARESION		
			Class I		
			Michael, Theodora, and Thecla		
			+ⲘIXA HLΘEOⲦOORA SΘECLAECΘ' bASILISRO ⲘAIOⲚ within triple circle of dots	IhSYSXRIS ⲦYSⲚICA Cross potent on base and three steps, within triple circle of dots	842–856

3.1–2 Whittemore
W. 5–6, T. 8, R. 1844
3.3 Swiss Collection 1956
3.4 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
3.5 Whittemore
3.6 Friend 1957

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5.1	Æ 2.09	24 ↑	Same die as 5.4	Same die as 5.4	842–856
5.2	Æ 2.06	25 ↑			
5.3	Æ 1.97	24 ↑			
*5.4	Æ 1.94	24 ↗	Same die as 5.1	Same die as 5.1	
*5.5	Æ 1.93	24 ↑			
5.6	Æ 1.92	23 ↑			
*5.7	Æ 1.92	26 ↑			
5.8	Æ 1.57 pierced	23 ↖			
5.9	Æ 1.20 broken	24 ↗	A in first and second lines broken away	SXRIS broken away	
			Class II		
			Michael alone, without *megas* title		
			+MIXA HLECΘEY PISTOSbA SILEYSRO MAION within triple circle of dots	Same inscr. and type	856–866(?)
*6.1	Æ 2.09	22 ↑			
*6.2	Æ 2.02	23 ↖			

5.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 28
W. 8, T. 13, R. 1842
The resemblance between 5.1 and 5.4 is so close—shape, surface defects, etc.—that one cannot exclude the possibility of 5.1, on which dots and other details are less clear, being a cast of 5.4. Casts of such thin coins are unlikely, however, and but for the accident of the two specimens being in the same collection, no suspicion would be aroused by either of them.

5.2–4 Whittemore

5.5 Schindler 1960 from Münzhandlung Basel 9. iv. 36

5.6 Peirce 1948 from Baldwin vii. 30

5.7 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

5.8 Whittemore
This seems of poor metal, and may be a contemporary forgery.

5.9 Whittemore

6.1 Schindler 1960 from Lukastik (Vienna) 1941
W. 9, T. 14, R. 1845

6.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.3	Æ 1.97 pierced and broken	23 ↑			856–866(?)
*6.4	Æ 1.84 pierced	23 ↗			
			Class III		
			Michael alone, w. *megas* title		
			+MIXA HLPISTOS MEGASbA SILEYSRO MAION within triple circle of dots	Same inscr. and type, but pellet beneath steps	866(?)–867
*7.1	Æ 2.12	25 ↗			
*7.2	Æ 2.06	25 ↗			
			FOLLIS		
			+MIhAEL IMPERATS Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand globe surmounted by patriarchal cross, in l., akakia	+bASIL IYSREX* Type as obv.	866–867

6.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
6.4 Peirce 1948 acq. in Paris vii. 32
7.1 Peirce 1948 from Baldwin vii. 30
W. 10, T. 15, R. 1846
There are four slightly larger pellets in the inner circle of dots on the obverse of coins of this class, but they are not always quite symmetrically placed. On 7.1 the left- and right-hand ones are on the level of the second line of the inscription; on 7.2 the left-hand one is on the level of the space between lines 2 and 3, while that on the right is against the lower loop of the S in PISTOS.
7.2 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.1	Æ 7.78	26 ↓			866–867
8.2	Æ 7.60	28 ↙			
*8.3	Æ 7.16	28 ↙			
*8.4	Æ 7.09	26 ↓			
8.5	Æ 6.76 chipped	24 ↓			
8.6	Æ 6.26	27 ↓			
8.7	Æ 5.29	28 ↓			
			Syracuse		
			SEMISSIS		
			Class I		
			Michael alone, holding globe w. patriarchal cross		
			ΜΙ ΧΑΗLΘ Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross on triangle, holding in l. hand globe surmounted by patriarchal cross	ΜΙ ΧΑΗLΘ Same type as obv., but chlamys instead of loros	842–866
*9.1	Ꞗ 1.66 base gold	13 ↓			
*9.2	Ꞗ 1.30 base gold	13 ↘	Θ obscure	Ends ΑΗΛ(?)	

8.1–2 Whittemore
W. 11–12, T. 18, R. 1849
8.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus 1928
8.4 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1914
8.5–7 Whittemore
9.1 Schindler 1960 from A. Hess sale (Lucerne) v. 36, lot 2082
W. 13, T. 10, R. —, Ricotti 241
This coin is heavily alloyed with copper.
9.2 Schindler 1960 from Dorotheum (Vienna) 18. xii. 56
This coin seems to be plated, and the details of the inscription are not clear. The reverse seems to have a Λ, instead of the usual L, at the end of Michael's name, and Θ is either absent or off flan.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Michael alone, holding gl. cr.		
			MI XAHΛ Same type, but Michael holds gl. cr.	MI XAHΛ Same type, but Michael holds gl. cr.	842–866
*10	N 1.55 base gold	14 ↓			
			Class III		
			Michael III and Basil		
			MI XAHΛ Same type	bAC ILEIOC Same type, but the emperor is now Basil	866–867
*(11)	N 1.36 base gold	14 ↓	(W. 15, T. 12, Ricotti 243)		
			FOLLIS		
			MI XAHLb Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross on triangle, holding in r. hand cross potent on base	M Above, cross. Beneath, Θ	842–867
12.1	Æ 4.32	20 ↓	] XAHLb Overstruck on Theophilus, Michael, and Constantine		

10 Schindler 1960 from Kallai (Vienna) 1935
W. 14, T. 11, R. —, Ricotti 240
This coin is heavily alloyed with copper.

(11) The illustration on Pl. XXIX is of the BN specimen (*BNC*, Pl. LXXV/04), which is better preserved than the BM one. The reverse inscription divides bA—CIΛEIOC, instead of bAC—IΛEIOC as with W. 5 and T. 12.

12.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 16–19, T. 17, R. 1847, Ricotti 242

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*12.2	Æ 4.01	20 ↘	ꟽI [ ]HLb		842–867
*12.3	Æ 3.19	21 ↓	] XAHLb Overstruck on Theophilus		
*12.4	Æ 3.06	20 ↘	b off flan. Overstruck		
12.5	Æ 2.93 worn	19 ↓	]HLb		
12.6	Æ 2.68	19 ↘	ꟽI XA[Overstruck		
			HALF FOLLIS(?)		
			ꟽI XAHΛ Same type	Same type, but smaller	
*13	Æ 2.04	17 ↓			
			Cherson		
			Class I		
			Autonomous coinage		
*(14)	Æ	13	Π (Oreshnikov 17)	X	*c.* 860–866
			Class II		
			Michael and Basil		
*15.1	Æ 2.22	14 ↑	MB	ꟽX	866–867

12.2–3 Peirce 1948
12.4 Whittemore
12.5 Swiss Collection 1956
12.6 Schindler 1960
13 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. —
The denomination is doubtful; the coin may be a reduced follis of the period 856–67. See above, p. 459.
(14) A. Oreshnikov, "Khersono-vizantiiskiya moneti," *Trudy Moskovskago numizmaticheskago obshchestva*, 3 (1905), 365, No. 17, Pl. IX. 17.
15.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1915
W. p. 434, T. 19–22, R. —
T. 23 is a variety with the letters reversed from right to left.

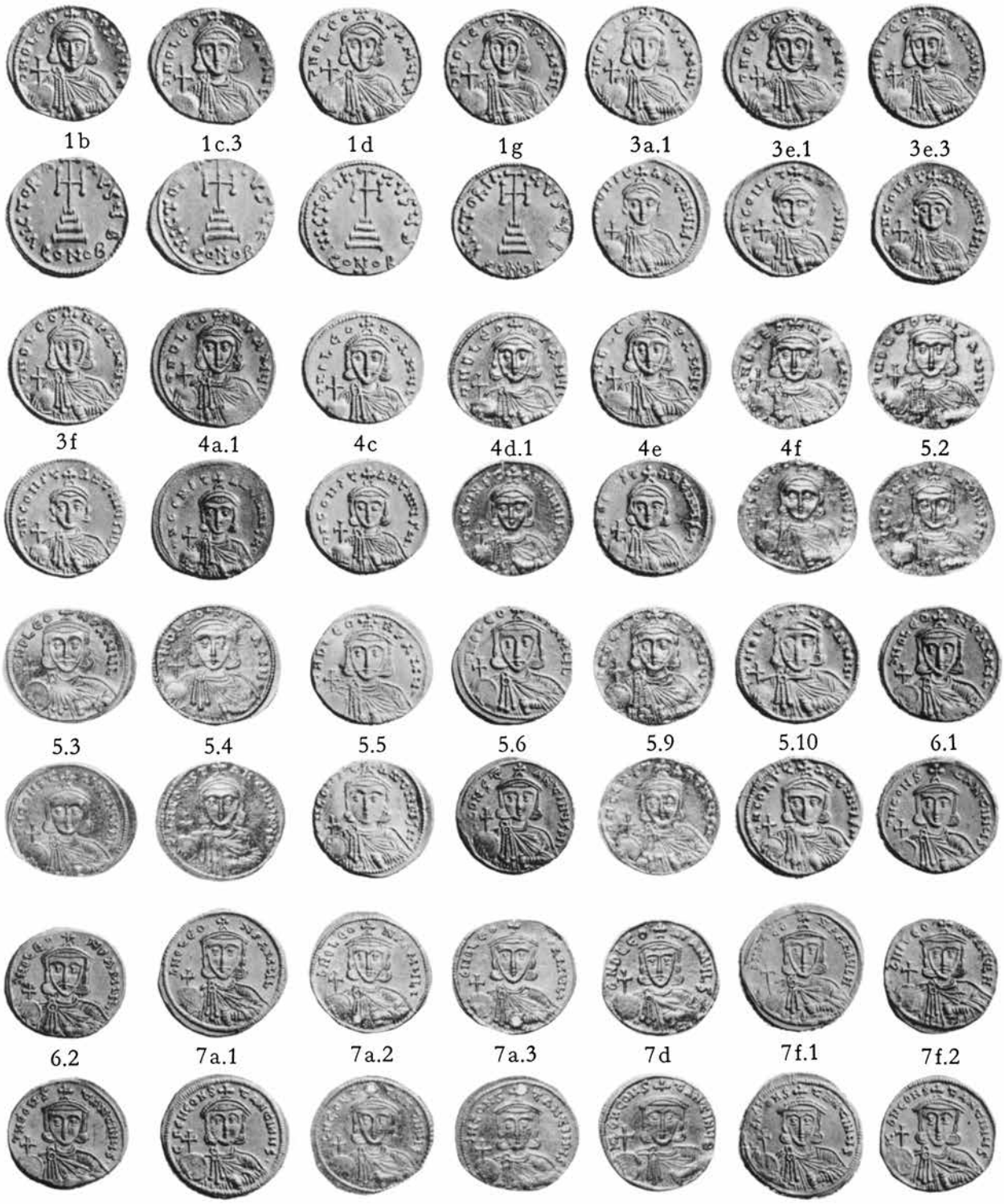
No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*15.2	Æ 1.73	13 ↑			866–867
*15.3	Æ 1.29	13 ↑			

15.2 Swiss Collection 1956
15.3 Schindler 1960 from Lanz 1953

PLATES

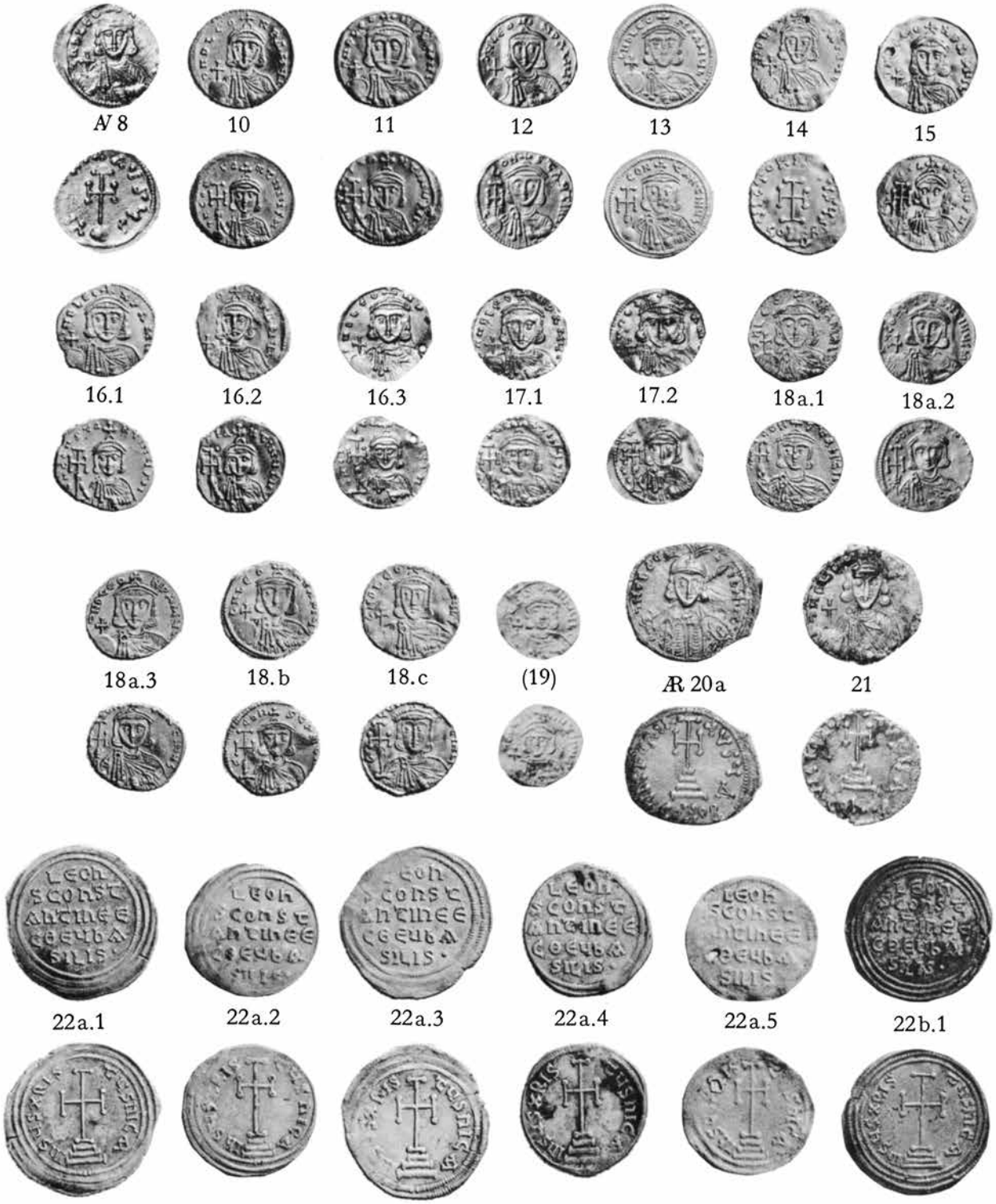
LEO III (1)

Constantinople (*A*)



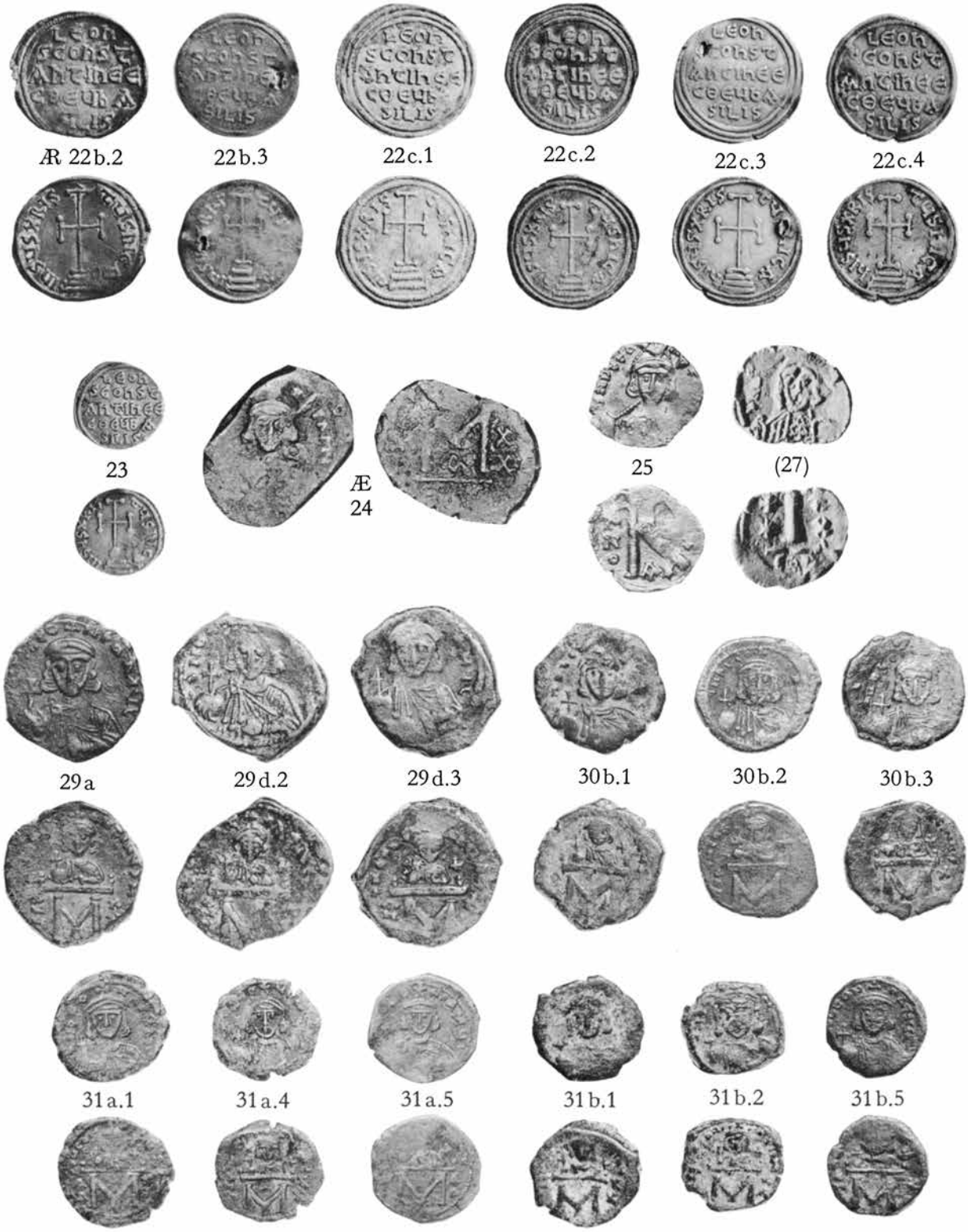
LEO III (2)

Constantinople (N, Æ)



LEO III (3)

Constantinople (Æ, Æ)

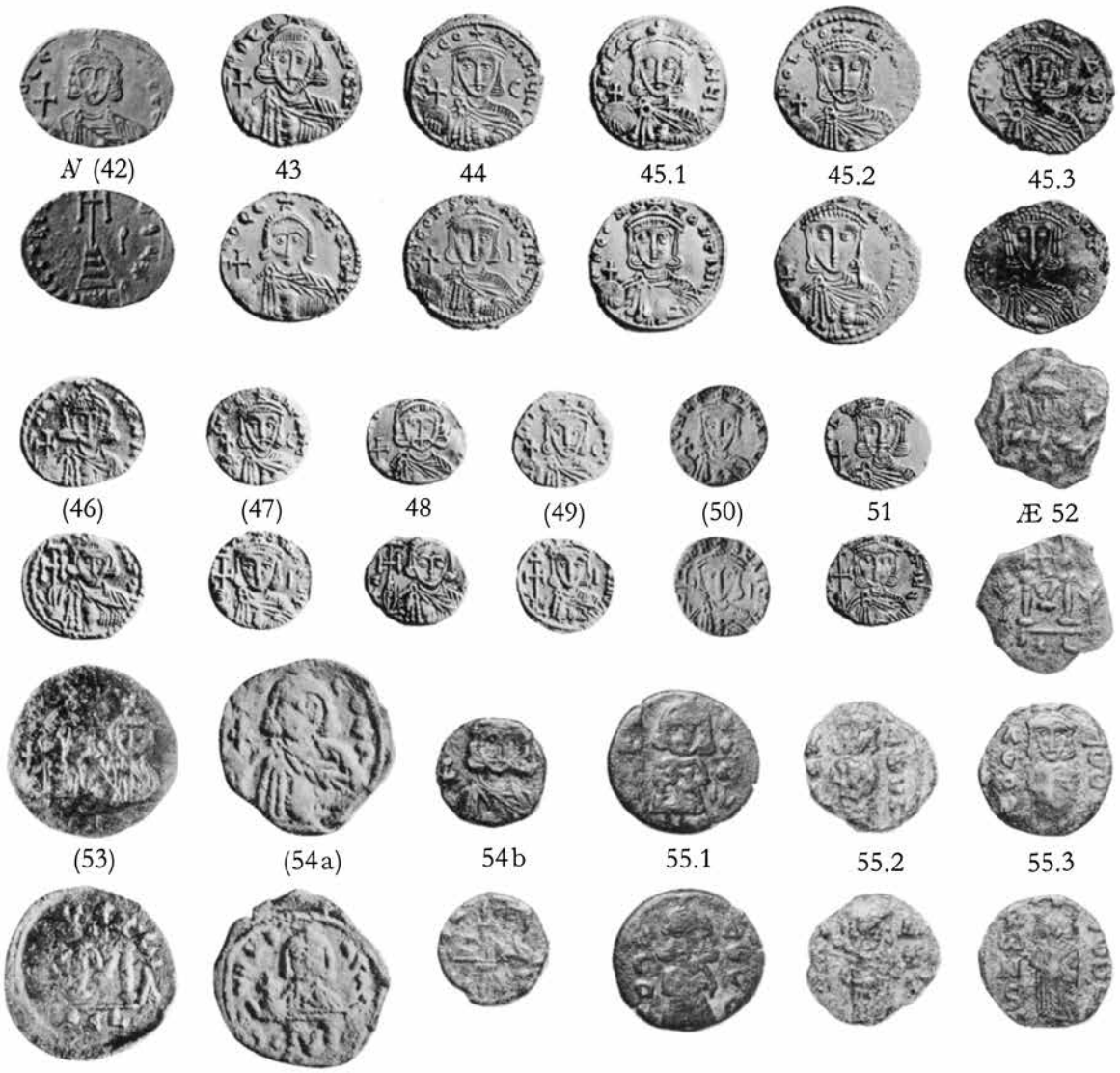


LEO III (4)

Constantinople (Æ)

LEO III (5)

Syracuse (*N*, Æ)



Naples (El.)

LEO III (6)

Rome (Base Ꝗ, Ꝑ, Æ)

LEO III (7)

RAVENNA (*N*)

(94) (95)

UNCERTAIN ITALIAN MINTS (El., Æ)

El. (97) Æ 98 Æ (99) El. (100)

El. (101)

El. (102)

El. 103

ARTAVASDUS

CONSTANTINOPLE (*N*, *Æ*)

N (1) 2a 3b 4 Æ 6.1 6.2

ROME (Base *N*)

(7)

(8)

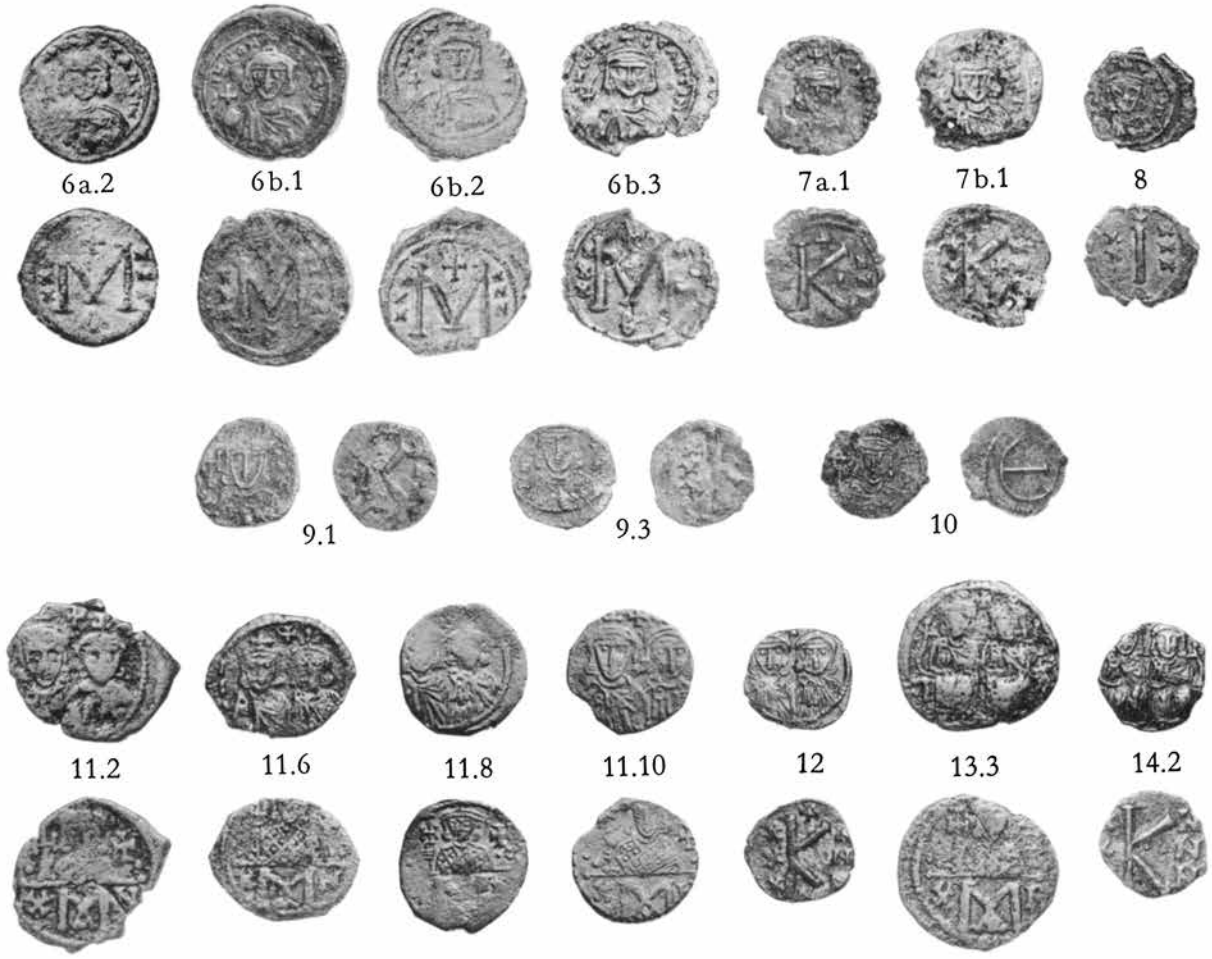
(9) (10)

CONSTANTINE V (1)

CONSTANTINOPLE (*N*, Æ)

CONSTANTINE V (2)

Constantinople (Æ)



Syracuse (N)

CONSTANTINE V (3)

Syracuse (N, Æ)

Naples (?) N, R, Æ

CONSTANTINE V (4)

Rome (El., Æ)

El. 25 | 26 | 27 | (28) | (29) | (30) | (31 a)

(32) | (33) | (34) | (35) | 36 | 37

(38) | (39) | (40) | 41 | (42) | 43 | Æ (44)

Ravenna (El.)

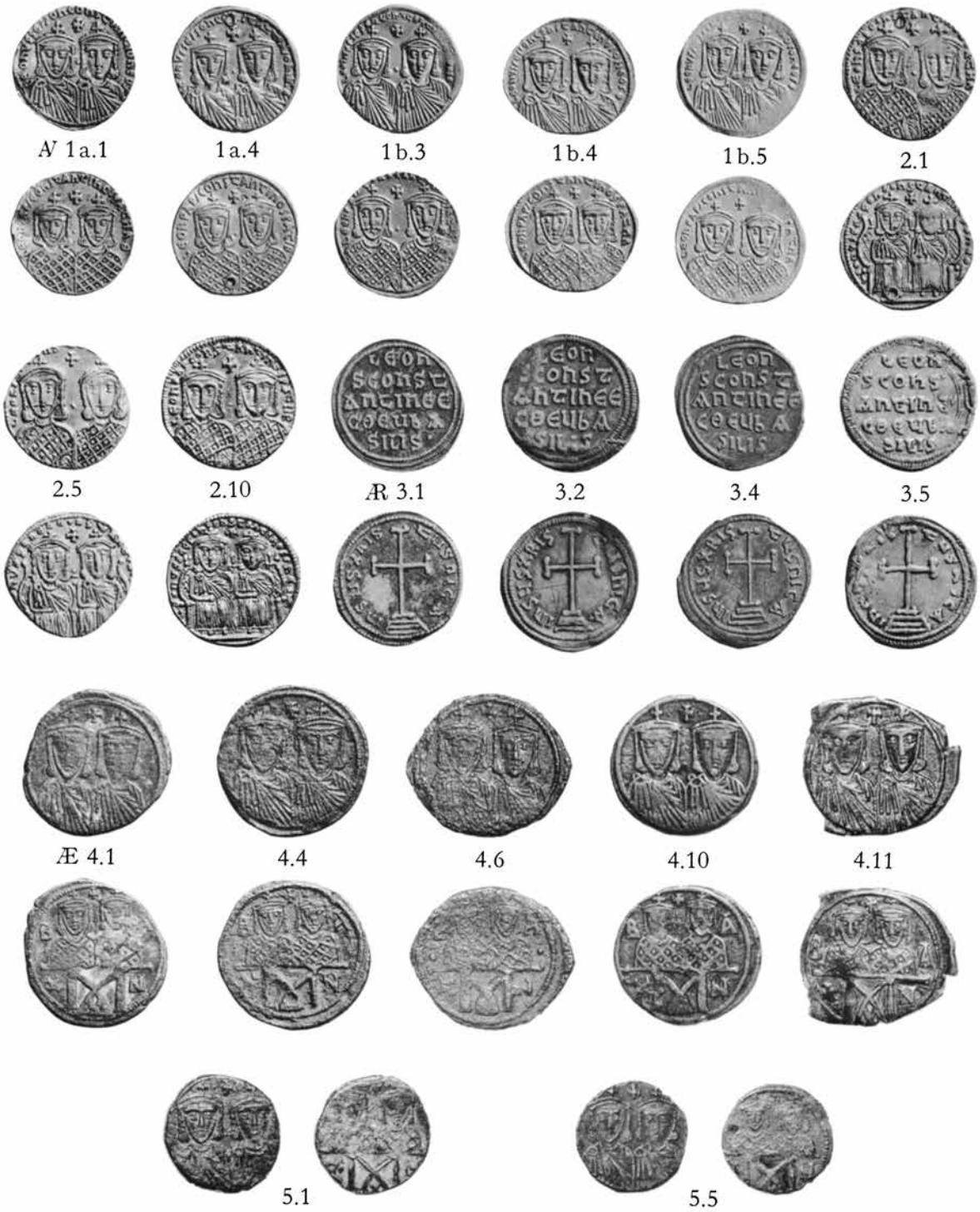
45 | 46 | 47 | 48.1 | 48.2 | (49)

Uncertain Mints (Ꝗ, Æ)

Ꝗ 51 | Æ 52

LEO IV (1)

Constantinople (N, Æ, Æ)



LEO IV (2)

Constantinople (Æ)

6.1 6.3 6.8 7.1 7.3 7.4

Syracuse (Æ)

8.1 8.2 8.3

Rome (El.)

(9) 10

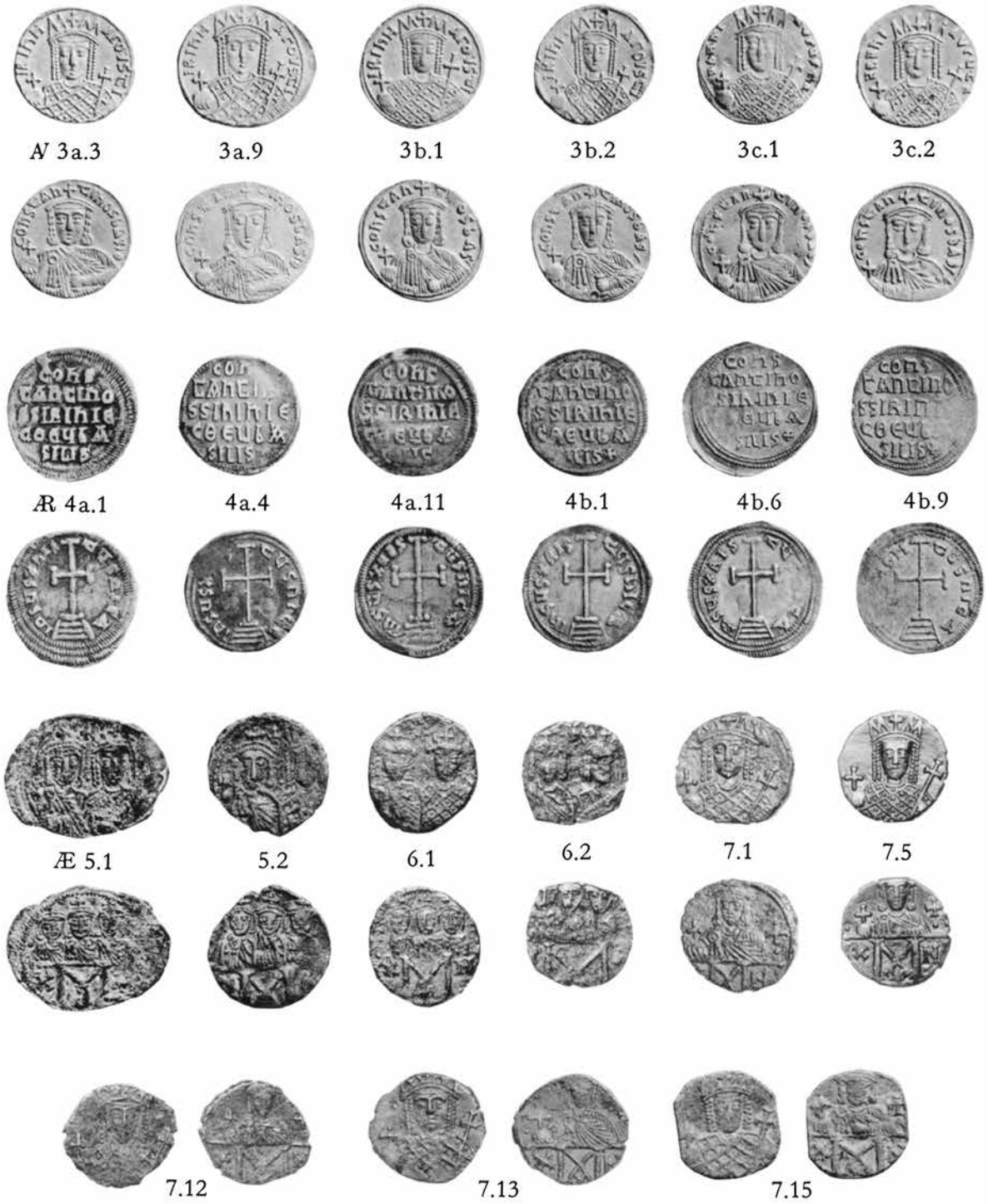
CONSTANTINE VI (1)

Constantinople (AV)

1.1 1.4 1.5 1.7 2a.2 2b

CONSTANTINE VI (2)

Constantinople (N, Æ, Æ)



IRENE

Constantinople (N, Æ)

N 1a.1 1a.5 1b 1c Æ 2.1 2.3

Syracuse (N)

3 (4)

NICEPHORUS I (1)

Constantinople (N)

1a.1 1a.2 1b 2a.1 2a.4 2a.6

NICEPHORUS I (2)

Constantinople (N, Æ)

N 2b.1 | 2b.3 | 2c.1 | 2c.4 | 2c.7 | (3)

Æ 4.1 | 4.2 | 5.1 | 5.2 | 5.5 | 5.6

Syracuse (N, Æ)

N 6 | 7 | (8) | Æ 9 | 10.1 | 10.2

NICEPHORUS I (3)

SYRACUSE (Æ)

10.5 11.2 11.3

NAPLES (?) Ꝡ

12

MICHAEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE (Ꝡ, Æ)

Ꝡ 1a.1 1a.4 1b (2) Æ 3.4 3.6

SYRACUSE (Ꝡ, Æ)

Ꝡ 4 5 (6)

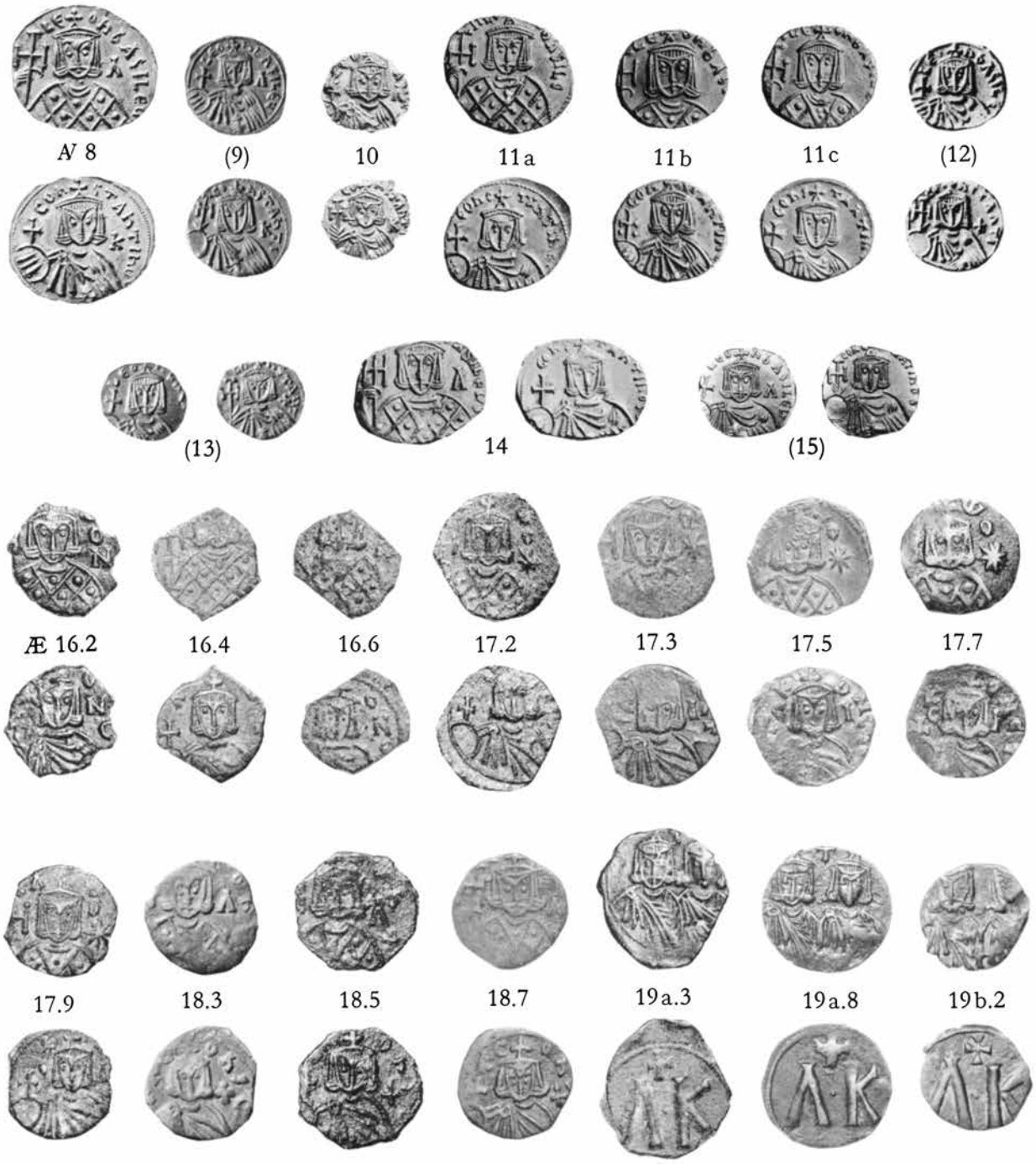
(7) 8 Æ 9 10.1 10.2

LEO V (1)

Constantinople (*N*, *Ꞧ*, *Æ*)

LEO V (2)

Syracuse (N, Æ)



MICHAEL II (1)

Constantinople (*N*, Æ, Æ)

MICHAEL II (2)

Constantinople (Æ)

10.2 10.8 10.11 10.12 11

Syracuse (*N*, Æ)

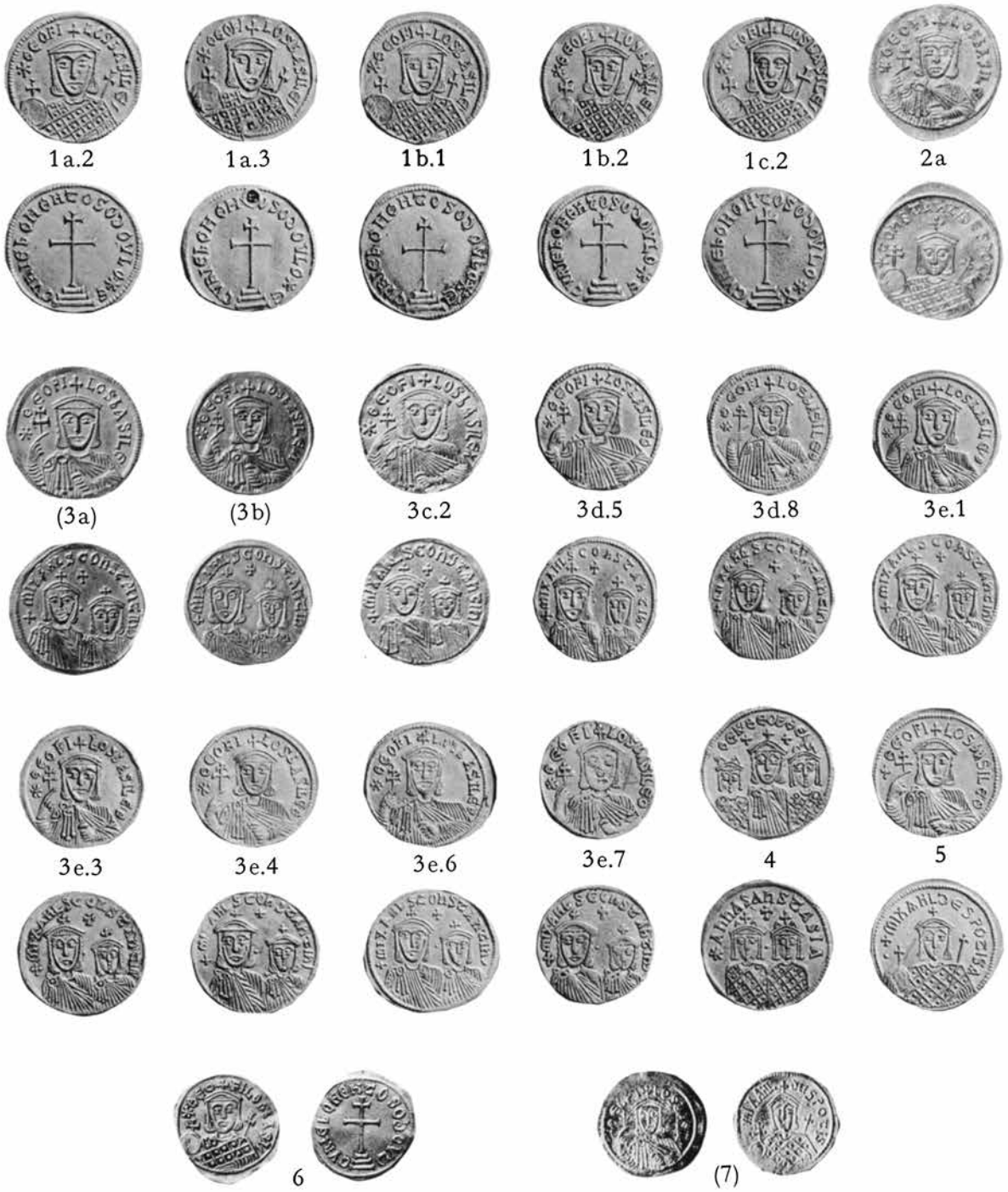
N (12) 13 14a.1 14a.2 14b.1 14b.2 15a

15b 15c 16.1 16.2 17 (18) (19) (20)

Æ 21.4 21.5 21.8 21.9 21.20 21.21

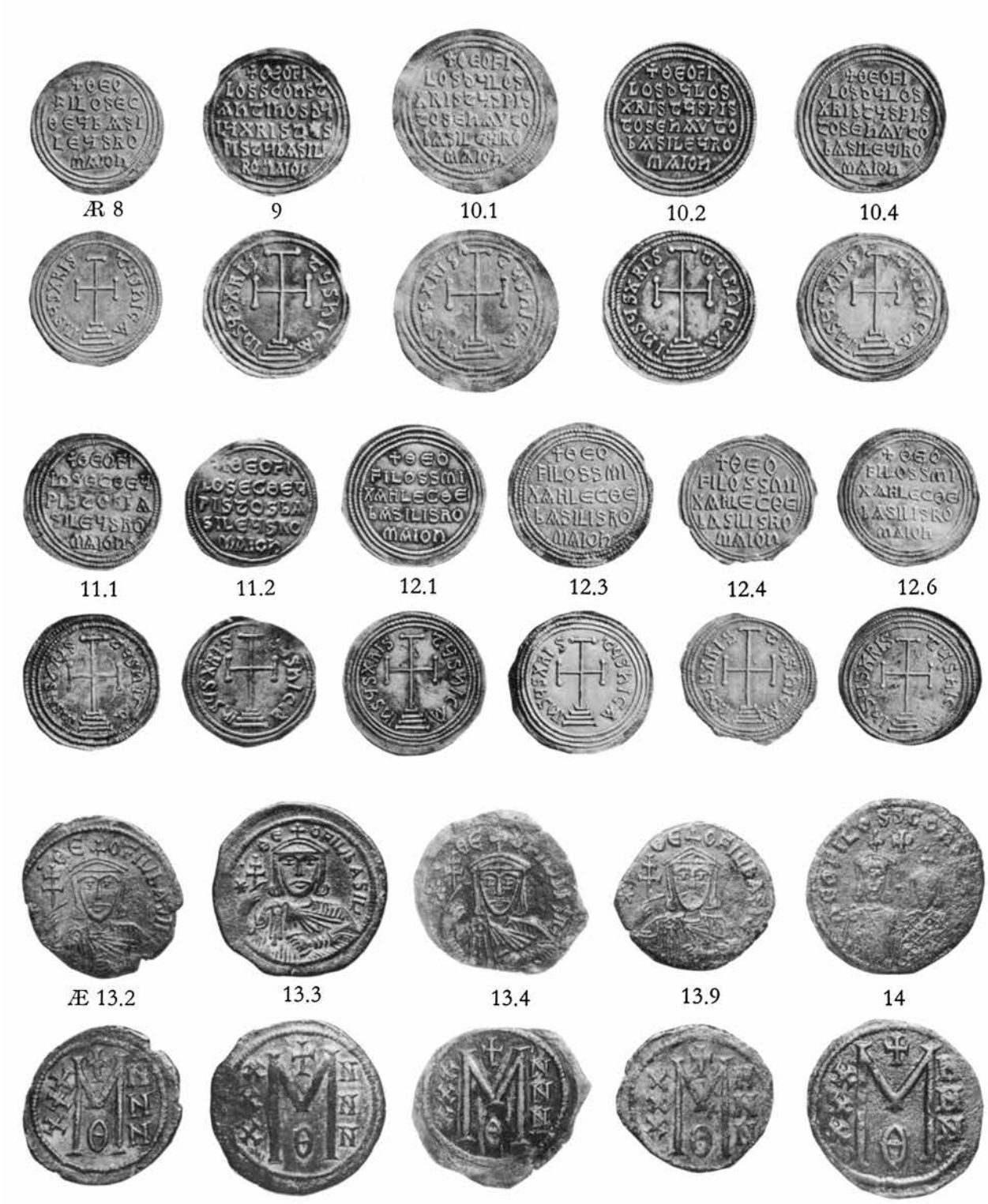
THEOPHILUS (1)

Constantinople (*A*)



THEOPHILUS (2)

Constantinople (Ar, Æ)



Ar 8 | 9 | 10.1 | 10.2 | 10.4

11.1 | 11.2 | 12.1 | 12.3 | 12.4 | 12.6

Æ 13.2 | 13.3 | 13.4 | 13.9 | 14

THEOPHILUS (3)

Constantinople (Æ)

15a.1 15a.2 15a.3 15a.4 15a.5

15a.6 15a.7 15a.9 15a.11 15a.12

15a.13 15a.14 15a.16 15a.17 15b

THEOPHILUS (4)

Constantinople (Æ)

15c.2 15c.3 15d.2 15d.3 15d.5

16a.1 16a.2 16a.3 16b.1 16b.2 16b.3

16b.4 16b.5 16b.6 16b.7 16b.8 16c

THEOPHILUS (5)

Uncertain Provincial Mint (Æ)

17.1 17.2 17.3 17.4 17.5

Syracuse (*N*)

18.1 18.2 19.1 19.2 19.3 20 (21) 22 (23)

24.1 24.2 24.3 25.1 25.2 25.3 25.4 26a.1 26a.2

26b 26c.1 26c.2 26c.3 27a.1 27a.2 27a.3 27a.4 27b.1 27b.2

THEOPHILUS (6)

Syracuse (Æ)

Naples (?) Base *A*

MICHAEL III (1)

Constantinople (Ⱥ, Ꞧ)

MICHAEL III (2)

Constantinople (Ꞧ, Æ)

Ꞧ 5.7 6.1 6.2 6.4 7.1 7.2

Æ 8.3 8.4

Syracuse (Base Ꞧ, Æ)

Ꞧ 9.1 9.2 10 (11) Æ 12.2 12.3 12.4 13

Cherson (Æ)

(14) 15.1 15.2 15.3